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NOTICES OF MEETINGS.

THIRTIETH MEETING. Friday, Jan. 12, 1877.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Director announced the recent death of Mr. Chas. Childs, the Society's Printer, and liberal helper in its undertakings; and it was resolved unanimously: "That a letter be addressed by the Hon. Secretary, expressing the deep regret of the Members at the death of Mr Childs, who has, from the first, taken the warm interest of a scholar in the success of the New Shakspere Society; and conveying the sincere sympathy of the Members with the family of the late Mr Childs in the loss which they have sustained."

The following new Members were reported to have joined the

Society since the 8th of Dec. last:-

Josiah Blackwell. Lockwood and Co.

J. Miland.

S. D. Hopkinson. Rev. P. A. Lyons. Beverly Chew. W. G. Stone. Edward Rose. Chas. S. Sergeant. Mrs F. Wedmore. Alexandra-College. Shakspere Soc., Dublin.

The Hon. Secretary presented the Income and Expenditure Sheet for the past year, which had been audited on the 8th inst., by Mr Saml. Clark, Junr., and Mr N. D. Chubb, two of the Members; and a vote of thanks was passed to the Auditors and to the Hon. Secretary.

The Paper for this evening was contributed and read by Mr Joseph Knight, being "Some points of resemblance and contrast between Shakspere and the Dramatists of his country and epoch." After asserting that the establishment of blank verse as the great medium of dramatic expression was principally due to Marlowe, and showing that with him it reached a point at which little room was left for improvement, Mr Knight compared certain creations of Marlowe with others of Shakspere. He then instituted comparisons between Shakspere and Marlowe, Webster, and Beaumont and Fletcher, contrasting at some length the terrors of realisation in Webster's *Duchess of Mulfi* and *Vittoria Corrombona* with those of suggestion in *Macbeth*. The absence from early dramatic literature of any keen appreciation of domestic life was dwelt upon; and also the fact, that throughout the whole range of the Elizabethan drama there is no attempt to dwell on the beauties of landscape,—of special flowers, &c., there is much,—and scarcely an instance in which the mention of the sea shows any sense that it was an object of delight rather than of terror.

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously tendered to Mr

Knight for this Paper.

Mr Furnivall, Mr F. D. Matthew, and Miss L. Toulmin Smith took part in the discussion which followed the reading.

THIRTY-FIRST MEETING. Friday, Feb. 9, 1877.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The following new Members were announced:-

Wm. Harrison.
W. H. Gray.
Geo. W. Ballon.
T. Sargent Perry.

Rev. J. Pierson.
Wellesley Coll., Mass.
D. B. Brightwell.
H. J. Bailey.

Miss N. Outine.
Shakspere Club, Stratford-on-Avon.

Read, a letter from the widow of the late Mr Childs, thanking the Members for the vote of condolence passed at the last meeting.

Mr Furnivall stated that Prof. Guizot had suggested that the source of the speeches of Brutus and Antony over Cæsar's dead body might be found in the englisht Appian's Chronicle of 1578.1 Dr Ingleby read a paper "On Hamlet's 'some Dozen or Sixteen Lines';" an attempt to rebut the arguments both of Mr Malleson and Prof. Seeley (New Shakspere Society's Transactions for 1874, pp. 465-498). He contended that Shakspere's only object in mentioning Hamlet's speech was to give himself the chance of delivering, through Hamlet's mouth, a lesson in elocution, probably aimed at the faults of some rival actors. "If Shakspere had intended us to find the dozen or sixteen lines in the old play, we should have had a sufficient glance at their purport to serve our purpose. That there is no indication convinces me that, as soon as Hamlet has instructed the old Player, the function of the supposed insertion was fulfilled, and that they had no further part in Hamlet." Mr Malleson said that Dr Ingleby had in no way moved his (Mr Malleson's) former positions. The very parallelism of the sub-play and main play needed a supposed alteration by Hamlet to excuse it. Mr Furnivall could only

¹ Mr W. Watkiss Lloyd in 1856, referrd to Appian—tho' not the Englisht version—as one of Shakspere's authorities, in his Essay on *Julius Cæsar* in Singer's *Shakspere*, p. 401 of Lloyd's *Crit. Essays*, ed. 1875.

account for Dr Ingleby's argument by supposing that he had deliberately pasted a piece of paper over Hamlet's words to Horatio. "if his occulted guilt do not itself unkennel in one speech:" in them was the very "purport" of the dozen or sixteen lines which Dr Ingleby had declared was never stated. The latter answered that he did not consider this "one speech" was the same as Hamlet's: but he admitted that if it was, his paper fell to the ground.—The second paper was by Mr Edward Rose, on "The Division into Acts of Hamlet." He contended that Act III. was now wrongly divided from Act IV., in the middle of what should be the fourth scene of Act III., as the present IV. i. merely ended III. iv. He would end Act III. at the end of the present scene iii. of Act IV. This would make Act III, so long that Mr Rose proposed to take from it its present first scene, and add that to Act II. In the first part of Mr Rose's argument Mr Furnivall agreed, that the end of Act III. should be at the end of IV. ii.; but he declined to alter the end of Act II., because, if III. i. were added to Act II., Hamlet's second long soliloquy, "To be, or not to be," would be brought within fifty-five lines of his much longer, "Oh, what a rogue and peasant slave am I." and have to be delivered within two or three minutes after the attention of the audience had been exhausted by it. This was an arrangement that Shakspere never could have meant, and that no stage manager would sanction.

Messrs Bayne, Hetherington, Peto, Spalding, and the Rev. W. A. Harrison also spoke upon the above Papers: for which the thanks of

the Meeting were given to the respective contributors.

THIRTY-SECOND MEETING. Friday, March 9, 1877.

F. D. MATTHEW, Esq., in the Chair.

THE following list of new Members was handed in :-

E. W. Cox, Serjeant-at-law. Miss E. H. Hickey. Sydney Free Public Library. Miss Philippa Bailey. Margrave Esdaile.

The papers read were: -1. "On the Witches in Macbeth," by Mr T. Alfred Spalding.¹ The reader contended that the witches were of the ordinary type seen in the contemporary Scotch trials for witchcraft, and had nothing to do with the Norni; also that the subject was probably treated by Shakspere soon after James I.'s accession, because witchcraft was one of the king's favourite subjects, and he had himself been present at the trial of the witches accused of and condemned for raising the storm in which he and his bride

¹ Printed below, p. 27-40.

were in danger of their lives on their home-coming. 2. A report by Mr Furnivall of the arguments of Prof. March to prove youthfulness in the composition of the play of Hamlet. 3. "On the Play of Troilus and Cressida;" and 4. "On the Confusion of the Time in the Action of the Merry Wives, and Shakspere's Devices to Conceal it," both from the pen of Mr R. Grant White. Troilus and Cressida is, the writer urged, Shakspere's wisest play in the way of worldly wisdom. Ulysses pervades the whole serious part of the play: even the bold and bloody egotist, "the broad Achilles," talks Ulyssean; and Ulysses is Shakspere. The play is the only piece of Shakspere's introspective work. (Mr Furnivall also read his own comment on the play from proof-sheets.) In the Merry Wives Mr Grant White showed that no night intervened in Act III. sc. v. between Falstaff's first and second adventures, but that his second was made to take place before his first, early in the morning of the same day on the afternoon of which he had returned from his first; and this confusion Shakspere had skilfully concealed from his hearers and readers by interposing another scene between the two adventures.1 Furnivall then read from the Englisht Appian of 1578, the speeches of Brutus and of Antony over Cæsar's corpse, which had probably or possibly served Shakspere as the foundation for his own like speeches in Julius Cæsar, and which Prof. G. Guizot had lately pointed out anew.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the contributors and

readers of the several Papers.

In the Discussions on the Papers, Messrs Matthew, Bayne, Hetherington, Peto, Spalding, and Furnivall, and Miss Hickey took part.

THIRTY-THIRD MEETING. Friday, April 13, 1877.

Professor Karl Elze of Halle, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, on taking the chair, said:—"Ladies and Gentlemen:—Before entering on the business of the evening, I cannot but express my sense of the flattering compliment that has been paid to me by the invitation to take the chair on the present occasion; for, to preside over a meeting of an English Shakspere Society in Shakspere's own country is an honour of which a foreigner may well be proud. I do not, however, presume to attribute this honour to myself and my own slight merit, I rather attribute it to the German sister society, and to German Shakspere-learning, and German literature at large. I need not dwell on the well-known fact, which has no parallel in the whole history of literature. that Shakspere has found a second home in Germany, and that he is admired and cherished by us as much as any of our own great poets. A German critic has said, that Shakspere cradled our infant drama; and there can be no doubt whatever that within

¹ See on this point, Mr Daniel's Papers on the Time or Duration of the action in Shakspere's Plays, to be printed in Part II.

ten years after his death German alterations of some of his plays were being acted in the principal courts and towns of Germany. however rude and repulsive those alterations may appear to the more refined taste of the present age. Since that time Shakspere has shared all the vicissitudes, all the ups and downs of our literature, just like our own classic poets. All the foremost poets, critics. and scholars of Germany have done their best to bring him nearer. not only to our understanding, but also to our hearts and sympathies. It is hardly too much to say that the works and names of Lessing. Goethe, Schlegel, Tieck, Gervinus, and numerous others will be entwined for ever with the work and name of Shakspere. The present generation follows in the wake of these great leaders; and in some ill-advised quarters it is even a matter of complaint, that there is now no end in Germany of translations, of editions, of criticisms and essays on Shakspere. The simple fact that in a few days the twelfth volume of the German Shakspere Annual will be ready for delivery, seems to me a sufficient proof, not only of the earnestness and energy with which these studies are pursued, but also of the immeasurable compass and the inexhaustible depth of the subject.

"But it is by no means as an inexhaustible source of textual and æsthetic criticism, of literary research and antiquarian lore, that we prize Shakspere most. He would never have taken that prominent and lasting hold of our stage, where he is a successful competitor with Goethe and Schiller, if we did not take him for one of the greatest dramatic poets—if not the greatest dramatic poet—that ever lived: for a poet of the liveliest and sweetest imagination, and of an unparalleled creative power; for a poet of the widest intellectual grasp; for a heart-searcher who never had his like; and last, not least, for a teacher of mankind who inculcates the noblest and most elevated moral lessons, who fills our hearts with the love of wisdom. truth, and virtue, with noble aspirations, with loving-kindness and charity. He is indeed a Jacob's ladder to everything that is right, and honest, and true, and beautiful all over the world; and I am happy to say, that the conviction of his moral purity and elevation, in spite of some outward appearance to the contrary, is daily gaining ground with all civilized nations, and is uniting them in bonds of sympathy. Thus then Shakspere does not only prove a teacher of mankind, but also a golden link of human brotherhood. In this respect, as in many others, he is like nature, whose touch "makes the whole world kin." And it is in this sense that I may be allowed to feel myself kin to you and to all Shakspere's countrymen; and I should be much afraid of wronging you, if I did not feel convinced that you reciprocate this feeling."

The new Members announced were: Signor Pagliardini, Prof. J. Lias, Prof. E. H. Smith, E. S. Cox, Mrs W. R. Bullock, Bradford Literary Club, and J. Mackenzie Miall.

The Papers read were:-

I. On the Character of Brutus in the play of Julius Casar, by

Peter Bayne, Esq.

II. On the Division of the Acts in Lear, Much Ado, and Twelfth Night, by James Spedding, Esq., M.A., Honorary Fellow of Trinity

College, Cambridge.

I. Setting out with the remark that the impartial dramatic sympathy of Shakspere (which enabled him to enter the heart and speak from the mouth alike of Cordelia and of Iago) made it difficult to discern his personal sentiments, Mr Bayne suggested one or two criteria by which his views as a man might be discovered in his works as an artist. One of these was the general impression left on the mind by a particular drama: we might generally be sure that what we felt strongly was what Shakspere intended us to feel. Another was his choice of subjects, and his mode of deciding between issues presented on the stage. When, for example, Shakspere chose for treatment "perhaps the most momentous issue ever fought out in this world, that between Cæsar and Brutus," we may believe that his adhesion to the cause of popular right, as opposed to unlimited personal sovereignty, was indicated by his decision that the action of Brutus was heroic. Quoting, as applicable to the early Romans as well as to the Greek, these words of Grote-"The hatred of kings was a pre-eminent virtue, flowing directly from the noblest and wisest part of their nature,"-Mr Bayne argued that Shakspere, though no classical scholar, evinced a more accurate conception of the moral and patriotic ideal of the ancients in making Brutus the hero of his play, than those clerical scholars "who, influenced by modern ideas, affirmed that those who slew Cæsar were guilty of a great crime." Even in his weaknesses, the Brutus of Shakspere was represented as noble. He expected to find others as good as himself, a fatal mistake in practical affairs, and trusted for influence upon masses of men to reason and logic rather than to rhetorical art. Antony, therefore, who, as compared with him, was a political charlatan, got the better of him. Mr Bayne illustrated at some length the position that Shakspere always represented the multitude as foolish and childish, but, at the same time, recognized the soundness of their instincts, and the readiness with which they responded to any appeal to their gratitude and courtesy. That Shakspere had an exceptional and superlative regard for the character of Brutus, Mr Bayne argued, from the careful elaboration of the scenes with Portia and with the boy Lucius, -scenes to which there is nothing parallel in Shakspere's treatment of men,—and from the estimate of Brutus put into the mouth of Antony, his enemy:-

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, This was a man!"

II. Mr Furnivall then read: 1, some notes by Prof. Dowden on the opening bridal song in the Two Noble Kinsmen, showing that the flowers in it were emblems of wedded life; 2, a paper, by Mr James Spedding, "On the Division of the Acts in Lear, Much Ado, and Twelfth Night." 1 Mr Spedding insisted that in Lear time must be given for the great battle in Act V. sc. ii. to be fought, and that, therefore, the end of Act IV. must be moved forward to the exit Edgar in the present V. ii., while Act V. must begin with Edgar's re-entrance. In Much Ado, Mr Spedding would end Act I. with its first scene: start Act II. with the present I. ii., and end it with II. ii.; open Act III. with Benedick in the garden, the present II. iii.; and begin Act IV. in Hero's dressing-room, the present III. iv. Twelfth Night, Mr Spedding proposed to end Act I. with the present I. iv.; Act II. with the present II. ii.; and Act III. with the present III. i., the fourth and fifth Acts ending where they do now. Richard the Second, the first Act should end with its third scene instead of its fourth. By these changes the present incongruities would be removed.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to the writers for their Papers. In the discussion on the first Paper Messrs Furnivall, Wedmore, Matthew, Hetherington, and Pickersgill took part.

After the other business of the evening was ended, Mr Furnivall rose and said: 'Altho' it is not customary to return a vote of thanks to our Chairman when one of ourselves is in the Chair, yet on an occasion like to-night's, when we are honourd with the presence of one of the most distinguisht Shakspere scholars of Germany, the editor of their Shakspere Society's Year-book, the friend of our friend Professor Delius—who has been twice among us and thrice sent us Papers for our Transactions,—I feel that you will all wish to return to Professor Elze your thanks for presiding over us to-night, and speaking to us those generous words in praise of our great Poet with which he opend our Meeting. It is a heart-felt pleasure to every English Shakspere-student, to know that in Germany, the poet he loves and honours has been made the nation's own, and that every German scholar who visits our shores, brings with him reverence and love for Shakspere. Our own Society owes Germany no common debt. When we started, Germany had for eight years had her Shakspere Society, which is now in its 12th year, while we are in our 4th. It was from German ground that our Society mainly started:--the insisting that Shakspere be graspt and treated as a whole, the workings of his mind followd from its rise to its fall, and that, -as our member Miss Hickey puts it, -each Play be studied, not only as one of Shakspere's works, but as part of his work. Prospectus from the first has contained the paragraph—

"The profound and generous 'Commentaries' of Gervinus-an

¹ Printed below, p. 11-26.

honour to a German to have written, a pleasure to an Englishman to read—is still the only book known to me that comes near the true treatment and the dignity of its subject, or can be put into the hands of the student who wants to know the mind of Shakspere."

'And though now we have works that can stand beside Gervinus's, yet none the less do we still give him the post of honour among us. Prof. Delius's text of our poet has also just been reprinted in London. Our Chairman's Essays on Shakspere have been englisht. And I am sure he knows that no insular narrowness mixes with the feeling with which we return thanks to him, the first German scholar who has presided over us, the representative to us of that nation, great in learning and great in war, our own kith and kin, which has in our own time so splendidly asserted its love for its fatherland, as well in the battle-field, as in the realms of literature and science, the conquests of peace.'

The vote of thanks was carried with applause, and Professor

Elze bowd his acknowledgment.

THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING. Friday, May 11, 1877.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The Director announced that Mr T. Alfred Spalding, LL.B., had been elected a Member of Committee.

The following Subscribers were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

A. N. Coupland. W. Burnside. F. J. Wildman-Lushington. Jas. Carmichael.

The Rev. J. W. Ebsworth then read a Paper, 'On the Songs of Shakspere.' Mr. Ebsworth said he had chosen the subject of Shakspere's songs as one that did not suggest controversy. Except the single verse in Measure for Measure, "Take, O take those lips away," and the group entitled The Passionate Pilgrim, scarcely anything had been urged in disproof of Shakspere's authorship of these songs. T. L. Beddoes, indeed, was "inclined to deny the authenticity of many smaller pieces and songs, such as that to Silvia in the Two Gentlemen of Verona. But this doubt was shown to be without good foundation. W. B. Procter's remarks were cited on the dramatic character of the lyrics. Shakspere's knowledge of the contemporary ballad literature was asserted, and several instances brought forward of his adaptation of such ditties, as well as his quotation of single lines from ballads which had been preserved. Some of these, never hitherto identified, were now shown to be referred to in Twelfth Night, &c. The songs in Hamlet were then passed in review, the Gravedigger's and Ophelia's, followed by those of Feste in Twelfth Night, of the Fool in King Lear, in As You Like It, and of Autolycus in The Winter's Tale. The different character of these jesters was touched on, as exemplified in their songs. The importance of the few songs that occur in the later tragedies was asserted, especially Iago's scraps of Bacchanalian revelry, and the Invocation and Dirge in Cymbeline. After brief mention of others, the paper concluded with remarks on the Tempest.

The thanks of the Members were unanimously voted for this Paper, and Mr Ebsworth was asked to prepare it for printing in the

Society's 'Transactions,'

Messrs Furnivall, Hetherington, and Jarvis took part in the

discussion which followed.

A Paper by Mr Furnivall was also read, 'On the Triple Endings

in the Fletcher part of Henry VIII.'

Against Mr Swinburne's assertion that there were no triple endings in the Fletcher additions to Shakspere's play, Mr Furnivall showed, not only that there were such endings, but that they were present in almost the same proportion as in the *Knight of Malta* (assigned to Fletcher alone by Mr Swinburne), probably of the same date as *Henry VIII*, 1613; and as in *The Little French Lawyer*, which Mr Swinburne had declared to be, "in style and execution throughout, perfect Fletcher." Mr Furnivall also showed that the Fletcher part of *Henry VIII*. contained his characteristic heavy eleventh, or final extra syllable, so that Mr Swinburne's argument against Mr. Spedding's assignment of part of *Henry VIII*. to Fletcher was groundless.

Mr Furnivall was thanked for the above Paper.

THIRTY-FIFTH MEETING. Friday, June 9, 1877.

Tom Taylor, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following New Members were announced:-

Rev. E. D. Stone. A. A. Burd. Prof. Lounsbury. Miss A. Grahame. Kenneth Grahame. F. J. Soldan.

The Director reported that Mr J. W. Hales had been compelled,

by other engagements, to retire from the Committee.

Prof. Hiram Corson, of the Cornell University, Ithaca, U.S.A., read a paper on Shakspere's Versification. He divided Shakspere's verse into two great classes:—1. The earlier, or recitative; 2. The later, or spontaneous, while admitting that instances of each occurred in the other. He contended that the use of ryme in a play depended

on the special tone or pitch of the play-in one like Midsummer Night's Dream ryme must needs be largely used—and was, therefore, no safe guide in the chronology of the plays. In the recitative style, the pause came, in part of Romeo and Juliet, 226 times after a light syllable, to 169 times after a complete foot; in selected passages from 1 Henry IV., 87 times in the middle of a foot, to 44 after a complete foot; and from Henry V., 50 after the middle, to 36 after the end. The best instances of the recitative style were Act I. sc. iii, of 1 Henry IV., and Vernon's speech in 1 Henry IV., IV. i. 97-110. Prof. Corson then dealt with the melody of vowels and consonants, and contended that alliteration was more frequent in the recitative than the spontaneous style. In the latter style light endings were largely found, and in late specimens of it, as in Cymbeline (Imogen's Milford speech to Pisanio), the standard measure was quite sunk in the varied measures. The use of extra end-syllables - before they had lost their dramatic worth, as in Fletcher, by their continuous use - was, as in Hamlet's great soliloquies, to give a reflective tone to speeches; sometimes, also, to strike a balance between thought and feeling; and sometimes to add positiveness to language. Prof. Corson then discussed the vocabulary of Shakspere - contrasting the Latin of Troilus and Cressida with the homelier Anglo-Saxon of Lear—and then dwelt on the effect Shakspere got by using monosyllables, of which the staccato movement subserved strong feeling, as in John's speech to Hubert, "Good friend," &c.; and also the abruptness of strong feeling, as in Falconbridge's speeches to Salisbury and Hubert. Note what effect is got by the contrast of the many- and one-syllabled words in the lines-

> "Beyond the infinite and boundless reach Of mercy, if, thou, didst, this, deed, of, death, Art, thou, damn'd, Hubert."

The thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to Prof. Corson. Messrs Tom Taylor, Furnivall, and Frank Marshall, discussed the views put forward in the Paper.

FIFTH SESSION

THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING. Friday, Oct. 12, 1877.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The following New Members were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting:—

N. P. Richardson.
W. Leighton, Junr.
G. H. Howard.
A. F. Bowie.
H. B. Horner.
Arthur Hodgson.
Wm. Geo. Black.

W. A. Turner.
T. W. Gillibrand.
C. J. Ridge.
Rev. Prof. Pulling.
G. A. Greene.
H. M. FitzGibbon.
Mitchell Lib., Glasgow.

The following recent gifts were announced:—
Mrs Richard Simpson, a donation of £2.

Mr A. P. Paton, a pamphlet on 'The Tragedy of Macbeth.'
Mr T. H. H. Caine, a pamphlet on 'Richard III., and
Macbeth.'

And it was Resolved :--

That the best thanks of the Society be returned to the respective donors.

Mr Furnivall reviewd the work of the Society and its leading members during the last year and a half, and insisted that the Society's first object, the promotion of the chronological and intelligent study of Shakspere, the bringing-out of his growth in spirit and art, had made enormous progress. He then read the following papers:—
1. By Mr P. A. Daniel, 'On the Mistakes in the late Mr Halpin's Short-Time Analysis of the Merchant of Venice,' showing that at least eight days were mentioned in the play, with one interval of, say, a week, and another of at least a few days, or maybe two months and a-half. Messrs Furnivall, Matthew, Hetherington, Gilman, Jarvis, Pagliardini, and Rose, discussed Mr Daniel's views; and Mr Rose was asked to put his remarks in writing, in order to their being printed to follow Mr Daniel's Paper. Scraps 2 were also read as under:—2. By Mr P. A. Daniel, showing that Iago's squadron in his sneer at Cassio (Othello, I. i. 22) meant a corporal's guard of 20 or 25 men. 3. By Mr W. Wilkins (Trin. Coll., Dublin), showing that Touchstone's "feature" in As You Like It, III. iii. 3, meant "facture," making (in the early English sense), composition,

verses. 4. By-Dr Brinsley Nicholson, an illustration, by a quotation of 1640, of the Tempest line, I. ii. 102, as to one telling a lie till he believed it; a quotation from George Withers's Great Assizes holden in Parnassus, 1645, a trial of Shakspere and other dramatists and poets. 1 5. By Mr Furnivall, (a) confirmation of William Herbert being possibly the "W. H." of the Sonnets, from Lord Clarendon's description of the clever plain women he (Lord Pembroke) loved, suiting Shakspere's dark mistress; and from Wm. Herbert's likeness to his mother in Lodge's Portraits. (b) A use in 1570 of the Hamlet sear (of a pistol-lock)—"whose lungs are tickle o' the sere."—This expression was capitally illustrated by Mr Hetherington, who quoted a Cumberland farmer's remark to him on a hot-tempered woman, "She's as tickle as a mouse-trap: touch the spring, and off she goes!" (c) Proof that the Duke's "forked arrows" in As You Like It were barbd and not prongd ones. (d) Illustrations of "Master" Launcelot in the Merchant of Venice (he, being one of "the rascability of the popular," claimed to be a gentleman or esquire). of Goodman Verges, &c., from Sir Thomas Smith, &c.

Dr. Grosart's tracing of a doubtful signature of the dramatist

"Johne Ford, 1641," was exhibited.

The thanks of the Members were voted to each of the Contributors, and to Mr Furnivall, as reader of the various Papers.

THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING. Friday, Nov. 9, 1877.

Tom Taylor, Esq., V. P., in the Chair.

THE following new Members were announced:-

H. Morse Stevens. P. J. Hanlon, and the Gray's Inn Library.

Mr Edward Rose read a paper on Shakspere's adaptation of *The Troublesome Reigne of King John.*² He contended that Shakspere's skill as a practical dramatist had never been really appreciated, and that yet he owed his universal fame in great measure to this quality, by virtue of which his plays still kept the stage. To prove this thorough knowledge by Shakspere of his art, Mr Rose compared the play of *King John*, act by act and scene by scene, with the anonymous play from which it was adapted by Shakspere, and showed how he had put it into practicable stage-form, compressing scenes, expanding speeches, reducing the exits and entrances to a minimum, and making the important characters stand out in bolder relief. At the same time, play-hearer and reader could not but feel the want of a strong central character in the play, which was fatal to its success on

² This Paper was afterwards accepted for Macmillan's Magazine.

¹ To be given in the Society's new edition of Ingleby's Century of Praise.

the stage, and which might, Mr Rose thought, have been overcome, had Shakspere departed boldly from the lines laid down by the original author, which, instead, he has followed with singular closeness. In the discussion which followed. Mr Tom Taylor said that the most valuable lessons which a modern dramatist could get in the representation of character on the stage were still to be drawn from Shakspere's plays. Mr Furnivall, while glad that Mr Rose had acknowledged Shakspere's one great and two smaller mistakes in King John which were not due to the old play—the failing to connect the king's poisoning with his crimes, and to account for the Bastard's hatred of Austria and opposition to Blanche's marriage suggested that Shakspere's strength, development of character, and especially the characters of the men he admired—like Falconbridge. &c., in King John—sometimes led him to sacrifice dramatic proportion to it, and accounted for the weakness of John, &c., and specially of Henry V., as acting plays. Nothing could make Henry V. "go" as a play. Mr Peter Bayne, while agreeing in this, urged that this same being swung-away by delight in a characterlike Scott with Nicol Jarvie - in other plays heightened their dramatic force as well as their charm. Mr Hetherington, Mr Rose, and others also spoke.

THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING. Friday, Dec. 14, 1877.

James Gairdner, Esq., in the Chair.

Mrs K. R. Dowd, Mrs A. C. Sanford, and Mr T. O. Harding, were reported as having joined the Society during the past month.

A paper on 'The Sources of Henry V.', by Mr W. G. Stone, was read.¹ After some brief remarks on the editions and dates of Henry V., the Globe Theatre, in which it was first acted, and the scenic difficulties involved in its representation, referred to several times in the prologues, the writer proceeded to compare the play scene by scene with corresponding passages from the reign or Henry V. in Holinshed's Chronicles. To this source it appeared that—with one or two trifling exceptions—Shakspere was indebted for the historical matter of his play. It was suggested that the episode of Ancient Pistol and the French soldier (Act IV. iv.) might have been derived from a somewhat similar scene in the Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth (Shakspere's Library, pt. 2, i. 368). The wooing scene in the Famous Victories was also compared with the similar scene in Henry V. The crux pointed out by Johnson (Variorum Shakspere, xvii. 440)—namely, that in Act IV. vii.

 $^{^{1}}$ It forms the first part of Mr Stone's Introduction to his revisd edition of $Henry\ V$, which will be issued to Members in 1879.

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Henry would seem to order his prisoners' throats to be cut againwas dealt with, and explained by a reference to the stage directions in the Folio for Act IV. sc. vi. and vii., and also to the account in Holinshed of the last phase of the battle. (The latter explanation had been previously offered by M. Mason, Variorum Shakspere, xvii. 441.) Shakspere was shown to have adhered closely to his authority. and in only two instances—the most important being the embassy of Exeter-to have altered the order of events. In the notes to this paper, which has been written as an Introduction to a revised edition of Henry V., undertaken by Mr Stone for the New Shakspere Society, the historical sources of the Chronicles, so far as Henry V.'s reign is concerned, were traced. The paper concluded with a sketch of Henry's character as delineated by Shakspere. The general summing-up of the king's character in the Chronicles was compared here. In this part of the paper Mr Stone attempted to explain and justify Henry's questionable utterances in 1 Henry IV., I. ii. 219-241. In the discussion which followd, Messrs Gairdner, Hetherington, Matthew, Rose, and Furnivall took part.

THIRTY-NINTH MEETING. Friday, Jan. 11, 1878.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE following new Members were announced:-

Rev. J. L. Carrick. Miss G. Phipson. Hy. T. Fuller. J. D. Barnett.

C. J. Dibdin.
J. D. Sears.
Rev. J. C. Hudson.
Miss Ingram.

The Hon. Sec. handed in the Income and Expenditure Sheet of the past year, as audited on the 9th inst., and it was resolved:—That the thanks of the Meeting be given to Mr Hy. B. Wheatley, and Mr Saml. Clark, Jun., two Members of the Society, for their kindness in acting as Auditors of the accounts for the past year.

A unanimous vote of thanks was also passed to the Council of University College for their courtesy in allowing the Society to

continue to hold its meetings at the College.

A paper was read by Mr T. Alfred Spalding, LLB., on 'The First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet; is there any Evidence of a Second Hand'?' The object of the paper was to controvert the arguments by which Mr Fleay has sought to show that Peele's workmanship is to be traced in the first Quarto, and also Mr Grant White's opinion that part of it was written by Greene. After producing evidence to show that the first Quarto was a pirated edition, and criticising Mr Fleay's evidence in favour of a contrary view, the

reader proceeded to deal with what Mr Fleay puts forward as the distinctive test of Peele's hand, the lines containing an extra strong syllable that does not occur after a pause, and cannot be slurred. He pointed out (1) that Peele's works contained remarkably few of these lines—not so many, in fact, as Greene's; (2) that such lines were to be found plentifully in other surreptitious Quartos, illustrations being given from the Corambis Hamlet, the 1600 Quarto of Henry V., and the 1608 Quarto of King Lear; (3) that the extra heavy syllable had no necessary place in the line, and could nearly always be removed without injuring either sense or metre. The conclusion arrived at, therefore, was that the extra heavy syllable was evidence of a surreptitiously-obtained manuscript, and was due to actors' or reporters' faults. The secondary evidence was then analysed in a similar manner, and shown to point to the same conclusion. In commenting on Mr Grant White's view, the reader pointed out the danger of basing conclusions as to style upon such a publication as the first Quarto; for, admitting, as Mr Grant White does, the piracy, what guarantee is there that the supposed un-Shaksperean passages are not the work of a reporter or editor?

A note by Mr W. Wilkins, on the 'other business' of *Tempest*, I. ii. 115, was then read. The purport of Mr Wilkins's Paper was

as follows :--

The 'business,' l. 367, was probably some bootless task intended only as a punishment, like the gathering of sticks (l. 366) when the woods were wet after the storm, and when Prospero had already abundance of fuel at his cell (Act I. 314, and Act III. i. 8). But the 'business' in line 305, which neither the monster nor Miranda was permitted to understand, was, Mr Wilkins argued, definite; and simply this: Caliban was to exhibit his physical and moral deformity to Miranda, as a foil to set off the approaching beauty and nobleness of Ferdinand. Prospero's object was twofold: first, artistic; secondly, ethical. As the Providence of the play, the magician foreordains the love-affair; but he does more: he places checks upon it, and for two reasons: first, because moral severity to all the characters is the tone of the play; and secondly, because a handfast marriage, like those in As You Like It, would be impolitic in the extreme, so long as Alonzo's approbation remained doubtful. Mr Wilkins pointed out, from the notes of time in the play, that Prospero slept, as was his custom, from about four o'clock till six; and hence felt with Friar Laurence (R. & J., Act II. vi. 36, 37), that in the situation of the lovers, elevated ethical influences would be of the utmost importance. So Ferdinand, who, as an Italian courtier had been exposed to the same influences as Iachimo, receives injunctions to respect his betrothed; and Miranda, more impulsive and unsuspecting than her countrywomen, Juliet and Desdemona, is delicately and trustfully helped in what is becoming, by the masque (Act IV. i. 87—101), and (as Mr Wilkins especially contended) by

Caliban, and the crime which cost him his liberty, being obtruded on her attention just before the appearance of the prince. In the ensuing love at first sight she takes Ferdinand for a spirit (1. 409). Thus the heightening and purifying in Miranda's eyes of the prince's beauty, beside the monster's ugliness, is, Mr Wilkins contended, the 'business' of 1. 315.

Prospero and Polonius give lessons in propriety to their daughters so differently, that we gather Shakspere's opinion as to the best way of preaching morality: namely, by example rather than by precept, by trust rather than by suspicion, and finally, by the stage (Temp., IV. i. 60, et seq.) rather than the nunnery (Hamlet, I. iii. 121, and

III. i. 44).

Mr Wilkins's view of the distinction between the two 'other businesses' was not endorsed by the Meeting, but a vote of thanks was passed to him for his paper, and to the Director for reading it.

FORTIETH MEETING. Friday, Feb. 8, 1878.

WM. CHAPPELL, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

MR WM. CHAPPELL was announced as a New Member.

The Director read a letter from Prof. Pulling on his results after having applied the speech-ending test to the early Romeo and Juliet, and the late Cymbeline. These were :-

			I	i. & J.	Cymb.
Single-line verse speeches	•••	 		135	17
Part-line ,, ,,					188
Speeches ending with end	of line	 		332	86
" in middle					391

The Paper for this evening was written and read by the Rev. J. Woodfall Ebsworth, on 'Shakspere's Knowledge and Use of Old Ballads.' First, a passage from Richard Simpson's School of Shakspere, ii. 13, was considered and rejected, because it unwarrantably asserted that the poet's career had begun as a ballad-writer, and "for seven years' space, absolute interpreter to the puppets." The object of the paper was to show Shakspere's extensive knowledge of current ballads, and the skilful employment of them, when quoted appropriately by the dramatis personæ, "because he sympathised with common minds as well as with the loftiest and purest; he loved to make acquaintance with the ballad-singer's art: he brightened as with spots of colour his sombre tragedies with bursts of song. lifted his comedies into more intense merriment by snatches of droll ballads. He gives to his creations the love of music that he held himself, suiting the individual tastes of each." This was the key-note

struck, and in detail were shown the ballads introduced or mentioned, but divided from those original songs which the poet himself wrote for his dramas. Othello, Hamlet, King Lear, the Tempest, and others passed under review, the various ballads identified being almost all quoted at full length, or full references given to where they are preserved. The scene from Twelfth Night, II. iii., and another from Winter's Tale, IV. iii., were given to show the ballad-allusions closely packed therein. A large group of "Lady, Lady, my dear Lady" ballads, and some others, such as "O the twelfth day of December!" which had long been supposed to have perished, were produced in illustration. The friendships of the poet, his connection with Marlowe, and the history of the Passionate Pilgrim, were briefly touched on, but reserved for separate consideration. Several of the ballads were sung, such as "Fortune, my Foe," "Greensleeves," "Old Sir Simon, the King."

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Ebsworth, who, at the request of the Meeting, undertook to enlarge his Paper into a

separate treatise for the Society.

The discussion on the Paper was opened by the Chairman, and continued by Mr Furnivall.

FORTY-FIRST MEETING. Friday, March 8, 1878.

FRANK A. MARSHALL, Esq., in the Chair.

MR H. COURTHOPE Bowen read a paper on As You Like It. After a few remarks on the methods we should pursue, and the object we should have, in fixing the date of a play, Mr Bowen confirmed Malone's opinion that As You Like It was written (at least in part) in 1599; he also agreed with Mr Aldis Wright that the stay of publication in 1600 was probably due to the play's being unfinished. He then sketched, partly from fact, and partly from fancy, Shakspere's external life at this time, and endeavoured by means of the play to catch a glimpse of his inner life, showing that the difference between town and country, and town-folk and country-folk, occupied his mind considerably at this period, during which we know he was establishing himself at Stratford. Mr Bowen then discussed the faults of the play as a play, pointing out several signs of haste and incompleteness. especially in the bad characters, and in the last scene. He then turned to consider the prominent characters in As You Like It, and dwelt much on the perfect skill and knowledge of human nature shown in Rosalind, Orlando, Touchstone, and Jaques. The exiled Duke he considered "an idling sentimentalist," a phrase which called out some strong protests.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Bowen for his contribution.

The discussion was opened by the Chairman, and continued by Messrs Furnivall, Hetherington, Matthew, Oswald, Rose, and Harrison, and Mr Bowen replied.

FORTY-SECOND MEETING. April 13, 1878.

HY. COURTHOPE BOWEN, Esq. (Treasurer), in the Chair.

THE New Members announced were :-

Miss Porter. Judge A. B. Bralev. Professor Brown. Mercantile Lib. of Philadelphia.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to Drs Karl Warnke and Ludwig Proescholdt for their present to the Society of their edition

of the comedy of Mucedorus.

Mr Furnivall announced that he had undertaken the superintendence of a series of Photolithographic Facsimiles by Mr W. Griggs; which he hoped would include all the First Quartos of Shakspere's Plays, and those Second Quartos which were most needed. He added that the Committee of the Society had sanctioned the series as a help to the Society's work.

The Papers read were :-

I. 'On Love's Labour's Lost,' by W. H. Pater, Esq., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose Coll., Oxford.

II. 'Some Remarks concerning the introductory Scene of the Second Part of Henry IV.,' by Prof. Hagena, of Oldenburg; with a Letter thereon by P. A. Daniel, Esq.1

III. 'On Hamlet as the greatest of Shakspere's Plays; with some attempt to determine the character of Hamlet,' by the Rev. M.

Wynell Mayow, B.D.

Mr Mayow contended that we should consider as "greatest," that which, in reference to its excellences (of all kinds), we might suppose it would take the longest time to reproduce; and he owned in his judgment, that as in point of beauty we might look for twenty Cleopatras before finding another Helen, or ten Homers, or a hundred Miltons, before another Shakspere, so we might expect to find, if Macbeth, Othello, Lear, or the Tempest could be reproduced in a thousand years, that it would take another million before we could get another Hamlet. He proceeded to give some reasons for this belief. And here he divided his points of excellence into two especial classes. 1. Conception. 2. Execution. Leaving the point of execution at present out of sight, he stated that in his judgment,

¹ These will be printed next year.

Hamlet so exceeded all other dramas in conception, as to make that Tragedy stand alone, facile princeps, among all competitors. He explained that in this respect of conception he was not thinking so much of the supernatural element in the play, as of the natural: that Hamlet himself was the wonderful creation:—wonderful, as witnessed in this, that whilst we all admitted Hamlet to be all nature, or all nature to be in Hamlet, yet no two commentators seemed to agree in what his nature was:—what were his motives, or what was the

key to his character; his action, or, if it be so, his inaction.

Mr Mayow then produced his own theory of what Hamlet's real nature was:—the almost perfection of all faculties, intellectual, moral, physical; and traced to this, and the balance of these qualities in him, his difficulty in carrying into action the command laid upon him by the Ghost. He then noticed in some detail the way in which it might be supposed a like command would have influenced many other characters; -as, Caliban, Iago, Macbeth, Laertes, Brutus, Cassius, Hotspur, Leonatus, Posthumus, Prospero, Falstoffe, Shylock, Ulysses:—and why (said the Reader) do I go through these names. and ask what they would or would not have done, but to point out from a host of examples from Shakspere himself, that there is no other man like Hamlet?—no one with the fineness of his organization. or the amount of his susceptibilities; and that he consequently saw objections, arguments, dangers, and even sins, in whatever he might do, which a blunter intellect, or a duller heart, or a less quickened feeling, or a less active conscience, would never have seen or felt at all; and thus that it was the very greatness of his faculties, and the balance of his excellencies, and the fineness of his perceptionsnot irresolution or want of nerve-which made him to be poised in

Enlarging here upon Hamlet's repugnance to the task imposed upon him, Mr Mayow examined at some length the scene in which, even after the result of the play had satisfied him of the King's guilt, finding the King at his prayers, he yet refuses to kill him, under the plea that to take him then would send him to Heaven, and so be "hire and salary, not revenge;" but, in Mr. Mayow's judgment, this dreadful reason was not the real motive of Hamlet's forbearance. That scene was only the proof that now when it came to the point, and there was no other ground at all on which to let the King escape, he had no mind to kill him; and so, in the fertility of his imagination, he immediately invented this, as a reason for deferring the execution of the task imposed. "The thought served its turn. It made and

brought a respite."

Mr Mayow next turned to the vexed question of Hamlet's madness; whether real or feigned. At greater length than we can here attempt to summarise, the Reader expressed his strong conviction that Hamlet was not mad in any degree, or upon any point. If he were, was it not fair to ask, Upon what subject was he

under any delusion? Of course, it was not to be taken as a delusion that he saw the Ghost, or heard him speak. This was a postulate of the play, as was evident from the others, Horatio, Bernardo, Marcellus, who also saw him. And this being granted, on what subject was there any delusion upon his mind? Nay, was it not manifest, that at any and every moment he could cast off his semblance of insanity, and resume his manifestly sound mind. Those four words, in one place, "Now I am alone," spoke volumes as to this. "Now I am alone!" The restraint of this shew of madness is off me; I know all I have been doing, and now I can unbend, and commune with my soul, and ask it, why I am so tardy in the work I have to do?

Mr Mayow then turned to Hamlet's scene with his mother after the acting of the play, and pointing out in considerable detail the various salient points in that dialogue, claimed the whole, (except one piece of wild rant introduced for a special purpose towards the end of the colloquy,) as a manifest proof of the sane mind, which Shakspere attributes to him.

The paper then took into consideration, Hamlet's conduct towards Ophelia, which was by many supposed to be the strongest mark of his insanity, inasmuch as it was thought there could be no other excuse for the harsh, unfeeling, and as it has been said, brutal manner in which he broke off his love-suit. In fact, (as some averred,) that the only explanation here is to set his conduct down to madness:—in short, that it is essential to his character as a gentleman, to give him up as a lunatic!

In reply, however, to this, it was pointed out, that Hamlet had at once perceived upon receiving the Ghost's mission, that all thoughts of happiness and love must be cast aside. He therefore feels it would be unjust to Ophelia to go on engaging her affections. He cannot simply withdraw, and clearly he cannot explain. His resource is to make Ophelia dislike or hate him; and in breaking his own heart, he overlooks that he breaks hers also. It was likewise pointed out, that all the main bitterness of his invective here uttered against woman, is not really pointed at Ophelia, but by inuendo and double entendre, against his mother, and her conduct who, as he tells her, had done—

"Such an act
That blurs the grace and blush of modesty;
Calls virtue, hypocrite; takes off the rose
From the fair forehead of an innocent love,
And sets a blister there."

Act III. Sc. iv.

After various further illustrations of these views, Mr Mayow summed up his remarks, and expressed his conviction that the play of *Hamlet* must be placed first and foremost among all the Works of Shakspere himself; and that in fact there is nothing equal to it in the whole range of human composition.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr Pater, Profr. Hagena, Mr Daniel, and Mr Mayow, for their respective Contributions.

The Discussion on Mr Mayow's Paper was opened by the Chairman, who dissented from some of Mr Mayow's points; as did, strongly, Mr Furnivall and Mr Hetherington. Mr Everett entirely agreed with Mr Mayow. Mr Spalding against, and Mr Rose and Miss Peto for Mr Mayow, continued the discussion, and Mr Mayow replied.

FOURTY-THIRD MEETING. Friday, May 10, 1878.

F. D. MATTHEW, Esq., in the Chair.

THE New Members announced were: Mr Hendrik Schück, and

Mr Chas. F. Jervis.

Mr Furnivall stated that the Committee had accepted the offer of the Clifton (near Bristol) "Shaksperian Reading Society" to send up a Paper by one of their Members, Mr J. W. Mills, B.A., 'On the Anachronisms of *The Winter's Tale*;' and that the Paper would probably be read at the first Meeting of the Society in October.

The Paper read was, 'On Elizabethan Demonology,' by T. A. Spalding, Esq., LL.B. The paper was an attempt to sketch out the leading features of the belief in evil spirits as it existed during the Elizabethan epoch, more especially with reference to Shakspere and his work. The paper was divided into three sections. The first dealt with the general laws that appear to have operated in creating and modifying the belief in the existence of good and evil spirits:-(1) The impossibility of Monotheism; (2) The Manichean error; and (3) The tendency to convert the gods of hostile religions into inferior, or even evil, spirits. This last tendency was traced through the Greek, Neoplatonic, Jewish, and Christian systems; with the difference in this last, that the mediæval Church in its missionary efforts compromised to a certain extent with the heathen mythologies. and identified their purer beliefs with its own. The foundation, therefore, of the diabolic hierarchy was the exploded beliefs of the heathen nations; but the more important of the Teutonic deities are not to be traced in it on account of this absorption. In the second section the actual belief of Shakspere's contemporaries was discussed under three heads:—(1) The Classification; (2) Appearance; and (3) Powers of the Evil Spirits. Under the first head the reader took occasion to point out the relation of King Lear to Dr Harsnet's Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures. Under the third head the capacity to assume various forms—human, animal, or Divine was discussed, with special reference to the transitional belief of the Reformation period on the subject of ghosts—the Conservatives believing in the return of disembodied spirits, the Reformers attributing such appearances to the machinations of the evil one-and

the manner in which the transition is reflected in Hamlet. The second power was that of possession; and the various methods of exorcism were also described. The power of causing bodily diseases and the incubus theory were also alluded to. The reader opened the third section by pointing out that the only difference between fairies and devils was the difference in degree of the evil they wrought-fairies, malicious; devils, malignant. This has an historical origin. When a nation, as in the pre-Reformation times, has unity of creed, and its attention is directed to agricultural and domestic matters chiefly, its spirits take their tone from this-become fairies. mischievous in homestead and field. When, however, the ancient creed gets exploded, and men have to encounter for themselves theological doctrines, the belief is in spirits who are scheming destruction of body and soul. But the change first occurs in the towns: the old belief hangs on much longer in country places. Hence at both ends of Shakspere's work, when he was most influenced by country life, we find fairy plays—the Dream and the Tempest; and in the middle, while his life was affected by town-thought, we get the great tragedies, in which devil-agency is so predominant. But the Tempest is not a mere return to the Dream. Shakspere's works seem to bear the impress of a mental struggle that most men have to undergo. The starting-point for this is the first stage-of hereditary belief—where a man accepts unhesitatingly what he is taught: the The second stage—when doubts arise as to the truth of the customary belief, the period of scepticism—is illustrated by the great tragedies, the leading feeling of which is that an overruling evil fate sweeps good and bad equally to destruction: that man is the toy of malignant beings. The third period—the period of intellectual belief is illustrated by the Tempest, where Shakspere, Prospero-like, teaches that man, by nobleness of word and work, by self-mastery, may overcome this evil; that his great duty is to fight out the cause of truth and right in the present; to leave peering into the sleep that rounds this little life, and make the world happier and better than he found it.

In the discussion, the Chairman, Mr Furnivall, Mr Peter Bayne, the Rev. Wynell Mayow, Mr Rose, Mr Pickersgill, and Mr Harrison joined; and Mr Spalding replied.

FOURTY-FOURTH MEETING. Friday, June 14, 1878.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

The New Members announced were—Mr E. Fitzgerald, and The Universal Library, Leipsic.

The Director reported that the Committee had this evening elected Dr Ingleby a Vice-President, and Messrs Peter Bayne and Edward Rose, Members of the Committee of the Society.

In the absence of Mr Fredk. Wedmore, his Paper—'On Caliban'—was read by Mr Bayne, and thanks were voted to the

writer and reader.

The Speakers upon this Paper were: Mr Furnivall, Mr Bayne, Dr Brinsley Nicholson, Messrs. Spalding, Hetherington, and Rose,

and the Rev. M. W. Mayow.

The second Paper read this evening was by Mr Coote, of the Map Department of the British Museum, on Shakspere's 'New Map with the augmentation of the Indies in *Twelfth Night*,' Act II, Sc. iii. (printed below, p. 88).

Mr Coote was thanked for his contribution, on which Mr Furni-

vall spoke.

A Paper by Wm. Malleson, Esq., 'On the element of Chance in the Merchant of Venice,' was also read (by Mr Furnivall) this evening, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to the writer and reader.

Dr B. Nicholson and the Rev. M. W. Mayow spoke upon the Paper.

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HENRY B. WHEATLEY. Auditors. Examined with the Vouchers and found correct, January 9th, 1878.

ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, HON. SEC.

SIXTH SESSION.

FORTY-FIFTH MEETING, Friday, October 11, 1878.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read.

The following new Members were reported to have joined the Society during the past three months:—

John Morrison. Miss Le Thière. G. J. Macy. K. Deighton.

c

After congratulating the Members on the opening of their 6th Session, at this, the 45th meeting of the Society, and the firm hold that their purpose—the chronological and rational study of Shakspere—had now got on the public mind, the Chairman read the 1st Paper, "Notes by Professor Ruskin on the word fret in Julius Cæsar, II, i. 103-4," 'yon grey lines that fret the clouds are messengers of day' (printed below, p. 409).

Mr F. D. Matthew read a Paper by Mr J. W. Mills, B.A., of Clifton, on the anachronisms in the *Winter's Tale*, dwelling chiefly on the actual classical games and life in ancient Sicily, as contrasted with the English ones described by Shakspere, and also recapitulating the details of the Medley of Puritans and Apollo, the Oracle of

Delphi and Giulio Romano, &c., so well known.

Mr Furnivall next read (1) Mr Walford D. Selby's extracts from the Lord Chamberlain's Records, giving the names of James I's fifteen players at his death, and Charles I's eight comedians on his ascending the throne, with a note showing that Shakspere, in March, 1604, had not four yards of the better searlet cloth for his robe, but only four of the common red cloth. (2) Mr W. G. Overend's results from his searches in the Record Office as to the site of "The Theatre" (Burbage's), built near Finsbury Fields in 1576-7, pulled down 1598-9, and its materials removed to Bank Side, Southwark, to build the Globe Theatre in 1599.

The thanks of the Members having been voted to the writers and readers of the respective contributions, the Meeting adjourned.

FORTY-SIXTH MEETING, Friday, November 8, 1878

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read.

The Director announced that Mr H. C. Bowen having resigned

1 Printed in the Appendix below.

N. S. Soc. Trans., 1877-9.

the Treasurership of the Society, Mr T. Alfred Spalding had this evening been appointed in his stead; and further, that Professor Storojenko, of Moscow, had been appointed one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The following list of new Members was handed in :-

Professor Storojenko.
", Kovalefsky.
Miss E. M. M. Hitchcock.
Notes and Queries Soc.,
Liverpool.

Col. C. H. Carlton, U.S. Army. Hon. Jas. H. Garfield. Lafayette College, Easton, U.S.A. Edmund Routledge.

The Paper for this evening, by Mr P. A. Daniel, was, "On the Times and Durations of the Actions of Shakspere's Plays. Part I. The Comedies" (printed below), and was read by Mr Furnivall.

Thanks were voted to the writer and reader.

Mr Rose, Dr Nicholson, Mr Knight, Mr Hetherington, and Mr Furnivall spoke with reference to different portions of the Paper.

FORTY-SEVENTH MEETING, Friday, December 13, 1878.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read.

The Earl of Pembroke and Lady Southampton were reported to

have been elected Vice-Presidents of the Society this evening.

Mr P. A. Daniel's Paper on "The Times or Durations of the Action of Shakspere's Plays," Part II. (The Tragedies) was read by the Director, who stated that Mr Daniel had promised to continue the Paper with the Histories, for printing in the Transactions, if not for reading; and the thanks of the Members were given to Mr Daniel and Mr Furnivall. (Mr Daniel's Papers are printed below.)

A letter from Mr Marshall in reference to *Hamlet* was also read. The speakers in the discussion on the Paper were Dr Nicholson, Mr Bayne, Mr Rose, Mr J. Knight, Mr Pickersgill, and the Chairman.

FORTY-EIGHTH MEETING, Friday, January 10, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting were read.

The Income and Expenditure Sheet of the Society for the year ended 31st December last, as audited on the 2nd inst., was handed in, and it was Resolved:—"That the thanks of the Society be given to Messrs. Saml. Clark and H. Smart, the members who had acted as Auditors, and to the Hon. Secretary."

The Director announced that Signor Carcano of Milan, the Italian

translator of Shakspere, had been elected a Vice-President.

The first Paper for this evening, viz.:—"On the Casket Story in the *Merchant of Venice*," by Mr Jas. Pierce, M.A., was read by Sir Philip Magnay, and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to the writer and reader respectively. The Members who spoke upon this Paper were, the Director, Mr William Mallison, Mr H. P. Stokes, Mr F. D. Matthew, Mr Peter Bayne, and Sir Philip Magnay.

The second Paper was:—"Animal versus Human Nature, in King Lear," by the Rev. J. Kirkman, M.A., to whom a vote of thanks was recorded. The Director, Miss Phipson, Miss Hickey, and Messrs Matthew, Jarvis, Bayne, Mallison, and Stokes, and the Rev. J. Kirkman spoke in reference to this Paper, which is printed below.

FORTY-NINTH MEETING, Friday, February 14, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

The Rev. J. S. Thorpe, Miss Redpath, Mr Jas. Hay, Mr Henry Sedgwick, and Miss Sandell, were the new Members announced.

The first Paper read was "On the Growth of Shakspere, as witnessed by the Characters of his Fools," by Mr J. N. Hetherington; and Mr Hetherington received the thanks of the Meeting. Members who spoke upon this paper were: The Director, Dr Nicholson, Mr A. J. Ellis, V.P., and W. E. H. Pickersgill. (Mr Hetherington's Paper was printed in the Cornhill Magazine in the autumn of 1879.)

A further Paper was read by Dr Brinsley Nicholson, "On the relation between the first Quarto (1600) and first Folio copies of Henry V."; and a vote of thanks was passed to Dr Nicholson as

writer and reader of the Paper.

FIFTIETH MEETING, Friday, March 14, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read.

The Director read a letter from Mr Robt. Browning, in reply to a renewed request to take the Presidency of the Society—such letter expressing Mr Browning's willingness to be appointed President—and it was unanimously Resolved:—"That this Meeting receives with great pleasure the announcement that Mr Browning has accepted the position of President of the New Shakspere Society."

The thanks of the Society were also voted to Mr Furnivall for

his successful conduct of this matter.

The following Members were reported to have joined the Society since the last Meeting :- Mrs Horace Jeaffreson, Mr Sidney Hering-

ton, and the St. Petersburg Shakspere Circle.

The Paper for this evening was—"Which is the next greatest of Shakspere's Plays after Hamlet?" By the Rev. M. W. Mayow, B.D.; and the thanks of the Meeting were given to Mr Mayow as writer and reader of the Paper.

The Director, Messrs Spalding, Bayne, Rose, and Tyler, and Miss

Hickey, took part in the discussion which followed the reading.

FIFTY-FIRST MEETING, Friday, April 25, 1879.

F. J. Furnivall, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read. The following new Members were announced:-

J. P. Hinds. Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford. Asher and Co. Hon. Isaac Dayton. Edwd. Denham.

Yale College. Abram E. Cutter. H. I. M. Bell. Timothy Holmes. Mrs Holmes.

The first Paper read this evening was on "Falstaff and his Satellites from the Windsor Observatory," by the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth, M.A.; and the thanks of the Meeting were unanimously given to Mr Ebsworth.

A Paper was next read by Miss E. Phipson on "The Natural History Similes in *Henry VI*." (printed below), and a vote of thanks was also passed to Miss Phipson. Discussions took place on both

Papers.

FIFTY-SECOND MEETING, Friday, May 9, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read. The following new Members were announced:-

Edwin Goadby. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips. Miss M. Robertson.

John Dunn. Miss De Vaynes.

The first Paper, by Mr Edward Rose, was "On Sudden Emotion; its effect on different characters, as shown in Shakspere;" and the thanks of the Meeting having been given to Mr Rose, remarks upon the Paper were made by the Rev. W. A. Harrison and Mr T. A. Spalding.

A Paper was then read by Mr Wyke Bayliss, suggesting, that

for the word fears in Macbeth, V. v. 9, tears should be read. The suggestion was rejected by the meeting, but thanks for the Paper were voted to Mr Bayliss.

Mr T. Tyler, M.A., also read a Paper on "Shakspere's Reconciliation with the World, as exhibited in the Plays of the Fourth and

Last Period." The following is an abridgment thereof:1-

"Characteristics of the Fourth Period.—The Plays of the Fourth Period, contrasting with the deep gloom of the Third—the great tragic period—may be regarded as characterized, not so much by a feeling of satisfaction as of hope. This difference of sentiment may be ascribed in part to the change which, at the time, had probably occurred in the poet's outer life and surroundings; in part also to the influence of those hopeful anticipations concerning the future of mankind, which in the 'Advancement of Learning' (1605), and in the 'Wisdom of the Ancients' (Latin text, 1609), Lord Bacon was beginning to publish to the world, setting forth that man may find a relief for his sorrows and sufferings by attaining a mastery over Nature, through knowledge of her laws and resources, and through the application of this knowledge to practical ends and uses, or—to employ the Baconian expression—through Art.

"Pericles.— A Baconian element may be recognized in the description of the physician Cerimon, and in the means which he employed for the restoration of the Queen (Act III. sc. i. ii.). The opinion is probably true that the portraiture of Cerimon was the germ from which the conception of Prospero in the Tempest was

afterwards developed.

"The Tempest.—In this Play the word art is used more frequently than in any other of Shakspere's Plays (11 times); and in this particular the Winter's Tale comes next (7 times). That Prospero's art symbolised the Baconian philosophy—a view maintained by Hudson 2—appears likely on various grounds. Some additional evidence may be found in the words,—'Which to you shall seem probable' (Act V. sc. i.). These words would be suitable to the effects attained by a natural philosopher, but would be wholly inapplicable to the proceedings of a sorcerer, the means employed in witchcraft being, as Bacon justly says, 'monstrous.'

"Caliban. — The idea of Caliban was probably moulded by influences proceeding from two distinct sources; — from the tales told by travellers of the savage inhabitants of America and the adiacent islands, and from the New Testament personifications of

the 'flesh,' the 'old man,' the 'natural man.' 3

1 Made by the writer of the Paper.

² 'Shakespeare's Life, Art, and Character,' vol. i. pp. 429, 430.

³ A good explanation of Caliban's incurable depravity and unteachable dulness is thus furnished, which accounts at the same time for his not being deficient in intellect (comp. Act III. sc. ii.; IV. i.).

"The theological element supplies an explanation of Caliban's intention to 'seek for grace' (Act V. sc. i.); and quite suitably Prospero seems to have had little confidence in Caliban's resolve.

"Caliban's fish-like attributes, also, are in agreement with the view just suggested. Trinculo finds Caliban lying flat on the earth, and judging by the smell—'a very ancient and fish-like smell'—mistakes him for a fish, 'a kind of—not of the newest—Poor-John' (Act II. sc. ii.). Subsequently he speaks of him as 'half a fish and half a monster' (Act III. sc. ii.); and in the last Act, Antonio declares that he is 'a plain fish, and no doubt marketable.' Antonio, however, is speaking ironically, and is alluding to the strong smell of Caliban. An illustration of Caliban's fish-like attributes may be drawn from Hamlet's calling Polonius 'a fishmonger' (Act II. sc. ii.). In the designation given to Polonius, there is a figurative allusion to the corrupt moral condition of mankind, as is pretty clearly shown by the context,—'to be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of ten thousand,' etc. In a similar manner may be explained the fish-like attributes of Caliban, the 'thing of darkness,' the 'born devil.'

"The name 'Sycorax.'—As Caliban is a transliteration of 'canibal,' so Sycorax is substantially a transliteration of 'sorcery.' 1 Mere transposition of the letters gives Sycorer. But the word has thus a masculine form; and possibly on this account, as well as to improve the sound, Sycorer was changed to Sycorax.² On this view of the name—the witch Sycorax becoming a type of the witchcraft superstition—an explanation is furnished of the difficult passage:—

'For one thing she did They would not take her life' (Act I. sc. ii.).

The words of Lord Bacon in the Second Book of the 'Advancement of Learning' may be compared: 'Howsoever the practice of such things (i. e. witchcraft, &c.), is to be condemned, yet from the speculation and consideration of them, light may be taken, not only for the discerning of the offences, but for the further disclosing of nature.' Similarly, in the First Book of the 'Advancement,' Bacon says of Alchemy: 'So assuredly the search and stir to make gold hath brought to light a great number of good and fruitful inventions and experiments, as well for the disclosing of nature as for the use of man's life.'

"The Tempest may be regarded as a kind of prophetic vision,

1 "Sorcery" is found only in *The Tempest*, and in the questionable *First Part of Henry VI*. But "sorcerer," "sorceres," occur also in *The Comedy of Errors*.

² Hebenon (Hamlet, Folio, Act I.), changed probably from hebenan (henbane), may be compared. The construction of anagrams was a somewhat favourite exercise in Shakspere's time; and small deviations from the forms obtained by transliteration were in some cases allowed. Examples may be found in Disraeli's 'Curiosities of Literature.'

predicting man's triumph, through knowledge and art, over nature, the powers of evil, and his own innate corrupt tendencies, which last

are typified by Caliban.

though, as in the other Plays of this Play is of less importance, though, as in the other Plays of this period, the happy ending contrasts with the tragic character of the previous action. The happy ending results in part from the art of Pisanio. But this art differs widely from that of Cerimon or Prospero, and possesses no Baconian character.

"The Winter's Tale.—Bacon's conception of art is, however, at once recalled by the remarkable words of Polixenes—

'This is an art Which does mend nature, change it rather; but The art itself is nature' (Act IV. sc. iii.).

The last words present a thought allied very closely to the sentiments of Bacon with regard to the mutual relations of nature and art. And it is also worthy of notice that the thought thus expressed stands in very close proximity to Perdita's floral catalogue, the similarity of some parts of which to a portion of Bacon's Essay 'Of Gardens' was pointed out by Mr Spedding, who tells us he would have suspected that Shakspere had been reading Bacon's Essay, if this particular Essay had not been absent from the earlier edition published in Shakspere's lifetime. ¹

"The Statue of Hermione (Act V. sc. iii.).—The statue, the noble work of art, which was, in fact, the living queen, may be regarded as an embodiment of the words, 'the art itself is nature,' and also as a symbol of Shakspere's reconciliation with the world,

since the art on which man's hope rests is itself nature."

The thanks of the Members having been given to Mr Tyler, the Meeting adjourned.

FIFTY-THIRD MEETING, Friday, June 13, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

Mr Thomas Tyler was announced as a new Member of the Society.

Signor Carcano, V.P., having presented the Society with a copy of his translation of Shakspere's Works, it was Resolved:—"That

^{1 &#}x27;Bacon's Works,' vol. vi. p. 486. Comp. especially, "lilies of all kinds, the flower-de-luce being one" (Shaks.), with "flower-de-lices and lilies of all natures" (Bacon). The possibility that both Shakspere and Bacon may have been indebted to a work on gardening now unknown is not, however, to be wholly disregarded.

the receipt of this gift be acknowledged with the best thanks of the Members."

The following Papers were read:

"On the Genesis of The Tempest," by the Rev. B. F. de Costa

(read by Mr Edwd. Rose).

"On the Times or Durations of the Action of Shakspere's Plays, Part III.—the Histories"—by P. A. Daniel, Esq. (printed below). The speakers upon this Paper were, the Director, Mr Rose, and the Rev. W. A. Harrison.

Notes were read on the following subjects:

"On Hebenon being Henbane," by the Rev. H. N. Ellacombe.
On "What is the Soul of Adoration" in *Henry V.*, by Mr. Sidney Herington (See Mr. Stone's edition of *Henry V.*)

Sidney Herington. (See Mr Stone's edition of Henry V.)
Scraps—"Marriage by rush-rings," &c. &c., by Mr Hart, Mr

Furnivall, and others.

The Director, Mr T. Tyler, Dr Bayne, and Mr E. Rose, spoke with reference to the various Notes. A vote of thanks of the Members was carried, to the Committee of University College for courteously allowing the Meetings of the New Shakspere Society to be held during the past year at University College.

FIFTY-FOURTH MEETING, Friday, October 17, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

Dr Ingleby's gift-book, the 'Centurie of Praise,' having been recently issued to Members, it was Resolved:—"That the best thanks of the Society be given to Dr Ingleby for his liberal present."

The Director stated, with regard to this book, that additional allusions to Shakspere would, as discovered, be issued from time to

time on fly-leaves.

He further reported that Mr Stone's *Henry V*. and Mr W. Craig's *Cymbeline* were now nearly finished, and that almost all the 'Digby Mysteries' was in type.

The following new Members were announced:

Messrs. J. J. A. Boase, Robert C. Hope, Ernest Radford, and

J. W. Thompson.

The first subject for consideration this evening was an argument by Mr J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, that the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was not written before 1596. Mr Halliwell-Phillips's little book ('Memoranda on the *Midsummer Night's Dream'*) being read by the Director, the subject was discussed by the following Members:—The Director, Dr Nicholson, Mr Jas. Knight, Mr Tyler, The Rev. W.

Harrison, and Messrs. Hetherington, F. D. Matthew, and E. Rose; but Mr Halliwell-Phillips's views were not accepted by any of the Members present.

The thanks of the Meeting were voted to him for his gift of 25

copies of his book.

A Paper was next read (by the Director), "On the Dispute between George Maller, glazier and Trainer of Players to Henry VIII., and Thomas Arthur, tailor, his pupil;" by G. H. Overend, Esq., of the Public Record Office, and Mr Rose and Dr Nicholson made remarks thereon. (This Paper is printed below.)

Thanks were voted to Mr Overend for this contribution.

Mr H. Beighton then read a Paper "On Shakspere's Immortals: or the Spirit Creations of Shakspere;" and the thanks of the Meeting were cordially tendered to him. The following is an abstract of Mr Beighton's Paper:—

THE FAIRIES; THE WITCHES; ARIEL AND CALIBAN.

BY MR HARRY BEIGHTON.

"A general view of the supernatural beings of Shakspere shows us at once two important respects in which they differ from those of almost every other poet who has ventured into the same realm of creation. In the complete dramatisation—forming as they do, in certain of the Plays, part and parcel of the action, and conversing with the human actors on equal terms—they are, as far as we know, absolutely unique; and they are little short of this also in their complete realization, by which is meant, that in their case there is no disillusion by reason of either of the two great defects which so often mar the spirit-creations of other poets, causing them to appear either mere galvanized abstractions of an attribute, or beings of like nature and passions with ourselves. Shakspere's spirits preserve the middle course, and are real at the same time that they are unhuman—they appear in some way essentially distinct and on a different footing from the human actors, yet of an equally vivid personality.

"The various spirit-creations of Shakspere are by no means on the same level. They are found chiefly in three groups of Plays of distinct character and date; and some proportion, deeper than mere harmony with the tone of the Play, would appear to be held between the three groups of supernatural beings, and the three groups of Plays among which they are found. The Fairies gambol 'in unreproved pleasures free' in A Midsummer's Night's Dream: the Play was written in the earliest and least meditative and unreflective of its author's dramatic periods: and we find the Fairies to be in nature what the Play is—beautiful, sportive, fanciful. They are the spring of their own being and happiness, untrammelled by obedience to any higher law or power. The rôle they play is strictly in keeping.

Under the guidance of Oberon, the Fairy King, they form a sort of presiding genius or providence in little over the love affairs of mortals, producing many incongruities by the way, but in the end apportioning to each—erring lover, wayward Fairy Queen, and bragging weaver—strict poetic justice and retribution. Such a system is obviously the conception of a young mind, content to revel in the beautiful creations of fancy, and not yet aroused to the sterner problems of human existence, or at least not yet attempting to solve them.

"In the second group of Plays-of which Macbeth is one-the poet's mind had been then aroused; and we find that the creations of spirit-life in that Play take a correspondingly earnest and sombre hue. In the delineation of the three Witches, no detail has been spared to show us foul deformity and grotesque horror. They are an embodiment of the mediæval belief in witchcraft, modified by some of the attributes and surroundings of classic mythology. An advance correspondent to the growth of the poet's mind is to be seen in the rôle played by the Weird Sisters as compared with that of Oberon and the Fairies. It is to be observed that the power of the former over Macbeth is definitely limited by his own nature—its natural tendencies and bias they influence and develop, but are subject to the sovereignty of the human will. They tempt and try, but they cannot make a plaything of the human mind, as do the Fairies in the earlier Play. Their power is analogous to what may be regarded as a force in actual existence in the world around us—the power of external evil answering to, and calling into play, the evil tendencies within us. There is no actual force thus corresponding to the power of Oberon over the lovers.

"In The Tempest we reach yet another level of play and of spiritcreation alike. Written towards the close of Shakspere's (dramatic) life, and just before his retirement to his native Stratford, the Tempest breathes an atmosphere of deep calm penetration and tender kindliness; but who shall fathom to its depths the significance of the supernatural element in the Play? We can but note a few of the prominent features, and feel that there is an infinity of meaning behind. And, first, we cannot help seeing that the natures of Ariel and Caliban are each in some sense the complement of the The one a bright, guileless spirit, living a gay, melodious life in sport among nature's beautiful offspring; the other a foul, abhorred monster—they seem to represent two sides of human nature: Ariel is sensuous, æsthetic, but unmoral (incapable of right and wrong); Caliban is dull, sensual, but capable of morality, though disinclined The Sprite is mere air, and has feeling and sympathies only, as it were, under protest. The Monster has a religious instinct that compels him to be ever worshipping something—be it devil, magician, or drunkard; and this, and several other traits which will readily occur to the student of the Tempest, seem to point to a potentiality

of development in Caliban that marks him off absolutely from the brute, and even from the exquisite spirit, Ariel. We note also that the rôle played by the spiritual beings has undergone a second change as we pass from Macbeth to the Tempest. Here we find the motive-power of their actions to reside no longer in their own wayward will (as in A Midsummer Night's Dream), nor in the unseen powers of evil (as in Macbeth), but in the human mind. For Ariel and his comrades are under the direct control of Prospero, to whom they bear the relation of dæmonic force or influence—the power of mind over mind—of the man of will and character over his fellows—the poet over his reader."

The speakers upon this Paper were the Director, and Messrs

Tyler and H. B. Wheatley.

FIFTY-FIFTH MEETING, Friday, November 14, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

Messrs. C. G. Clement, T. M. Lockwood, William Watson, and the Rev. J. A. Jacob, were reported to have joined the Society during the past month.

The following Papers were read this evening:-

I. "On Hebenon in *Hamlet*, I. v. 62," by Dr Brinsley Nicholson. II. "Notes" on the same subject, by Mr Frank Marshall.

The Rev. J. Kirkman spoke upon these Papers, and Dr Nicholson replied.

III. "Shylock defended; Portia questioned," by a Lady (Mrs

Boole, who also read the Paper).

The speakers hereon were the Director, Dr P. Bayne, Mr F. Marshall, Mr Hetherington, and Mr Rose.

IV. "Essex is not the Turtle-dove of Shakspere's Phœnix and

Turtle," by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. (printed below).

V. "On Professor Ingram's Speech-ending Test applied to 20 of Shakspere's Plays," by F. Pulling, Esq., M.A. (printed below).

VI. On "Puck's 'Swifter than the Moon's Sphere,' and Shakspere's Astronomy," by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. (printed below).

Mr Hetherington contributed some quotations from Bacon, and one from Milton.

Mr T. Holmes, Dr Nicholson, and Mr Hetherington, stated their views on these contributions.

At the end of each Paper the thanks of the Members were voted to its writer.

FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING, Friday, December 12, 1879.

F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of last Meeting were read.

Mr C. B. Cowper-Coles was reported as having joined the Society since the last Meeting.

The Director announced that Mr J. Newby Hetherington had been elected a Member of Committee from January next, in place of Dr G. H. Kingsley.

The Papers for this evening were:

I. "On the evidence that Shakspere was, in *Troilus and Cressida*, rewriting an old Play," by J. W. Mills, Esq., B.A.; and the thanks of the Meeting were voted to Mr Mills, and to Mr Furnivall for reading the Paper.

Messrs. Furnivall, Hetherington, Knight, Rose, Dr Nicholson, and Mr Tyler, expressed their views on the various points raised by

Mr Mills.

II. "Are the Philosophizings of Achilles in *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 75—111, and of Aufidius in *Coriolanus*, IV. vi. 37—55, mistakes in Characterization on Shakspere's part?" by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. The answer returned was 'No.'

Dr B. Nicholson, Mr Hetherington, and the Rev. W. A.

Harrison, spoke upon this Paper.

A Note on Hebenon was also contributed by Mr Tyler.

Note to Music of the Spheres, p. 431. (Sent by MISS E. PHIPSON.)

Auditus. Are you then deaf? Do you not yet perceive

The wondrous sound the heavenly orbs do make

With their continual motion? Hark, hark! O honey sweet!

Communis Sensus. What tune do they play?

Aud. Why such a tune as never was, nor ever shall be heard.

Mark now! Now, mark, now, now!

Phantastes. List, list, list!

Aud. Hark! O sweet, sweet, sweet!

Phant. List! how my heart envies my happy ears!

Hist! by the gold-strung harp of Apollo, I hear the celestial music of the spheres

As plainly as ever Pythagoras did.

O most excellent diapason! good, good.

It plays Fortune my foe, as distinctly as may be.

Com. Sen. As the fool thinketh, so the bell clinketh. I protest, I hear no more than a post.... Memory, do you hear this harmony of the spheres?

Mem. Not now, my Lord; but I remember about some four thousand years ago, when the sky was first made, we heard very perfectly.

Com. Sen. How comes it we cannot hear it now?

Mem. Our ears are so well acquainted with the sound, that we never mark it. 1607. Anthony Brewer, Lingua, iii. 7. Hazlitt's Didsley, ix. 407-9.

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Examined with the vouchers and found correct, January 8, 1880. HENRY B. WHEATLEY. AUDITORS.

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CORRECTIONS FOR NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS, 1875-6, PART II.

p. 208, line 20, for "is not (like" read "is (not like" [or perhaps better—"is (unlike"], and in next line, 21, for "but" read "and"

p. 209, lines 23-4, for "in which they would have chosen the terrible caskets amiss." read "in which they would have had to be represented as hesitating about their choice of the caskets, and as finally deciding not to run the risk of a choice." Or something to this effect.

p. 212, last line but one, for "then" read "they"

p. 214, line 29, for "soldiers" read "soldier and Ross"; line 30, for "battle" read "the battles"; line 31, for "this battle-scene itself" read "these battles-scenes"

p. 217, line 4, for "Cordelia's hanging herself" read "the hanging of Cordelia"; line 19, for "to the new King of Denmark" read either "from the new King of Denmark" or "to the old King of Norway"

p. 218, line 13, for "from France" read "for France."

P. A. DANIEL.



I. THE DIVISION INTO ACTS OF HAMLET.

BY EDWARD ROSE, ESQ.

(Read at the 31st Meeting of the Society, Friday, Feb. 9, 1877.)

It is a little odd that with the minute study which has been given to almost every line of the play of Hamlet—after the way in which all the emendations of every editor have been re-emended by his successor—this one branch of the subject has been left entirely untouched. Though Johnson says that "the play is printed in the old editions without any separation of the Acts: the division is modern and arbitrary; and is here "—after Act III.—"not very happy, for the pause is made at a time when there is more continuity of action than in almost any other of the scenes," yet he does not attempt to suggest any happier arrangement; nor, so far as I know, does any later critic. Mr Frank Marshall, indeed, says that the Act-drop ought to fall after the soliloquy "How all occasions do inform against me;" but this is only in a suggestion that the play should, for stage purposes, be divided into six Acts.

The earliest edition in which Hamlet is divided into acts is, I believe, the Quarto of 1676: in the 1623 Folio, the division runs as far as Sc. ii. Act II.; in the earlier Quartos there is no division at all. That, however, this 1676 arrangement was correct, having come down by stage tradition from Shakspere himself, there would be no reason to doubt, were it not for the unquestionable mistake pointed out by Johnson—the break between Acts III. and IV. certainly occurs in the middle of a scene: Hamlet drags off the body of Polonius, leaving the Queen with a final 'Good-night, mother;' and to her enters the King, who says at once—

[&]quot;There's matters in these sighs, these profound heaves—
You must translate: 'tis fit we understand them. Where is
your son?

N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

QUEEN. Ah, my good lord, what have I seen to-night! King. What, Gertrude! How does Hamlet? QUEEN. Mad as the seas and wind, when both contend,"

and so forth. (I quote the first Folio.)

This must be wrong. Moreover, the present arrangement of the play makes the 4th Act chaotic in the matter of time, and is faulty in other ways which I will point out. So glaring an error I think proves Johnson right in denouncing the division as arbitrary, and allows us to assume that we do not know how Shakspere himself arranged the play—and to try, from internal evidence only, to find out.

But, first of all, I must say a little of Shakspere's method of constructing his Acts; his theory of dramatic construction is a grand question still to be gone into, for which I have not yet time; but my impressions about his Acts I must state, very briefly and generally.

This seems to me his method of constructing a tragedy, as a whole. He begins with an Act of tremendous grasp—a whole play, one might almost call it—in which he sets before you the entire position from which his story arises; the characters, with their relations to each other, their previous history and present conduct, fully set out. (See Hamlet itself, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello.) Then comes an Act of slighter nature, which may be said to show the first working of the causes given in Act I. In Act III. is the grand dramatic culmination—the one most striking scene of the play. (As in Hamlet, however you arrange it, in Lear, Othello, Coriolanus, and perhaps Macbeth.) In Act IV. the threads are gathered together for the final catastrophe; which comes in the last Act, short and bustling, filled with a constant succession of incidents—generally fights; always, of course, deaths.

And each of these Acts is a complete whole: it leaves no bits of the portion of the story it has to tell straggling into other Acts. Shakspere does not break off at a point like modern dramatists, but rounds off his Acts, like nature. In the *Merchant of Venice*, for example, the trial scene is immediately followed by that in which Portia obtains the ring: completing thus the morning's incidents, and leaving those of the evening for Act V. A change of locality,

too, I imagine, generally coincides with the beginning of an Act; but into this I have not had time to go.

As examples of my theory, I had sketched the construction of Macbeth, Othello, and King Lear, and adduced Coriolanus as another example; but I think I may as well pass at once to Hamlet itself, whose First Act is so admirable an example of my theory that we may surely assume that Acts II., III., and IV. will bear it out, especially as Act V., whose received beginning is no doubt the right one, most certainly does, with its quick and varied incidents: the grave-diggers, Hamlet's return, Ophelia's burial, the fight in the grave, Hamlet's story to Horatio, Osric, the fencing, the deaths, and Fortinbras. It is such a perfect acting Act as it stands, that we may be sure it would be wrong to alter it: the only other possible beginning for it is where the letters come to Horatio from Hamlet, and this has many disadvantages, especially the great length it gives to the last Act—and Shakspere's tragic fifth Acts are always short.

For even in actual length in representation, Shakspere always observed a certain proportion—in his masterpieces of tragedy at all events. I have made a little table of the length of the Acts in his tragedies—stated, as the easiest way, in columns of the Globe edition—and I found so much regularity that I concluded the two exceptions—Antony and Cleopatra and Timon of Athens—could not have been divided by Shakspere; and on referring to the First Folio I found I was right. Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet I knew before I began were not divided in the Folio; and the other plays left without division into Acts are Troilus and Cressida, and the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.

The proportions of the Acts I will not now go into, beyond saying that the first is nearly always the longest, the third generally stands next it, and the last is almost invariably shortest; all I want to point out is that the Acts are always pretty well balanced throughout—that in the five great tragedies on which we can rely, there is never one Act of a play double the length of another—only once one half as long again—and that of two consecutive Acts there is only one instance in which one is half as long again as the other.

¹ King Lear, Macbeth, Othello, Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar.

These facts do not tell against the present arrangement of *Hamlet*—which indeed seems more of an attempt to cut the play into five pretty equal portions than anything else—but they may prevent us from accepting incorrect emendations; and will thus, I think, materially help us to the right one.

What we want to do is to find out where Shakspere concluded the 2nd and 3rd Acts; the end of the 1st we know, and the accepted conclusion of the 4th is, as I have said, decidedly the best. The end of Act III. is the only one which we absolutely know to be wrong; but if we alter it I think we shall be obliged to alter the end of Act II. also.

I have tried to show Shakspere's theory of the construction of Acts; if we remember this, and remember also that he was a practical dramatist and tried to arrange a play so that an audience might really enjoy it, we shall have something to go upon in reconstructing the three middle Acts of *Hamlet*. Also we must try to get the play chronologically into better shape.

First, let me point out that there are, I think, only two possible ends for the second Act, and five for the third—not including its present quite impossible termination. The second Act may end, as usual, with the soliloquy—"wherewith I'll catch the conscience of the King;" or after the next scene, the present III. i., at the line "madness in great ones must not unwatched go."

The third Act might possibly end with Hamlet's soliloquy after the play-scene—concluding, "to give them seals, never, my soul, consent" (the present III. ii.): or when the King, after his prayer, goes out with the line, "words without thoughts never to heaven go" (the present III. iii.): or with his speech, after the closet-scene, ending, "O come away, My soul is full of discord and dismay" (the present IV. i.): or, two scenes further on, with, "Howe'er my haps, my joys were ne'er begun" (the present IV. iii.): or, finally, at the end of the soliloquy, "How all occasions do inform against me" (the present IV. iv.).

Before considering the more probable of these emendations, I think we may clear two out of the way as untenable. If Act III. ended with "to give them seals, never, my soul, consent" (the

present III. ii.), or even with "words without thoughts never to heaven go" (the present III. iii.), Act IV. would be an enormous straggling mass, without unity of any kind, containing Polonius's death and burial, Hamlet's banishment to England, his return to the shore of Denmark, Laertes' return, and Ophelia's madness and death. This would certainly be worse than ending the 3rd Act with, "My soul is full of discord and dismay" (the present IV. i.), which is simply what one might call a possible version of the impossible accepted arrangement.

Perhaps the simplest way now will be to take the arrangement, which seems to me the best, from Shakspere's point of view, and show what there is to be said in favour of it, and what against; and then give the objections to the five other possible permutations and combinations of these Acts.

Well, the most likely division seems to me to be at the line "madness in great ones must not unwatched go" (the present III. i.), for the second Act, and at "howe'er my haps, my joys were ne'er begun" (the present IV. iii.), for the third. By this arrangement the scene with Ophelia ends Act III.; and Act III., beginning with the advice to the players, takes in the play-scene, the closet-scene, and Hamlet's interview with the king, which ends "For England!"—in fact, all the events of one night.

Surely such an arrangement is thoroughly Shaksperian; each Act has its unity—the first is filled by the Ghost, the second by Hamlet's assumed madness and the king's attempts to fathom it, the third by the doings of one tremendous night, the fourth contains miscellaneous intermediate incidents, and the fifth ends all things.

That the second Act is incomplete without the Ophelia scene is, I think, evident, when we compare it with all other Acts in Shakspere's tragedies: there is not one anything like so devoid of incident as this Act, if it ends with the soliloquy—an ending, besides, not at all like Shakspere: he does not work up to a point and break off. The setting Ophelia to test Hamlet's madness is the complement of the mission of Rosencranz and Guildenstern, and, as I have said, gives the Act its unity of purpose. I may add that this arrangement gives a very fine point to the 'To be or not to be'

soliloquy—it brings vividly before us the short duration of the temporary energy into which he lashed himself in the preceding soliloquy, and the reaction which makes him hopeless, half-resolved to cut the knot of his difficulties by self-murder. It also obviates the former unpleasant necessity of bringing him on in very good spirits, giving a little lecture on the drama, so quickly after his scene with Ophelia. I think also that this advice to the players makes a light and pleasant beginning to an Act—a preface not strictly necessary, like the two grave-diggers' talk in Act V., and the clown in Act III. of Othello. Altogether, I may say that this addition makes Act II. a better Act, besides making Act III., as I hope to show, much better. Indeed, if we add two scenes to Act III., as I propose, we really must shorten it by giving this one to Act II.

For Act III. is too long as it stands; I am sure any one who has seen it on the stage—at the Lyceum, for example—must have felt that the strain on one's interest was too great—I used always to feel worn out before the end of the closet-scene. One had gone through the scene with Ophelia, the play-scene, and the 'Now could I do it pat' scene, and one really wanted a rest. But if, as I have proposed, the Act began with the play-scene, one would come to that perfectly fresh, and the excitement, hurrying on through the King's prayer, would carry one well to the end of the closet-scene, as it stands at present; and the rest of the Act, being sharp and bustling—Hamlet rushing in with 'Safely stowed' and quickly out again, his half-hysterical satire with Rosencranz and the King—would take one easily, without any more deep tragic incident, to the picturesque ending of the Act, and of the night, 'For England!'

I think there is such a continuity of feeling here—of late-atnight feverish excitement—and so entire a change to the relapse of next day in the following scene ("How all occasions do inform against me"), that it is a very strong argument, in itself, in favour of the Act ending here.

For the stage, then, I hope I have shown that my Acts II. and III. are better than the ordinary ones; and Act IV. is improved in this respect at least, that Ophelia's madness does not come at the

very beginning of the Act: I think any stage-manager would say that something should precede so strong a scene, to get the audience settled down and prepared. Chronologically, too, this arrangement is better than any other, except that which would conclude Act III. with 'How all occasions,' &c. (the present IV. iv.), and I think chronology is the only thing in favour of that division: the disproportion in the length of the Acts is far greater adopting it, the Fortinbras scene is much less in the spirit of Act III. than of Act IV., and the placing it in Act III. gives an entire Act in which the hero is absent—a thing without example in Shaksperian tragedy ': while giving him a short scene to open it is exactly paralleled in Macbeth, Act IV.

Certainly, the gap of four or five days—I do not think we need suppose it longer—is awkward; but there are precedents in Shakspere (as in Act IV. of Lear, and the same Act of Macbeth), and we have avoided the gap of twelve hours before the entry of Fortinbras. Besides, we have seen Hamlet started on his journey ²—perhaps even at the seashore—and a good deal happens (Ophelia's two mad scenes, the return of Laertes, the revolt, &c.) before the sailors announce that, after a voyage of about three days, Hamlet is again on shore. It must be remembered that this part of the story is very elaborate, and full of incidents almost better suited, one would think, for a novel than a play; and it was perhaps impossible to compress them into a form as neat and compact as that of Othello or Macbeth.

At all events, this arrangement obviates the gap before as well as after the Fortinbras Scene, which is in the play as it stands. It gives—to recapitulate its advantages—a unity to each Act, now lacking; it is therefore, if my theory be right, more Shaksperian; and it is better for stage purposes, which is, I think, a strong argument that it is his. Finally, it makes the balance of the Acts, in incident and even in actual length, more like that of Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, Coriolanus, and Julius Casar—the five tragedies of which we know that we have Shakspere's own arrangements.

¹ Romeo does not appear in Act IV.; but we do not, as I have said, know the original arrangement of the play.

² Copenhagen is of course a port.

I am afraid I have not expressed myself as clearly as I could have wished, but I only want by these rough notes to start a subject, the thorough discussion of which may throw light on one side at least of Shakspere's genius, his knowledge of the laws of dramatic effect, and his theory of dramatic construction; and may show him to have been as great in practical and conscious knowledge of his art, as in inspired poetry and profound philosophy.

APPENDIX.

LENGTH OF THE ACTS IN SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS (expressed in columns of the Globe Edition).

(Total in 37 plays.)	364	372	379	382	332	
King Lear	17	12	11	14	9	
Othello	13	12	14	12	10	
Macbeth	10	7	9	10	8	
Coriolanus	16	13	13	13	12	
Julius Cæsar	10	10	11	8	7	
Titus Andronicus	9	10	7	10	10	
*Hamlet	16	12	16	12	13	
*Romeo	11	12	15	8	8	
*Antony	10	15	16	13	9	
*Troilus	14	10	12	13	13	
*Timon	11	5	10	12	5	
Cymbeline	14	9	14	11	16	
Pericles	9	10	6	11	10	
K. John	5	10	11	11	10	
Richard II.	11	12	11	6	11	
1 Henry IV.	11	15	11	7	9	
2 Henry IV.	11	14	7.	16	10	
Henry V.	7	10	12	18	9	
1 Henry VI.	12	9	9	10	8	
*2 Henry VI.	12	10	15	15	7	
*3 Henry VI.	11	13	11	12	10	
Richard III.	20	8	16	17	9	
Henry VIII.	14	13	12	7	12	
Tempest	11	9	7	5	6.	
As Like It	10	10	12	7	8	
12th Night	10	10	12	4	7 /	
Much Ado	7	11	10	7	11	

^{*} Not divided into Acts in First Folio.

Merchant Venice	8	12	11	8	6
Merry Wives	10	10	12	10	6
Midsummer N.	6	7	12	5	8
Measure for M.	7	13 .	9	10	10
All's Well	10	13	9	11	8
Winter's Tale	9	9	7	18	10
2 Gentlemen	, 7	11	8	8	5
Love's Labour	. 8	5	3	13	20
Taming Shrew	9	7	6	13	7
Comedy Errors	4	6	6	9	8

In examining the principle on which Shakspere divided his Acts, I have gone rapidly through most of his plays; but his construction of comedy is a question to which I have not yet been able to give any thought. It seems to me that his purest comedies—e. g. As You Like It and Twelfth Night—can hardly be said to have any climax: on the other hand, the Merry Wives of Windsor certainly has one—in Act V.

I think I can see a method and a completeness in the Acts of Macbeth, Othello, Lear, Coriolanus, Julius Ciesar, John (noteworthy, because this is an adaptation, and the original does not show similar completeness), Richard II, Henry V, Henry VIII, Merchant of Venice, Winter's Tale, Tempest, Midsummer Night's Dream, Measure for Measure, Cymbeline, and Pericles.

In Twelfth Night, also, I think the principle of division is fairly evident; and certainly in Much Ado about Nothing, except with regard to the break between Acts II. and III. Into these, however, I have hardly gone. I fancy, too, that All's Well that Ends Well will be found to be divided on the principle I have mentioned.

In a hasty survey, I have failed to find any particular reason for the division of As You Like It, The Merry Wives of Windsor, and Richard III.

Hamlet, Romeo, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon, Troilus and Cressida, and the 1st and 2nd Parts of Henry VI, are not divided in the First Folio.

I have not had time to examine the 3rd Part of Henry VI, Henry IV, Love's Labour Lost, Comedy of Errors, Taming of the Shrew, the Two Gentlemen of Verona, or Titus Andronicus.

THE ACTS OF HAMLET: THEIR LENGTH, EXPRESSED IN COLUMNS OF THE GLOBE EDITION.

				1	2	3	4	5
1. Ordi				16	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$16\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	13
2. Seco	nd Act	endin	g 'unwatched go'		_	-		
Thir	d "	,,	'joys ne'er begun'	16	16	16	91	13
3. Seco	nd "	,,	'unwatched go'				_	
Thir		"	'be nothing worth'	16	16	17	81	13
4. Seco	nd "	,,	'conscience of the king'				24	
Thir		"	'never, my soul, consent'	16	$12\frac{1}{2}$	11	18	13
or,	"	"	'never to heaven go'	16	123	121	$16\frac{1}{2}$	13
Seco	nd ,,	22	'conscience of the king'			2	4	
Thir	d "	"	'Joys ne'er begun'	16	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$19\frac{1}{2}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$	13

DISCUSSION. .

MR FURNIVALI.:—We are all grateful to Mr Rose, I am sure, for calling our attention again to Johnson's pointing-out of the blemish in the division of Act III. from Act IV. of *Hamlet*. We shall all agree, I apprehend, that the dividing line must be moved from where it is, and to the end of Act IV. scene iii., tho' that does shorten Act IV. so much. But I trust that Mr Rose's proposal to move the end of Act II. to that of the present Act III. scene i., will find no backers in this room, or our Society, for it would bring the long soliloquy "To be or not to be" (36 lines) within 55 lines of the end of the still longer soliloquy, "Oh what a rogue and peasant slave am I!" which is 58 lines. This would be a mistake, not only in art, but also in stage management, that I cannot believe Shakspere would have been guilty of in 1603: 58 lines of soliloquy, 55 of dialogue, and then 36 of soliloquy again, is not business. I therefore support the present end of Act II. as its right one.

breach, infraction, violation. Henry V, IV. i. 179.

infect, v. t. corrupt, poison. Tempest, I. ii. 208. "But when wee will not weigh his promised mercies, nor giue our heartes leaue to thinke of his threatened iudgementes, but headlong in vnfeelingnesse¹ runne on, and in blinde ignoraunce imagine, that our intentes, if they bee good, must needes stoppe Gods mouth and make him contented with the breache of his will, this, this is the poyson of ye whore of Babylon that infecteth our soules to eternall damnation and wrathe." 1588.—Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 113, 114. (See 'breach of this commandement,' p. 123.)

¹ Cf. 'dull, unfeeling, barren ignorance.'—Rich. II, I. iii. 163.

II.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE ACTS IN LEAR, MUCH ADO, AND TWELFTH NIGHT.

BY JAMES SPEDDING, ESQ., M.A., HONORARY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ETC., ETC.

(Read at the 33rd Meeting of the Society, April 13, 1877.)

The error in the division of the Acts in Hamlet which, though pointed out long ago by Dr Johnson, has been allowed to rest undisturbed till now that Mr Rose has called attention to it, reminds me of similar errors in some other plays, which I pointed out myself, many years ago, in letters to the editor of The Gentleman's Magazine. The first appeared in May, 1850, and was followed by two others; but they will be as new, probably, to Shaksperian students of the present day as if they had never been in print: for the question at issue has never attracted the attention which it seems to me to deserve.

Every one who has studied the art of composition in any department, knows how much depends upon the skilful distribution of those stages or halting-places which, whether indicated by books, cantos, chapters, or paragraphs, do in effect mark the completion of one period and the commencement of another, and warn the reader at what point he should pause to recover an entire impression of what has gone before and to prepare his expectation for what is coming. It is this which enables him to see the parts in their due subordination to the whole, and to watch the development of the piece from the point of view at which the writer intended him to stand. Now, in an acted play, the intervals between the Acts form such decided interruptions to the progress of the story, and divide it into periods so very strongly marked, that a writer who has any feeling of his art will of course use them for the purpose of regulating the development

of his plot and guiding the imagination of the spectator; and if he does so use them, it is manifest that these intervals cannot be shifted from one place to another without materially altering the effect of the piece.

That Shakspere was too much of an artist to neglect this source of artistic effect, will hardly be disputed now-a-days. Easy as he seems to have been as to the fate of his works after he had cast them on the waters, it is certain that while he had them in hand he treated them as works of art, and was by no means indifferent to their merits in that kind. Far from being satisfied with elaborating his great scenes and striking situations, he was curiously careful and skilful in the arts of preparation and transition, and everything which conduces to the harmonious development of the whole piece. If any one doubts this, let him only mark the passages which are usually omitted in the acting, and ask himself why those passages were introduced. He will always find that there was some good reason for it. And if the proper distribution of the pauses between the Acts forms no unimportant part of the design of a play, it is no unimportant part of an editor's duty to recover, if he can, the distribution originally designed by the writer.

It will be thought, perhaps,—indeed it will be everybody's first thought,—that the editors of the Folio have in this respect left their successors nothing to do. Themselves Shakspere's fellow-players, familiar with all the practices and traditions of the theatre, and in possession of the original copies, they have set forth all the divisions of Act and Scene in the most conspicuous manner; and what more, it will be asked, can any editor want? My answer is, that we want to know whether these are the divisions designed by Shakspere in his ideal theatre,—for though he wrote his plays for the stage, we are not to suppose that he confined his imagination within the material limits of the Globe on the Bankside, -or only those which were adopted in the actual representation. Audiences are not critics; and it is with a view to their entertainment, together with the capacities and convenience of the actors, that stage-managers have to make their arrangements. We see that in our own times, not only old plays when revived undergo many alterations, but a new play written for

the modern stage is seldom brought out altogether in the shape in which its author designed it, -nor often, probably, without changes which do not appear to him to be for the better. We may easily suppose, therefore, that Shakspere's plays, even when first produced, had to sacrifice something of their ideal perfection to necessities of the stage, tastes of the million, or considerations of business. this is not all. How far the old Folio gives them as they were when first produced, is a question which I suppose nobody can answer. Many of them had been acted many times to many different audiences. Now in these days we find that when a play is once well known, and its reputation established, people commonly go to see the famous scenes, and care little in what order they are presented, or how much is left out of what must have been necessary at first to explain them to the understanding, or to prepare the imagination for them. They treat the play as we treat a familiar book; where we turn at once to our favourite passages, omitting the explanatory and introductory parts, the effect of which we already know. I see no reason for suspecting that it was otherwise in the time of Shakspere; and if it was not, a popular play would soon come to be presented in the shape in which it was found to be easiest for the actors or most attractive to the audience, without much consideration for the integrity of the poet's idea. In this manner the original divisions of the Acts may easily have been forgotten before 1623; and those which we find in the first Folio may represent nothing more than the current practice of the theatre or the judgment of the editors; for neither of which it has been usual to hold Shakspere responsible. The critics of the 18th century used to account for every passage which they thought unworthy of him as an interpolation by the players; and in this latter half of the 19th, we have gone much further in the same direction; handing over entire Acts and half plays to other dramatists of the time, with a boldness which makes the suggestion of a misplaced inter-Act seem a very small matter, and the authority of the editors of the Folio an objection hardly worth considering.

But if the evidence of the Folio on this point is not to be regarded as conclusive, we must fall back upon the marginal directions, which, supposing them to be Shakspere's own (as they probably are, for the original manuscript must have contained such directions, the action being unintelligible without them, and who else could have supplied them?), contain all the information with regard to the stage arrangements which he has himself left us. These marginal directions, as we find them in the earliest copies, are generally clear and careful-better, I think, in most cases, than those which later editors have substituted for them—but unfortunately they tell us nothing at all as to the point now in question. That every play was to be in five Acts appears to have been taken as a matter of course, but there is no indication of them in the earliest copies. Among Shakspere's plays that were printed during his life, there is not one, I believe, in which the Acts are divided. Even among those printed in 1623,-in which the divisions were introduced, and the first page always begins with actus primus, scæna prima,—there are still four in which they are not marked at all, and a fifth in which they are not carried beyond the second scene of the second Act. And as it seems very unlikely that either printers or transcribers would omit such divisions if they appeared on the face of the manuscript, I conclude that it was not Shakspere's habit to mark the end of each Act as he went on, but to leave the distribution for final settlement when arrangements were making for the performance, and when, having the whole composition before him, he could better see what there was to divide. In that case the end of each Act would be entered in the prompter's copy, the original MS. remaining as it was, and so finding its way by legitimate or illegitimate channels to the printer. By the dialogue and the marginal directions together, as exhibited in the printed copy, we can follow the development of the action, and determine for ourselves where the periods and resting-places should naturally come in; and where these are palpably incompatible with the division of the Acts in the Folio, we may reasonably conclude that it represents, not the original design, but the last edition of the prompter's copy.

How little the Folio can be relied on as an *authority* in this matter may be shown by a single example, which is itself conclusive. In *King Henry V* the changes of scene, time, and circumstance are so large and sudden, that Shakspere found it expedient to prepare

his audience for them by introducing a Chorus before each Act to explain the case. Here, therefore, we have a play divided into Acts by himself. But how does it appear in the Folio? The division between the first and second Acts has been overlooked, and Actus primus includes both. Actus secundus, beginning with the second Chorus, takes the place of the third Act, and Actus tertius of the fourth. But here the printer seems to have observed that something must be wrong. There was only one more Chorus, and yet he was still in the third Act. If the last Act was to be Actus quintus, what was to become of Actus quartus? Quintus could not follow tertius; and for a play to end with the fourth Act was against all rule. To preserve symmetry, he simply inserted Actus quartus between the two, at the end of the nearest scene which left the stage empty; though a more unsuitable place for an inter-Act could hardly have been found.

I attribute this device to the printer rather than the editors, because an editor, if he had observed the difficulty, could hardly have failed to discover the cause, and make the proper corrections; whereas, if the previous sheet had been already worked off, it would be too late for the printer to do so. But however that may be, the fact remains that in the play in which Shakspere's own division of the Acts was most clearly defined and most important to be observed, the Folio of 1623 has misplaced two out of the five.

In this instance the errors were so glaring and the correction so obvious, that succeeding editors have silently removed them all. But defects of the kind are in most cases more readily perceived in the acting than in reading, and it was in witnessing the performance of *King Lear* at Covent Garden, when it was so finely brought out by Macready, that I first felt the difficulty of which the following paper contains the explanation and the solution.

[&]quot;On an Error in the Modern Editions of King Lear.

[&]quot;Suspicious as I am of all criticisms which suppose a want of art in Shakspere, I could not but think that there are faults in King Lear. I could not but think that in the two last Acts the

interest is not well sustained; that Lear's passion rises to its full height too early, and his decay is too long drawn out. I saw that in Shakspere's other tragedies we are never called on to sympathize long with fortunes which are desperate. As soon as all hope for the hero is over the general end follows rapidly. The interest rises through the first four Acts towards some great crisis; in the fifth it pauses for a moment, crests, and breaks; then falls away in a few short sad scenes, like the sigh of a spent wave. But it was not so in Lear. The passion seemed to be at its height, and hope to be over, in the third Act. After that, his prospects are too forlorn to sustain an interest sufficiently animating; the sympathy which attends him too dreary and depressing to occupy the mind properly for half the play. I felt the want of some coming event, some crisis of expectation, the hope or dread of some approaching catastrophe, on the turn of which his fortunes were yet to depend. There was plenty of action and incident, but nothing which seemed to connect itself sufficiently with him. The fate of Edgar and Edmund was not interesting enough; it seemed a separate thing, almost an intrusion upon the proper business of the piece: I cared only about the fate of Lear.

"But, though this seemed to be a great defect, I was aware that the error might be in me; I might have caught the play in a wrong aspect, and I waited in the hope of finding some new point of view round which the action would revolve more harmoniously. In the mean time there was another defect, of less moment as I then thought, but so striking that I could not be mistaken in pronouncing it indefensible upon any just principle of criticism. This was the battle in the fifth Act: a most momentous battle, yet so carelessly hurried over that it comes to nothing, leaves no impression on the imagination, shocks the sense of probability, and by its own unimpressiveness makes everything seem insignificant that has reference to it. It is a mere blank, and though we are told that a battle has been fought and lost, the mind refuses to take in the idea. How peculiarly important it was to avoid such a defect in this particular instance I had not then observed; I was struck only with the harshness, unexampled in Shakspere, of the effect upon the eye of a

spectator. In other cases a few skilful touches bring the whole battle before us—a few rapid shiftings from one part of the field to another, a few hurried greetings of friend or foe, a few short passages of struggle, pursuit, or escape, give us token of the conflict which is raging on all sides; and, when the hero falls, we feel that his army is defeated. A page or two does it; but it is done. As a contrast with all other battles in Shakspere, observe that of which I am speaking. Here is the whole Scene as it stands in the modern editions.

'SCENE II.

A field between the two camps. Alarum within. Enter with drum and colours Lear, Cordelia, and their forces; and exeunt.

Enter Edgar and Gloster.

Edg. Here, father, take the shadow of this tree For your good host; pray that the right may thrive; If ever I return to you again, I'll bring you comfort.

Glo. Grace go with you, sir. [Exit Edgar.

Alarums. Afterwards a retreat. Re-enter Edgar.

Edg. Away, old man, give me thy hand, away, King Lear hath lost, he and his daughter ta'en; Give me thy hand, '&c.

"This is literally the whole battle. The army so long looked for, and on which everything depends, passes over the stage, and all our hopes and sympathies go with it. Four lines are spoken. The scene does not change; but 'alarums' are heard, and 'afterwards a retreat,' and on the same field over which that great army has this moment passed, fresh and full of hope, reappears, with tidings that all is lost, the same man who last left the stage to follow and fight in it.

"That Shakspere meant the Scene to stand thus, no one who has the true faith will believe. Still less will be believe that, as it stands, it can admit of any reasonable defence. When Mr Macready brought out the play at Covent Garden in 1839, he endeavoured to soften the harshness of the effect by two deviations from the text. The French army did not pass over the stage, and so some room was left for imagining the battle already begun; and during the absence of Edgar five or six lines transferred from a former scene were put into the mouth of Gloster, by which some little time was given for its disastrous issue. Both these alterations are improvements on the text as it now stands, so far as they go,—but they certainly go a very little way; and I think nobody can have seen the play as then acted without feeling that the effect of that scene was decidedly bad.

"When I saw it myself, the unaccountable awkwardness of this passage struck me so forcibly, that I tried to persuade myself (all other appearances notwithstanding) that the play must have been left in an unfinished state. I had almost succeeded, when it suddenly occurred to me that by a very simple change in the stage-arrangement the whole difficulty might be made to disappear. Upon careful examination I found that every other difficulty disappeared along with it; and I am now quite satisfied that it was the true arrangement which Shakspere contemplated.

"My suggestion has this peculiar advantage and presumption in its favour, that it does not involve the change of a single letter in the original text. It is simply to alter the division of the Acts; to make the fourth Act close, a scene and a half further on, with the exit of Edgar in the passage just quoted, and the fifth commence with his re-entrance. Thus the battle takes place between the Acts, and, the imagination having leisure to fill with anxiety for the issue, it rises into its proper importance as one of the great periods and pauses of the story, and a final crisis in the fortunes of Lear. The first Act closes, as the first burst of Lear's rage is over, with the final renunciation of Goneril. The second leaves him in utter desolation, turned forth into the night, the storm gathering, madness coming on apace. At the conclusion of the third the double tempest of the mind and of the elements has spent its fury, and the curtain falls upon the doubtful rumour of a new hope, and distant promise of retribution. At the point where I think the fourth was meant to end, suspense has reached its highest pitch; the rumours have grown into certainties; the French forces have landed: Lear's phrenzy has abated, and if the battle be won he may yet be restored; 'the powers of the kingdom approach apace;' the armies are now within sight of each other, and 'the arbitrement is like to be bloody.' Last of all, 'Enter' (to take the stage-direction as it stands in the old Quarto, in which the divisions of the Acts are not marked) 'Enter the powers of France over the stage; Cordelia with her father in her hand;' Gloster alone remains to 'pray that the right may thrive;' and as the curtain falls we feel that the 'bloody arbitrement' is even now begun, and that all our hopes hang on the event. Rising again, it discloses 'alarums and a retreat.' The battle has been fought. 'King Lear hath lost; he and his daughter ta'en;' and the business of the last Act is only to gather up the issues of those unnatural divisions, and to close the eyes of the victims.

"As there is nothing in Shakspere so defective in point of art as the battle-scene under the present stage-arrangement, so, with the single change which I have suggested, there is not one of his dramas conducted from beginning to end with more complicated and inevitable skill. Under the existing arrangement the pause at the end of the fourth Act is doubly faulty, both as interrupting the march and hurry of preparation before it has gathered to a head, and as making, by the interposition of that needless delay, the weakness and disappointing effect of the result still more palpable. Under that which I propose, the pause falls precisely where it ought, and is big with anxiety and expectation. Let the march of the French army over the stage be presented with military pomp and circumstance, 'Cordelia with her father in her hand' following (for thus the dependence of Lear and his fortunes upon the issue is brought full before the eye), and let the interval between the Acts be filled with some great battle-piece of Handel, and nothing more, I think, could be hoped or wished."

On reviewing this paper, which was first written in 1839, I find nothing to add, except that the stage-direction in the Folio which follows the exit of Edgar, and which I had overlooked, seems to point at an arrangement much like that which I have suggested. After both the English armies have appeared on the scene with drums and colours, and gone out, Edmund returns to report to Albany

that the 'enemy is in view,' and to hasten his preparations for battle. Then follows—'Alarum within. Enter, with drum and colours, Lear, Cordelia, and soldiers, over the stage, and exeunt.' Edgar, following, leaves Gloster behind the tree, and promising to return if he survive, exit. Then we have—

'Alarum and Retreat within,'

and then 'enter Edgar' with news of the battle lost, and the capture of Lear and Cordelia. There are no 'excursions,' and therefore it is plain that though all three armies appeared on the stage with drums and colours immediately before the battle, no part of the battle itself was to be exhibited even in dumbshow. It was to be made known only by the noise 'within'; during which the stage was empty. Whether any curtain was to be drawn I do not know enough of the scenic arrangements of that time to say. But such an interval of suspended action, so accompanied with noises of battle in the distance, would have the same effect as a modern inter-Act with an orchestra playing appropriate music; provided only that it were understood to represent a period of indefinite duration. Considering. however, that immediately after the exeunt of Cordelia, Kent, the Doctor, and servants carrying Lear out in his chair, the stage had to be ready for three armies to pass over with drums and colours, it is easy to believe that the stage-manager found it more convenient to make the next scene the beginning of a new Act, and to use the interval for drawing up his troops.

On the division of the Acts in Much Ado about Nothing and Twelfth Night.

a. Much Ado about Nothing.

In Much Ado about Nothing, as it stands in the Folio and in the modern editions, I find two faults, which I do not think Shakspere was likely to commit.

At the end of the first scene of the first Act, the Prince and Claudio leave the stage (which represents the open space before Leonato's house), the Prince having that moment conceived and dis-

closed his project of making love to Hero in Claudio's name. Then the scene shifts to a room in Leonato's house, where the first thing we hear is that in a thick pleached alley in Antonio's orchard, the Prince has been overheard telling Claudio that he loved Hero and meant to acknowledge it that night in a dance, &c. All this is told to us, while the Prince's last words are still ringing in our ears; and it is told, not by the person who overheard the conversation, but by Antonio, to whom he has reported it. We are called on therefore to imagine that, while the scene was merely shifting, the Prince and Claudio have had time for a second conversation in Antonio's orchard, and that one of Antonio's men, overhearing it, has had time to tell him of it. Now this is one of the things which it is impossible to imagine. I do not mean merely that the thing is physically impossible, for art is not tied to physical possibilities. I mean that the impossibility is presented so strongly to the imagination that it cannot be overlooked or forgotten. The imagination refuses to be so imposed upon.

The other fault is of an opposite kind, and not so glaring, because it does not involve any positive shock to the sense of probability. Nevertheless it completely counteracts and neutralizes an effect which Shakspere has evidently taken pains to produce, and which if rightly considered is of no small consequence. The fourth scene of the third Act represents the morning of the wedding. The ceremony is to take place the first thing. The Prince, the Count, and all the gallants of the town are already waiting to fetch Hero to church; she must make haste to go with them. 'Help to dress me, good coz., good Meg, good Ursula.' Leonato, intercepted by Dogberry on his way to join them, is in too great a hurry to listen to him. They stay for him to give away his daughter: 'he will wait upon them; he is ready;' and so exit abruptly with the messenger who has been sent to hasten him; leaving Dogberry and Verges to take the examination themselves. The idea that the ceremony is to take place immediately is carefully impressed, and there was good reason it should. In a story involving so many improbabilities it was necessary to hurry it on to the issue before the spectator has had time to consider them. The deception practised on Claudio and the Prince

took place between twelve and one at night; the discovery of it by the watch followed immediately after. If the wedding do not come on the first thing in the morning, before Claudio has had time to reflect, or Dogberry to explain, or rumour to get abroad, it cannot be but the secret will transpire and the catastrophe be prevented. Yet precisely at this juncture it is, when Dogberry is about to take the examinations, and the wedding party are on their way to church, that the pause between the Acts takes place, -that indefinite interval during which the only thing almost which one can not imagine is that nothing has happened and no time passed. When the curtain rise's again, the least we expect to hear is that some considerable event has occurred since it fell. Yet we find everything exactly where it was. The party have but just arrived at the church, and are still in a hurry. "Come, friar Francis, be brief: only to the plain form of marriage, and you shall recount their particular duties after-The action has not advanced a step. To me, I confess, this is a disappointment. Why all that hurry if there was leisure for the drop-scene to fall? or if there was any object in representing that hurry, why should the drop-scene fall to interrupt it?

I do not believe that either of these points can be defended; but both may be removed, easily and completely, and without altering a word of the text. Let us only take the 4to. of 1600, in which the Acts are not divided (but of which the edition of 1623 is in other respects a mere reprint), and consider into what divisions the action most naturally falls.

First, then, read on to the end of the first scene, 'In practice let us put it presently.' Now shut the book. Let 'the curtain fall upon the fancied stage;' consider what is past, and wonder what is coming. We have been introduced to all the principal persons; the wars are over; the time is of peace, leisure, and festivity. The characters of Benedick and Beatrice, and their relation to each other—a relation of attractive opposition—are clearly defined; both are fancy-free as yet; but both boast of their freedom with a careless confidence that marks them as victims of Nemesis. Claudio has conceived a passion for Hero; but it is only an infection of the eye and fancy; and the foolish device which in his bashfulness he catches at serves

the double purpose of reminding us that his passion is not grounded in any real knowledge of the woman, and of pointing him out as the fit victim of some foolish mistake.

Begin the next scene as a new Act. Claudio and the Prince, we find, have been walking about since we last saw them in orchards and in galleries, still talking upon the one subject which Claudio can talk upon with interest. Read on without stopping till you come to the end of the scene between Don John and Borachio, which stands in the modern editions as the second scene of the second Act, 'I will presently go learn their day of marriage.' Then suppose the curtain to fall again, and proceed as before. We have now seen a threefold plot laid, the development of which will afford plenty of business for the following Act. Benedick and Beatrice are each to be tricked into an affection for the other, and though Claudio's marriage, after some foretaste of mistakings, is for the present arranged, a design is on foot for crossing it.

The third Act will open with Benedick in the garden. Read on again till you have seen the three plots played out, Benedick caught, Beatrice caught, Claudio caught, and finally Don John caught; for the curtain must not fall until Borachio and Conrad have been taken into custody. At this point a pause is forced upon us, for it is now the dead of night, and we must wait for the morning before anything more can be done.

The fourth Act opens in Hero's dressing-room; all is bustle and preparation for the marriage. The ceremony is to take place immediately. Dogberry arrives to report the discovery which had been made in the night, and anybody but Dogberry—even Verges, if he had been allowed to speak—would have got it reported, and so have intercepted the impending catastrophe. But we are made to feel that the wedding-party cannot possibly wait till he has discharged himself of his message, and that the catastrophe, which can only be prevented by a word to the purpose from him, is inevitable. Accordingly, while he is gathering his wits to 'bring some of them to a non com,' and sending for 'the learned man with his ink-horn to set down their excommunication,' the marriage-scene is acted and over; Hero is accused, renounced, disgraced, and given out for dead; Bene-

dick and Beatrice are betrayed, by help of the passion and confusion into an understanding of each others' feelings, and Don John disappears. Finally, the learned man with his ink-horn, coming to the relief of Dogberry, sees in a moment what the matter is, and hastens to Leonato's house with the intelligence. Thus everything is ripe for explanation, and we may pause once more in easy expectation of the issue. The business of the next Act, which opens at the right place, is only to unravel the confusion, to restore the empire of gaiety, and conclude the marriages.

According to this scheme, it seems to me not only that the specific defects which I have noticed are effectually removed, but that the general action of the piece develops itself more naturally and gracefully. And I have the less hesitation in proposing a new division between the first and second and between the third and fourth Acts because the motive of the existing division is easily explained. Between the first and second the stage had to be prepared for the great supper and mask in Leonato's house; between the third and fourth for the marriage ceremony in the church. My suggestion will hardly find favour, I fear, with the scene-shifters. But it is with the imaginary theatre only that I have to deal, in which the 'interior of a church' requires no more preparation than a 'room in a house.'

β. Twelfth Night.

The division of the Acts in Twelfth Night is of less importance than in King Lear and Much Ado about Nothing; for the movement of the piece is so light and rapid, and the several actions mix so naturally, without perplexing or confusing each other, that if it were played from beginning to end without any pause at all, the spectator would feel no harshness. Nevertheless, though the inter-Acts might in that case be omitted altogether without injuring the dramatic effect, the effect is materially injured on two occasions by the interposition of them in the wrong place.

At the end of the first Ac; Malvolio is ordered to run after Cæsario with Olivia's ring: in the second scene of the second Act he has but just overtaken him. "Were you not even now"

(he says) "with the Countess Olivia?" "Even now, Sir" (she answers), "on a moderate pace I have since arrived but hither." Here, therefore, the pause is worse than useless. It impedes the action, and turns a light and swift movement into a slow and heavy one.

Again, at the end of the third Act, Sir Andrew Aguecheek runs after Cæsario (who has just left the stage) to beat him; Sir Toby and Fabian following to see the event. At the beginning of the fourth, they are all where they were. Sir Andrew's valour is still warm; he meets Sebastian, mistakes him for Cæsario, and strikes. Here again the pause is not merely unnecessary; it interrupts what was evidently meant for a continuous and rapid action, and so spoils the fun.

The first of these defects might be sufficiently removed by continuing the first Act to the end of what is now the second scene of the second. The other by continuing the third Act to the end of what is now the first scene of the fourth. But such an arrangement would leave the fourth Act so extremely short that it cannot be accepted for the true one.

I have little doubt that the first Act was meant to end with the fourth scene—the scene between the Duke and Viola:—

"Whoe'er I woo, myself would be his wife."

the second with Viola's soliloquy upon receiving Olivia's ring :-

"Oh, time, thou must untangle this, not I; It is too hard a knot for me to untie."—Act II. sc. ii.

The third might end where, according to the received arrangement, the second does; only that the underplot would in that case become rather too prominent, and the main action stand still too long. To avoid this, I would not have the curtain fall till after the second interview between Olivia and Viola, in which Olivia declares her passion:—

"Yet come again; for thou perhaps may'st move
The heart, which now abhors, to like his love."—Act III. sc. i.

The fourth Act may end where it now does, with the contract between Olivia and Sebastian; and the fifth will remain as it is. I am not aware of any objection that can be made to this arrangement, or of any point which requires further explanation. Imagine the play properly represented (I say properly; for on the stage it is always so deformed with burlesque that no true judgment can be made of it from seeing it acted), with the divisions which I have proposed, and I think it will be felt that the arrangement recommends itself.

A closer examination would probably discover many other errors of the same kind. In Richard II, for example, the first Act ought clearly to end with the third scene instead of the fourth. stands now, the report of Gaunt's sickness follows too fast upon the scene immediately preceding, where we have just seen him leave the stage quite well; while, on the other hand, the King's visit to him does not follow fast enough upon the urgent summons of the dying man, whose death he was so impatient to witness. The pause between the Acts, the want of which perplexes us in the first case, is felt as an interruption in the last. I have seldom seen a piece acted for the first time, however bad the acting, and however familiar I had been with the play on paper, without seeing much of it in a new light and with more vivid effect. And in reading these things, though we may piece out the actor's imperfections with our thoughts as much as we please, imagining everything presented to our mind to seem as real and natural as the thing itself would seem,-real kings and queens, real gentlemen and ladies, real soldiers, and real fighting,—we must not forget that we are supposed to be witnessing a succession of scenes passed within our sight and hearing, and so arranged as to produce their effect upon the imagination under that condition. Without a clear perception of the periods of action and repose, we cannot enjoy the full benefit of such arrangement; and therefore, if we wish to have complete enjoyment of Shakspere's art, we must always take notice of the points which mark these periods-namely, the intervals between the Acts.

III. ON THE WITCH-SCENES IN MACBETH.

(An attempt to rebut some of the Arguments put forward by the Rev. F. G. Fleay in a paper read before this Society on June 26th, 1874.)

BY THOMAS ALFRED SPALDING, LL.B.

(Read at the 32nd Meeting, Friday, March 9, 1877.)

NEARLY three years ago Mr Fleay read a paper before this Society in which he attempted to father certain scenes and sentences in Macbeth upon Middleton; and in it he incidentally introduced a theory with regard to the witches of that drama as extraordinary as it is (I venture to think) groundless. In this attack he follows, in the main, the footsteps of the Editors of the 'Cambridge Shakspere,' who have come to the conclusion that the style of the suspected passage is not that of Shakspere. But such an opinion is worth little unless all competent critics assent to the conclusion, and this has not been by any means the result in this case. My object, however, in this paper is not to defend the whole of the scenes in question, although I think I show a presumption in favour of their genuineness; but merely to show that there is a good deal of evidence (chiefly historical) proving that Shakspere, and not Middleton, wrote the witchscenes upon which doubt has been cast. I shall also show, I think conclusively, that there is no ground whatever for the marvellous theory Mr Fleay has advanced concerning the witches themselves.

Mr Fleay's position is shortly this:—Scene i. and also scene iii. down to line 37 of Act I.; scene v. of Act III.; and a few lines of the first scene of the fourth Act are interpolations by Middleton; the other witch-scenes are from Shakspere's pen. In addition to this he holds that in scene iii. of Act I. Shakspere intended the characters there called 'witches' for supernatural beings, the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' or, as Mr Fleay prefers to call them, 'Nornæ;' and that

in Act IV. scene i. he discarded the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' and introduced three entirely new characters, which were intended for real witches.

The actual evidence in support of this 'Nornæ' theory is; first, that Holinshed, in the passage answering to Act I. scene iii., describes the apparitions as the 'Goddesses of Destinie, Nymphes or Feiries;' and secondly, the stage-direction in Act III. scene v., 'enter Hecate and the other three witches,' when three witches are already on the stage.

These two facts, were there no evidence to the contrary, might fairly be held to raise a presumption in favour of Mr Fleay's theory. For although we know that Shakspere altered the details of the story of Macbeth to a great degree, and even went so far as to incorporate portions of another incident into the plot, yet, if there were no reason for holding that he had intentionally replaced the 'Goddesses of Destinie' by witches (on the suggestion probably of the passage in Holinshed answering to Act III. scene i. of Macbeth), the characters in Act I. scene iii. might possibly pass for the former.

But Mr Fleay seems to rely less upon this evidence than upon an assertion that the appearance and powers attributed to the beings in the Shakspere part of scene iii. of Act I. are not those formerly attributed to witches, and that Shakspere, having once decided to represent 'Nornæ,' would never have degraded them "to three old women, who are called by Paddock and Graymalkin, sail in sieves, kill swine, serve Hecate, and deal in all the common charms, illusions, and incantations of vulgar witches. The three 'who look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth, and yet are on't;' they who 'can look into the seeds of time, and say which grain will grow;' they who 'seem corporal,' but 'melt into the air' like 'bubbles of the earth;' the 'weyward sisters' who 'make themselves air,' and have 'more than mortal knowledge,' are not beings of this stamp." 1

If Mr Fleay had not advanced this as an argument in favour of the 'Nornæ' theory, I should have sought to rebut the supposition that the witches of Act I. scene iii. were intended for the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' by arguing that the description contained in that

 $^{^{1}}$ New Shakspere Society Transactions, p. 342 ; Fleay's Shakspere Manual, p. 248.

scene applied to witches and to witches only. I shall therefore attempt to answer Mr Fleay's assertions; and, if I succeed in convincing you of the correctness of my position, I submit that no weight can be attached to the probably inaccurate stage-direction in scene v. of Act III.; and that we must hold that the characters in scene iii. of Act I. and scene i. of Act IV. are one and the same. I shall then pass on to attempt to show that there are some good reasons for supposing that the witch-scenes attributed by Mr Fleay to Middleton were in reality written by Shakspere.

First, then, Mr Fleay objects that the description of the appearance of the 'Nornæ' will not apply to witches. "They look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth, and yet are on't." But take the whole description, and then judge:—

"What are these
So withered and so wild in their attire,
That look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth,
And yet are on't? Live you, or are you aught
That man may question? You seem to understand me,
By each at once her chappy finger laying
Upon her skinny lips: you should be women,
And yet your beards forbid me to interpret
That you are so."

It is in the first moment of surprise that the sisters, appearing so suddenly, seem to Banquo unlike the inhabitants of earth. When he recovers his mental equilibrium, and is able to criticize, he sees that there is nothing to distinguish them from poverty-stricken, ugly old women but their beards; an appendage that tradition, at any rate, has rendered inseparable from the idea of a witch. What could answer better to contemporary descriptions of the poor creatures who were charged with the crime of witchcraft? Take Scot's, for instance:—they are "women which commonly be old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles.—They are leane and deformed, showing melancholie in their faces," —or Dr Harsnet's:—"An² old weather-beaten crone, having her chin and her knees meet-

¹ Discoverie, Bk. i. ch. 3. Published 1584.

² Quoted from "Hutchinson's Historical Essay," Dedication, p. 6. Mr Fleay asserts that Scot's "Discoverie" is the source from which the author of these scenes derived his information. I can only say that I read

ing for age, walking like a bow, leaning on a staff, hollow-eyed, untoothed, furrowed, having her lips trembling with the palsy, going mumbling in the streets." These are prose descriptions of creatures whom Shakspere has pictured more graphically in his drama; but would he have represented the 'Goddesses of Destinie,' about whom one would expect a veil of wild grandeur to be thrown, with chappy fingers, skinny lips, and beards? I think, therefore, that we may safely conclude that the passage from Macbeth above quoted was intended as a description of witches until it can be shown that it applies with more force to 'Nornæ.'

The next objection is that the 'Nornæ' have power that witches did not possess. They can "look into the seeds of time, and say which grain will grow, and which will not;" and Mr Fleay implies that witches could not do this. All I can say in answer is, that the most cursory perusal of the reports of a few witch-trials will compel any reader to admit that they could. I imagine that there are very few witch-trials on record in which charges of having prophesied future events were not made. Mr Charles Knight, in his biography of Shakspere, has quoted an illustration that might almost have suggested the metaphor used in the last-mentioned passage. I will give another illustration of this power.

Bessie Roy² was tried in Scotland in the year 1590 for witch-craft, and the Dittay charged her in the following manner:—"Ye ar indytit and accusit that, quhair ye, beand duelland with Williame King in Barra, be the space of tuel yeiris syne or thairby, and haifing past to the feild to pluk lint with uthir wemen, in presens of thame maid ane compas in the eird, & ane hoill in the middis thairof; & thairefter, be thy conjurationnes, thow causit ane grit worme cum fyrst out of the said hoill, & creip owre the compase; & nixt ane lytill worme, quhilk crap owre also: and last causit ane grit worme cum furth, quhilk could nocht pas owre the compas, nor cum out of the hoill, bot fell doune & deit. Quhilk inchantment and wichcraft thou interpreit in this forme:—that the fyrst grit worme that

Scot carefully before I saw Mr Fleay's statement, and I came to an opposite conclusion. Scot's book must have been very rare, for all obtainable copies were burnt.—Bayle, ix. 132. It was not reprinted until 1651.

1 page 438.

2 Pitcairn, I. ii. 207.

erap owre the compas was the guidman Williame King, quha sould leve; & the lytill worme was ane barne in the guidwyffe's wamb, quhilk wes unknawin to ony manne that sche was with barne; & that the barne sould leve; & thrydlie the last grit worme thow interpreit to be the guidwyffe, quha sould die: quhilk com to pas eftir thy speiking." If this be not looking into the seeds of time, and saying which grain will grow, and which will not, I am at a loss to know what is!

There is nothing, therefore, in the Shakspere witch-part of Act I. scene iii. that gives countenance to the supposition that the characters there called 'witches' are intended for 'Nornæ;' on the contrary, there is a great deal to show that they are meant for witches; and the latter theory is supported by many other passages on the play. Banquo, so early as line 106 of the last-mentioned scene. seems to have come to a decided conclusion upon the point, for when he hears the fulfilment of one of the witches' prophecies, he says: "What, can the devil speak true!" an exclamation most applicable to witches, but hardly so to 'Goddesses of Destinie.' Again, in Act I. scene v. we find that Macbeth, on his arrival at Forres, made investigation into the amount of reliance that could be placed on the utterances of the witches, and "learned by the perfectest report that they had more in them than mortal knowledge." This would be probable enough if witches were the subjects of the inquiry, for their chief title to authority would rest upon the rumours current in the neighbourhood in which they dwelt; but a most difficult, if not impossible matter in the case of 'Nornæ,' who, although they have a name, can scarcely be said to have a local habitation. It is noticeable too that Macbeth knows exactly where to find the weird sisters when he wants to consult them, and if it is borne in mind that the Chronicle mentions the existence of witches in the neighbourhood of Forres, these facts would go a long way towards destroying the presumption that the beings in Act I. scene iii. were intended for 'Nornæ,' even if that scene afforded any adequate grounds for it. Further, when Macbeth says :-

"I will to-morrow to the weird sisters.

More shall they speak, for now I am bent to know By the worst means the worst,"

another clear allusion is made to the traffic of witches with the devil; and I think that I am entitled to ignore Mr Fleay's supposition that these lines were interpolated by Middleton, so long as it remains without a particle of evidence to support it.

Mr Fleay notices that the predictions of the 'Nornæ' are "pithy and inevitable," whilst those of the familiars in Act IV. scene i. are "ambiguous and delusive." But this proves nothing. The diabolic purpose is best served by clearness in the one case, and ambiguousness in the other;

"For oftentimes, to win us to our harm, The instruments of darkness tell us truths."

It is true, as Mr Fleay observes, that after Act IV. scene i. Macbeth speaks of the prophecies as "emanating from the fiend;" and there is nothing surprising in this; for now he has had actual communication with the devils, the familiars of the witches, and the fountains of their supernatural knowledge; an advantage that he has not had before; and he naturally refers to the source of his information rather than to his agents for obtaining it. Immediately after the witches have vanished, in the scene just referred to, Macbeth speaks of them as "the weird sisters." Mr Fleay supposes that this term applies exclusively to 'Nornæ; and he gets over the difficulty, not by asserting an interpolation by Middleton, but a slip of the pen by Shakspere! I think it is a fair conclusion, therefore, from all this evidence, that the so-called 'Nornæ' are merely witches,

¹ When the paper was read, some members questioned whether the power of vanishing did not distinguish the Macbeth witches from the ordinary witches of the period. The following receipts may set the question at rest:

[&]quot;Sundrie receipts and ointments made and used for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects.

[&]quot;Rx. The fat of yoong children, & seeth it with water in a brazen vessell, reserving the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they laie up & keepe untill occasion serveth to use it. They put hereinto Eleoselinum, Aconitum, frondes populeas, & Soote.

[&]quot;Rx. Sium, Acarum Vulgare, Pentaphyllon, the bloud of a Flittermouse, Solanum Somniferum, & oleum." *

It would seem that fern seed had the same virtue. 1 Henry IV. ii. 1.

^{*} Scot, Bk. 10, ch. 8. The tale Scot gives on p. 46, which is too long, and perhaps too broad, to repeat, will show how effective these preparations were.

and identical with the characters in Act IV. scene i.; and that the stage-direction in Act III. scene v. is incorrect.

I must here add a few words about Hecate. Mr Fleay adduces as an argument against the Shaksperean origin of this character the fact that Hecate occurs nowhere else in Shakspere's works. This will not appear surprising if it be remembered that in no other case has Shakspere attempted to depict or describe a witches' Sabbath. Whatever the arguments may be against the Hecate speeches, and they are stronger against these than any other part of the play, this is not one of them.

It has always been the tendency of all religions to degrade the deities of a hostile form of worship to the rank of devils, and Christianity was no exception to the rule. Hence, during the earlier part of the epidemic of Witchcraft that raged from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeeth century, a devil variously known as Hecate, Diana, Sybilla, or Queen of Elfame, was always supposed to be present as presiding genius at the Sabbaths; and I see no reason for doubting that the Hecate of *Macbeth* is intended for this evil spirit, and not for a fourth witch. The mediæval history of Hecate, too, will show that many of the allusions to her in Shakspere, quoted by Mr Fleay, will apply to Hecat the devil, as well as, if not better than, to Hecate the goddess.

I now come to the second part of my task, and shall attempt to show that there are strong presumptive reasons for holding that all the witch-scenes are from the same hand; or at any rate were written at the same time.

My first point is that the first scene of Act I. has a necessary connection with the rest of the play. In it we are introduced to the fag-end of a Sabbath, which, if fully represented, would bear a great resemblance to the commencement of Act IV. scene i. But a long scene upon such a subject would be tedious and unmeaning at

¹ See Histoire de la Magie et l'Astrologie, par M. Maury.

² At about the commencement of the seventeenth century the belief about witchcraft gradually got much grosser; Hecate disappeared, and the devil himself, in some repulsive form or other, presided at the Sabbaths. This, however, is too slight a matter to hang an argument as to the date of the Hecate passages upon.

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the commencement of the play. All that is needed is that a hint should be thrown out to the audience of the probable diabolic interference, and therefore much is left to the imagination. It is supposed that the familiars have been called up by the incantations of the witches; that they have imparted to the weird sisters the information respecting Macbeth's future career, and commanded them upon the errand that they subsequently perform in scene iii., when they retail to Macbeth the knowledge they have thus obtained. Before, however, this mission is performed the audience is made acquainted with Macbeth's previous loyalty and unstained reputation; and then they are in a position to appreciate the full force of the situation in scene iii., which would, without the two previous scenes, render Macbeth's character almost incomprehensible. Middleton may have done this; but if he did, he imitated Shakspere's art most successfully.

Here I should like to ask Mr Fleay whether these Middleton witches are not in reality 'Norme'? If the capacity for looking into the seeds of time can constitute them such, they are; for they know for a certainty that they will be able to meet a man, alive and well, at a certain time, at a given place, who is either then engaged, or shortly to be engaged, in a struggle that must prove immensely destructive of human life.

It is perhaps worthy of note, too, that in this first scene the familiars of the first and second witches, Graymalkin and Paddock, are mentioned; and in the first scene of Act IV. (undoubtedly Shaksperian, according to Mr Fleay) the familiar of the third witch, Harpier, is referred to.

The only evidence, apart from style, that can be produced for rejecting scenes i. and ii. is that of Dr Forman, who commences his account of the play at the entrance of Macbeth and Banquo. The Cambridge editors acknowledge that this evidence is very nearly useless; and after all it is purely negative; and if we admit it as evidence against the scenes in question, we must also admit that in Shakspere's play Macbeth was created prince of Cumberland, and that he and Lady Macbeth could not remove the stains of Duncan's blood from their hands; for Forman's account furnishes positive evidence of this.

But there is another point of greater importance, that tends to show that all the witch-scenes were written at one period, and also to fix roughly the date of composition. No one can read *Macbeth* without noticing the prominence given to the belief that witches had the power of creating storms and other atmospheric disturbances. The witches select whether they will meet "in thunder, lightning, or in rain:" they "hover through the fog and filthy air." The whole of the first part of the third scene of Act I. is one blast of tempest with its attendant devastation. The weird sisters describe themselves as "posters of the sea and land:" the heath they meet upon is 'blasted,' and they vanish "as breath into the wind." Macbeth conjures them to answer his questions in these words:—

"Though you untie the winds, and let them fight
Against the churches; though the yesty waves
Confound and swallow navigation up;
Though bladed corn be lodged, and trees blown down;
Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
Though palaces and pyramids do slope
Their heads to their foundations; though the treasure
Of natures' germens tumble all together
Even till destruction sickens."

Now this command over the elements does not form at all a prominent feature in the English accusations of witchcraft. A few isolated charges of the kind may be found. In 1565, for instance, a witch was burnt who confessed that she had caused all the tempests that had taken place during that year. But we must turn to the Scotch accounts of trials for witchcraft if we wish to find charges of this nature made the substantial accusation against the culprits. There are no doubt physical reasons why this should be the case; but there is also an historical one. In 1589 King James VI. brought his bride, Anne of Denmark, from her northern home to her adopted country. During the voyage an unusually violent storm occurred, which scattered the vessels composing the royal fleet, and appears to have placed the king's vessel in particular jeopardy. James, who seems to have been as convinced of the reality of witchcraft as he was of his own infallibility, attributed this storm to diabolic interference, and in consequence a great number of persons were tried

for attempting the king's life by witchcraft. James took the greatest interest in the proceedings, and, undeterred by the apparent impropriety of being judge in what was, in reality, his own cause, presided at many of the trials, condescended to superintend the tortures applied to the accused in order to extort a confession, and even went so far in one case as to write a letter to the judges commanding a condemnation.¹

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the king's suspicions were fully confirmed by the confessions of the accused. It is impossible to read the reports of these cases without having the words of the Middleton part of Act I. scene iii. ringing in the ears as an echo. One or two instances will suffice to show this. John Fian, who was the ringleader of the gang, was charged 2 with having caused the leak in the queen's ship, and with having raised the wind and created a mist for the purpose of impeding the king's passage. On another occasion he and several other witches entered into a ship,3 and caused it to perish. Fian was also able by witchcraft to open locks.4 He visited churchyards at night and dismembered bodies for purposes of witchcraft; the bodies of unbaptized children being preferred.

Agnes Sampsoune confessed to the king that to compass his death she took a black toad and hung it by the hind legs for three days, and collected the venom that fell from it. She said that if she could have obtained a piece of linen that the king had worn, she could have destroyed his life with this venom; "causing him such extraordinarie paines as if he had beene lying upon sharpe thornes, or

³ Ib., I. ii. 212. He confessed that Satan commanded him to chase cats "purposlie to be cassin into the sea to raise windis for destruction of schippis," I. ii. 212.

¹ Pitcairn, I. ii. 243. ² Pitcairn, I. ii. 211.

pis," I. ii. 212.

⁴ Fylit for opening of ane loke be his sorcerie in David Seytounis moderis, be blawing in ane woman's hand, himself sittand att the fyresyde. See also the case of Bessie Roy, I. ii. 208. The English method of opening locks was more complicated than the Scotch, as will appear from the following quotation from Scot, Bk. 12, ch. 14, p. 246:

[&]quot;A charme to open locks. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and doo but print certeine floures therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt; and when you would undoo the locke, blow thrice therein, saieing, 'Arato hoc partico hoc maratarykin; I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake, as thou brakest hell gates. In nomine patris etc Amen.'"

endes of needles." 1 She went out to sea to a vessel called 'The Grace of God,' and when she came away the devil raised a wind, and the vessel was wrecked. 2 She delivered a letter from Fian to another witch, which was to this effect: "Ye sall warne the rest of the sisteris to raise the winde this day at ellewin houris to stay the Queenis cuming in Scotland." 3

This is her confession as to how the storm was raised: "She tooke a cat and christened it, and afterward bounde to each part of that cat the cheefest parte of a dead man, & severall jointis of his bodie: and that in the night following the saide cat was convayed into the middest of the sea by all these witches, sayling in their riddles or cives, and so left the saide cat right before the towne of Lieth."

The witches were always going about in sieves. Agnes told the king that she "with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundreth, all together went to sea, each one in a riddle or cive, and went into the same very substantially, making merrie, and drinking by the way in the same riddles or cives to the kirke of North Barrick in Lowthian, & that after they landed they tooke hands on the lande and daunced a reill or short daunce." They then opened the graves and took the fingers, toes, and knees of the bodies to make charms of.

It can be easily understood that these trials created an intense excitement in Scotland. The result of it was that a tract was printed, containing a full account of all the principal incidents; and the fact that this pamphlet was reprinted once, if not twice,⁷ in London,

Newes from Scotland,

Declaring the damnable life of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenborough in Januarie last, 1591; which Doctor was Register to the Deuill, that sundrie times preached at North Barricke Kirke to a number of notorious witches; with the true examinations of the said Doctor and witches as they uttered them in the presence of the Scottish king: Discouering how they pretended to bewitch and drowne His Majestie in the sea, comming

¹ Pitcairn, I. ii. 218. ² Ib., I. ii. 235. ³ Ib., I. ii. 236.

^{4 &}quot;Newes from Scotland," reprinted in Pitcairn, I. ii. 218.

⁵ Referred to in "Newes from Scotland," I. ii. 217. See also the trial of Ewsame McCalgane, I. ii. 254.

⁶ Ib., I. ii. 239.

⁷ One copy of this reprint bears the name of W. Wright, another that of Thomas Nelson. The full title is—

shows that the interest spread to the south side of the border.1

Eight years after these events James printed his Dæmonologie, a sign to both England and Scotland that the subject was still of engrossing interest to him. In 1603 he ascended the English throne. His first parliament met on the 19th of March, 1604, and on the 27th of the same month a bill was brought into the House of Lords dealing with the question of witchcraft, which, after much debating and revision, passed into law on the 9th of June. Hutchinson, in his Essay on Witchcraft, published in 1720, asserts that this statute was framed to meet the offences exposed by the trials of 1590-1, and there appears, from a comparison of the act and the Reports, some reason to suppose this to have been the case. At any rate, all these facts tend to show that these Scotch cases were prominently before the public mind during the period immediately preceding the date to which nearly all the critics assign Macbeth. What is more probable, then, than that a poet, having such a reasonable opportunity to ingratiate himself with the new sovereign by flattering this known partiality, should have availed himself of it? Jonson did so avowedly in the Masque of Queenes; and I believe that Shakspere did in Macbeth.

If, then, there is anything in my argument, it proves that the whole of the scenes in question (except the Hecate scene) were written soon after 1604, and on that ground I say that they were written by Shakspere. Mr Fleay admits that the supposed Middleton-part could not have been added until after Shakspere had left the stage; and with this I entirely agree; but it seems absurd to assume that the allusions are to the Scotch trials, and at the same time to hold that the scenes containing them were interpolated in 1613 or subsequently. The Scotch cases were quite forgotten by that time, and, if the report mentioned by Hutchinson be true, namely, that James I. "came off from these notions in his elder years," it is just possible

from Denmarke, with such other wonderfull matters, as the like hath not bin heard at anie time.

Published according to the Scottish copie.

Printed for William Wright.

¹ These events are referred to in an existing letter by the notorious Thos. Phelippes to Thos. Barnes, Cal. State Papers (May 21, 1591), 1591-4, p. 38.

that he might not look with favour upon any attempt to bring before the public the remembrance of his youthful eccentricities.¹

Lastly, it seems to me that the argument derived from the fact that the songs mentioned in the stage-directions of Act III, scene v. and Act IV. scene i. appear in The Witch of Middleton, so far from showing that Middleton had any hand in Macbeth, as it stands in the folio of 1623. actually tells the other way. All that can be deduced from this fact is that there were passages in the play, as previously acted, that were written by Middleton. But it places Macbeth in a far different position to any other play contained in the folio of 1623. Macbeth was not printed from a surreptitious Quarto, or taken without consideration from the mouths of the actors. or from their copies. The editors of the folio were aware that certain portions of the play as it had been acted were not Shakspere's work, but Middleton's; and so they set themselves to expunge the Middleton portions, merely indicating where they had occurred by stage-directions. We must acknowledge that Heminge and Condell, having undertaken the task, were far more competent to separate the Shakspere and Middleton portions than any critic, however able, in the present day; and it is hard to see why, when they had once commenced the revision, they should have left off until they had entirely cleared Macbeth from all interpolations.

I therefore conclude:-

First:—That the beings of Act I. scene iii. and of Act IV. scene i. are identical.

Secondly:—That the witch-scenes were written at the same time and by the same hand as the rest of the play.²

^{1 &}quot;In 1612-13, the English public was agitated by another series of witch-trials:—the celebrated case of the Lancashire witches. This is just the time when Middleton ought to have been adding the witch-scenes to *Macbeth*, and yet there is not an allusion to this command over the elements in the reports of them."—Pott's Discoverie, 1613, reprinted by the Chetham Society, 1845.

² Mr. Furnivall points out, justly, that the historical evidence does not support Act III. sc. v. as it does the rest of the witch-scenes. He says, "Hecate's speech in III. v. is doubtful. It's so much weaker than the witches' talk, and yet is from their ruler. Their speeches are Trochaic, Hecate's Iambic." This scene has in its favour only the evidence that supports my third conclusion.

Thirdly:—That there is a presumption in favour of holding that the whole of *Macbeth* as it appears in the folio of 1623 is Shakspere's work.

P.S. Mr Furnivall tells me that note 1 on the preceding page does not sufficiently suggest the argument I intend to be derived from it.

My meaning is this. A belief in a crime like witchcraft, that has no real foundation in fact, but depends for its existence upon theological narrowness acting on one side, poverty and despair on the other, and an utter ignorance of the most elementary laws of natural science on both, will be constantly varying; and the variation will be regulated by the individual peculiarities of the persecutors, the persecuted, and by pure accident.

I have shown what a bad storm, whilst a credulous king was at sea, could do to bring a series of accusations into greater prominence than had been before allowed to them, and how accident kept these to the front for a considerable period. But after 1604 these cases gradually fell out of remembrance; and in 1613 the current state of belief was represented by the cases of the Lancashire witches, who

were not given to raising storms at all.

Now the dramatist who wanted to represent the action of witches, to make himself intelligible to his audience, was bound to dwell upon the conception of witchcraft that then occupied the public mind. Hence I say that if Middleton had added any of the witchscenes to *Macbeth* in 1613, or soon after, the additions would have contained allusions to the Lancashire cases, and not to the Scotch.

age, sb. period of life attaind, Sonnet vii. 6. "But if eyther, age, which then was young, or other prouidence of the Lorde, haue freed mee alwayes from so grosse idolatrie, yet seeke I further whether with any outwarde thing else whatsoeuer, not warraunted by the word, I have thought or sought to serue and please the Lorde." 1588.—

Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 122.

bowling, sb. (! same sense in) Winter's Tale, IV. iv. 338. "I require it of al that euer shal reade these words, that as they wil answere me before the face of God and all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [== weigh] whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, and cocking, stage plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or that, to this bearebaiting & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no." 1588.—Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 190.

A NOTE ON THE REV. N. J. HALPIN'S TIME-ANALYSIS OF THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

BY P. A. DANIEL, ESQ.

(Read at the 36th Meeting of the Society, Oct. 12, 1877.)

"The time is out of joint."-Hamlet.

"One Errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof bee not timely restrayned."—Raleigh: Hist. of the World, Cap. iii.

In June last my attention was called to the republication, in the Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, of Mr Halpin's Time-Analysis of The Merchant of Venice. On examination it seemed to me that Mr Halpin's conclusions were so little justified by the Play itself, that I was induced to give our Director, Mr Furnivall, a short note expressing my dissent from them. At his request I have since gone more fully into the subject, and the following pages are the result.

It must be understood at the outset that I do not pretend to prove that the play satisfactorily accounts for the full period of rather more than three months which is essential to the plot, and which the dramatic action is supposed to represent: I am afraid it must be admitted that in writing these enchanting scenes, the poet did not, almanack in hand, calculate with any great degree of care their relative positions in the field of time. And thus it is that in perusal of his lines difficulties strike us that pass unnoticed in the visible action of the stage, for which the scenes were primarily intended. Nor do I intend to discuss Mr Halpin's theory of the Shaksperean system as regards unity of time: I only profess to examine the grounds on which he theorizes, and I propose to show that

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ For 1875-6, Part II. The references to Mr Halpin's paper throughout are to the pages of that volume.

they have very little existence except in his own imagination; and that his conclusion that the "dramatic time of the action" is limited to 39 consecutive hours, is not only not justified by the play, but is absolutely and manifestly at variance with it.

He divides these 39 hours as follows:

A first period of 10 hours—from 11 A.M. to 9 P.M.—commencing with the play and ending, Act II. scene vi., with the embarkation of Bassanio for Belmont.

An interval of 11 hours, commencing with the last-named hour, 9 P.M., and ending at 8 o'clock on the following morning, with the commencement of Act III. scene ii.—the scene in which Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets.

A second period of 18 hours, commencing at 8 A.M. with Act III. scene ii., and ending with the play at 2 o'clock the next morning.

Let us see how far this scheme of time agrees with the play itself.

Act I. scenes i. and iii. Venice. In these scenes is concluded all the business connected with the loan and bond. They represent a portion of one day presumably before the dinner-hour. We may accept Mr Halpin's decision that the dinner hour is 12 at noon. He however limits the whole transaction to one hour, and decides therefore that the opening scene commences at 11 o'clock.

Looking to the Play itself we find that when scene iii. closes, the ducats have yet to be pursed and the bond drawn, signed, sealed, and delivered. Allowing only one hour for this business, it is evident that scene iii. must close at 11 A.M. and that the opening scene must commence at a much earlier hour. The whole transaction supposes a morning's work, and I should therefore consider scene i. as commencing not later than 8 A.M.; giving four hours for the completion of this part of the story.

The Bond. The Bond being now in existence, it may be well to say a word as to its nature. It is a bond for three thousand ducats payable on or before the expiration of three months, and, "in a merry sport," it is agreed that the penalty for non-payment at the time of expiration shall be a pound of Antonio's flesh.

Not a syllable is breathed by any soul throughout the play which can by any effort of ingenuity be tortured into a meaning that could cast a doubt on this fact. It is the very groundwork of the plot: without it the whole fabric must "fall to cureless ruin." I need not waste my time and that of my readers in proving this certain and established fact. No one who has ever read the Play can doubt it. Whether the poet in elaborating his plot on this foundation, has or has not allowed sufficient time for the expiration of the three months of the bond, is another matter, and may be a legitimate subject for investigation. Halpin believes that sufficient time has not been allowed, and he is thereby induced to advance a theory as to the bond, the boldness of which is perhaps without a parallel in the history of Shaksperean criticism. In manifest and palpable contradiction to every syllable throughout the play having any connection with the bond, he asserts that the bond for three months was really never signed at all, but that Shylock managed by some impossible fraud to substitute for it a bond payable at sight or on demand. In order to afford an opportunity for the perpetration of this fraud-of which, by the way, it may be observed that neither Shylock himself, Antonio, Antonio's friends, nor the Judges appear to have had the slightest inkling-Halpin makes Shylock proceed alone to give the notary 'directions for this merry bond' (p. 402). Now compare this with the evidence of the Play, Act I, scene iii.:

"Ant. Yes, Shylock, I will seal unto this bond.
Shy. Then meet me forthwith at the notary's;
Give him direction for this merry bond,
And I will go and purse the ducats straight,
See to my house, left in the fearful guard
Of an unthrifty knave, and presently
I will be with you."

From this, if words have any meaning, it is evident that Antonio himself gives the notary directions for the bond; and, as it is not to be supposed that he had any intention of sealing to any other than a bond for three months, as agreed on, Mr Halpin's theory of a "real and ostensible bond" is shown, by this circumstance alone, to be a mere impossible figment, and may be dismissed from all

further consideration. This point settled, we may now return to the examination of the play with reference to the main question of time.

Act I. scene ii. At Belmont. In this scene, which comes between the two Venice scenes, wherein is figured forth the business connected with the bond, we are introduced to Portia and Nerissa, and made acquainted with that part of the plot which relates to the caskets. And here it should be noted, as an important point, that Portia's suitors are apparently in the habit of sojourning some little time at Belmont before they decide whether they will, or will not, risk their fortunes in the choice of the caskets. The conversation between Portia and Nerissa conclusively proves this. Portia could not else have obtained the intimate knowledge of her suitors' peculiarities which she displays. The time at which this scene takes place may be supposed—and in this I agree with Halpin—concurrent with the time occupied at Venice with the business of scenes i. and iii. At the end of the scene the arrival of Morocco's forerunner is announced; he brings word that his master will be there that night.

Act I. then, it will be observed, comprises one day; a forenoon at Venice and a portion of the same day at Belmont, ending at night with the arrival of Morocco.

Act II. scene i. opens at Belmont with the forenoon on which Morocco determines to try his fortunes at the caskets. His hazard is to be made after dinner.

Scenes ii. to vi., in Venice, comprise the business of an afternoon, ending with Bassanio's embarkation.

Scene vii. at Belmont, the same afternoon, ends Morocco's venture. Here then we see at a glance that the Venice scenes, Act I. scenes i. and iii., and Act II. scenes ii. to vi., cannot have occurred on one and the same day. 24 hours, at least, comprising an afternoon and a forenoon at Belmont, must come between them, if we are to pay any regard to the sequence of the scenes. But this interval of 24 hours only, by no means satisfies the exigencies of the case.

It is in my opinion quite impossible to read the Venice scenes ii. to vi. of Act II., and arrive at any other conclusion than that an interval of at least several days has elapsed between the signing of the bond and Launcelot's first appearance. How many days have

passed I do not pretend to determine; I am here only concerned to show that Halpin's theory of ten consecutive hours for that portion of the Play commencing with scene i. Act I., and ending with Bassanio's embarkation, is at variance with the manifest intention of the Play.

Glancing rapidly through these scenes (scenes ii.-vi.), we find Launcelot lamenting his hard life in Shylock's service; he knows that Bassanio, who has been preparing for his journey, gives "rare new liveries," and with true serving-man instinct he determines to better himself; he succeeds; for Bassanio "knows him well," and on that very day that he makes his petition, Shylock himself has already preferred him. This fact alone shows that Shylock-however inwardly he has cherished his hatred—has been at least for some little time in familiar intercourse with Bassanio and his friends since the signing of the bond; and probably in going of errands between the two establishments, Launcelot has gained his knowledge of the superior comforts to be obtained in Bassanio's service. We find too that Shylock has got over his horror of pork, and now accepts an invitation to eat with the Christians almost as a matter of course. Bassanio, besides the work of providing his outfit, has engaged his ship, and is now waiting for a fair wind. He has, however, still certain liveries (they could not have been those that Launcelot refers to, unless we suppose Launcelot to be a prophet) to be made, and it is to be hoped they were completed that afternoon. If not, he sailed without them.

Lorenzo, too, has been courting Jessica, and persuading her to elope with him. And Jessica, in Act III. scene ii. 1. 287—90, testifies that when she was with her father, i. e. after the signing of the bond, she had

"——heard him swear
To Tubal and to Chus, his countrymen,
That he would rather have Antonio's flesh
Than twenty times the value of the sum
That he did owe him." 1

All this manifestly supposes a lapse of time since the signing of

¹ It may seem incredible, but Halpin, commenting on this speech, says,—"We must understand her as speaking of conversations and transactions prior to the bond,"—when Antonio owed Shylock nothing! See p. 411.

the bond; but Halpin, on the ten-consecutive-hours theory (contradicted already by the afternoon and forenoon at Belmont, Act I. scene ii., and Act II. scene i.), leaves absolutely no time whatever, not a single second, during which these various events could have taken place. As well as I can make out, his sole and only foundation for this theory of ten consecutive hours is, that in Act I. dinner is mentioned, and in these scenes supper is in question.¹

I have only further to remark that the concurrence of the Belmont scenes, i. and vii. of Act II. (in which are concluded Morocco's venture) with the scenes ii. to vi. at Venice, does not at all militate against my supposition of a considerable interval between Acts I. and II. It obliges us to suppose that before making his choice of the caskets, Morocco passed in Belmont as large a space of time as elapsed in Venice between the signing of the bond and the embarkation of Bassanio; but there is nothing improbable in this when we consider the custom of the suitors.

On the other hand, when we consider the extraordinary, I may say impossible, positions into which the ten-consecutive-hours theory gets the personages of the drama, it becomes a matter of extreme difficulty to understand by what process of reasoning Halpin could have betrayed himself into adopting it.

He admits that the Venice and Belmont scenes of Act I. occur on one and the same day. Morocco arrives at Belmont on the night of that day. Yet by making the Venice scenes ii.—vi. of Act II. consecutive with the Venice scenes of Act I., he is compelled to make the Belmont forenoon and afternoon scenes, Act II. scenes i. and vii., which follow the night of Morocco's arrival, to take place on that very night.

Mr Halpin's treatment of the evidence of time afforded by these Belmont scenes is eminently unsatisfactory. (See pp. 406-7.)

¹ I am told that the impression that this dinner and supper take place on one and the same day is very general. If so, I imagine it must have been caused, not by reading the play, but by seeing the mutilated version of it usually placed on the stage; the scenes with Morocco being there omitted. To the honour of the management of the *Prince of Wales* theatre, it should be mentioned that when performed there these scenes were restored.

We are now at the end of our examination of Halpin's "First Period," with this result: for his ten consecutive hours, we have two periods of four and nine hours each, separated by an interval the length of which must be determined by the reader himself; but I suggest a week at the least.

And now Bassanio is on his way to Belmont, and Lorenzo and Jessica are wandering, Heaven knows where: the stage is clear; and this perhaps is the best place for determining, if we can, the distance between Venice and Belmont. It need scarcely be said that the actual map of Italy will give us no information on this point; the play itself is all that we have to depend on, and from that, although we derive an idea of considerable distance, we get nothing very definite. Halpin, however, crushing all things for the sake of his short-time theory, imagined that he had discovered the distance between the two places to be exactly ten miles.

His argument in favour of this "astounding discovery" is as follows:—

When in Act III. scene ii. Bassanio, having succeeded in his choice of the caskets, determines to return to Venice, to rescue, if possible, Antonio from Shylock's clutches, he says to Portia:—

"——'till I come again,
No bed shall e'er be guilty of my stay;
No rest be interposer 'twixt us twain."

Therefore, says Halpin (improving on his text), he is "under the positive engagement that he will not sleep till his return;" therefore he must be back in Belmont that same night; therefore Portia (who sets out for Venice after him, and returns before him) must mean, when she says that she has to "measure twenty miles to-day," that this twenty miles includes the whole journey to and from Venice; argal, the distance between Venice and Belmont is triumphantly proved to be no more nor less than a just ten miles.

It is singular how little Halpin appears to understand his author, or the force of his own arguments: we here see how by means of his misinterpretation of Bassanio's speech he reduces Portia's "twenty miles" to ten; and the "ten miles" in its turn reduces Bassanio's speech to—nonsense; for if the distance between Venice and Belmont

be no more than ten miles, Bassanio's proposed self-sacrifice has no motive, becomes in fact a piece of mere bombast. It is as though he should say,-"My love, I am about to leave you for a few hours: I shall probably be back to-night, and I assure you I will not go to bed in the meanwhile"!-Why, indeed, should he !-Of course the obvious meaning of Bassanio's words is, that he anticipates an absence of at least two or three days: and his anticipation is realized: two nights at least intervene between his departure from Belmont and his return to it with Antonio on the night which ends the play in the garden scene of Act V. The evidence of the play on this point is patent and incontrovertible. Scene ii. Act III. (the choice of the caskets), and scene iii. Act III. (Antonio in custody in Venice) must certainly be supposed coincident in point of time. Now we learn from Antonio that the trial is to take place on the morrow: it is clear therefore that one night intervenes between the day of the caskets, and the day of the trial. We know also that Antonio and Bassanio do not start on their journey to Belmont 'till the morning after the trial, we thus get a second night; and in fact, unless we allow the intervention of this second night between the day of the trial and the final night in the garden at Belmont, the chaff about the rings, which the ladies pretend they have received from the doctor and his clerk, becomes mere nonsense, and so manifestly impossible that neither Bassanio nor Gratiano could for a moment be taken in by it. "The doctor's clerk," says Nerissa, "in lieu of this last night did lie with me." How could Bassanio and Gratiano be deceived, if no last night had passed since they gave away their rings in Venice?

We may conclude then that Belmont is about a day's journey from Venice; their relative positions and the distance between them cannot be more strictly defined. But Halpin's "ten miles" may with a clear conscience be relegated to the limbo to which we have already consigned his fraudulent bond.

[&]quot;must certainly;" because scene iii. (Antonio in custody) is enclosed, as it were, by the Belmont scenes ii. and iv., which undoubtedly are both on one day. In this way also in Act I. we determine the coincidence in time of the Belmont scene ii. with the Venice scenes i. and iii.; and, in Act II., the coincidence of the Venice scenes ii. to vi. with the Belmont scenes i. and vii.

In this place also it may be proper to correct his assertion (p. 399) that "it was agreed" that Lorenzo and Jessica should elope in Bassanio's ship. If this were true, it would be a black stain on Bassanio's character; but it is not true. No such agreement is even hinted at. The flight of the lovers was almost coincident with Bassanio's departure; but it was concerted and carried into effect before it could possibly be known that the wind would come about and enable him to commence his journey. Lorenzo in fact had no intention of joining company with him; and when they do meet at Belmont (Act III. scene ii.) he tells him:—

"My purpose was not to have seen you here, But meeting with Salerio by the way, He did intreat me, past all saying nay, To come with him along."

This little affair matters nothing as regards short-time or longtime; but it should be noted as one of the many proofs of Halpin's carelessness in studying the play.

And now we have to examine the scenes which fill up what Halpin calls the interval of eleven hours.

Act II. scene viii. In this scene, in Venice, we meet with Salarino and Salanio acting, as it were, the part of Chorus. How long a time has elapsed since the departure of Bassanio, it is impossible to say with certainty. The reference to Bassanio's embarkation, to the elopement of Lorenzo and Jessica, and to Shylock's rage on its discovery, would seem to connect the time of this scene very closely with that of the preceding scenes: one might imagine that they were discussing these events on the morning following their occurrence. But another circumstance is mentioned which forbids this construction. Salarino reports that he had reasoned with a Frenchman yesterday, who brought news of the loss of a vessel of their nation in the narrow seas, and he hopes this may not be one of Antonio's. This yesterday cannot possibly be supposed the day of Bassanio's departure; at the very earliest, then, it could only have been the following day; and therefore the time of this scene, at the

earliest, would be the second day after Bassanio's embarkation. The time, however, must be accepted as indefinite; but, interpreting the poet's words as rigorously as we may, we here see, in the very first scene that passes in Venice after Bassanio's departure, that Halpin's interval of eleven hours only is utterly distanced. Here too it may be as well to correct his misstatement (p. 399) that in this scene "we find Shylock in his first agonies of rage at his daughter's flight," etc. As we know, Shylock is not in this scene at all.

Act II. scene ix. At Belmont. Again in this scene we cannot fix the time with precision. We may however reasonably suppose it concurrent with the previous scene, viii. In it the Prince of Arragon makes his choice of the caskets: he fails of course; and as he takes his leave, a servant enters to announce the arrival of—

"A young Venetian, one that comes before To signify the approaching of his lord:"

i. e. of Bassanio. Like Morocco, Bassanio's approach is announced by a forerunner, and probably also, like him, he arrives the same day that his approach is announced. Halpin says (p. 395) that his actual arrival is announced in this scene, but that of course is not so. I have said that it is reasonable to suppose this scene concurrent with the previous scene, No. viii., at Venice.—In doing so I favour the short-time theory as much as possible.—Admitting then that Bassanio arrives at Belmont on the day that his approach is announced, and that this day is concurrent with the day of scene viii., we find that his arrival is fixed at the second day after his departure from Venice. This journey then would appear to have occupied a longer time than those mentioned in the attempt to ascertain the distance of Belmont from Venice. I don't pretend however to reconcile all the discrepancies of the play; but neither do I wish to conceal them.

Act III. scene i. We are in Venice again. Salanio and Salarino are still harping on the loss of the ship in the narrow seas; but now the rumour is that it is really one of Antonio's, and though the mention of this ship connects the scene with Act II. scene viii., it also

marks the advance of time. The fact that Shylock, who joins them, is still brooding over his daughter's flight, does not by any means necessitate a close approximation between the time of this scene and that of the elopement, notwithstanding Halpin's emphatic assertion (p. 400) that "it cannot by any stretch of fancy be supposed to have taken place later than the first day (or rather morning) after the event, with the interval only of the intervening night." If we turn back to Act II. scene viii., we see that this scene must be of a later date. We find, too, that Shylock is already beginning to talk of Antonio as a probable bankrupt, and uttering threats in anticipation of the forfeiture of the bond. A bond too of which-if it were payable on demand-he might force the forfeiture at once. But he evidently knows so little of the fraud he has perpetrated, that notwithstanding his eagerness for revenge he yet proposes to delay the arrest of Antonio for a fortnight. "Go Tubal, fee me an officer; bespeak him a fortnight before."

The way in which Halpin explains away this "fortnight before" is too good to be left unnoticed:—"I suppose," says he (p. 411), "that the greedy burst of malice with which Shylock instructs Tubal to 'bespeak him an officer a fortnight before' will suggest nothing more than the extreme impatience of the cruel creditor to glut his revengeful animosity with the utmost certainty and with the shortest delay."

Not having hampered my imagination with a short-time theory, I must confess it suggests to me this much more: that all but a fortnight of the three months of the bond has now expired, and that the poet gives this note of time to fix the date of the scene; the more especially as he has not given us any scenes representing the intervening time. Tubal, however, who makes his appearance as Salanio and Salarino leave the stage, does account for a considerable portion of this past time; and from his conversation with Shylock we learn that he has just returned from a fruitless pursuit of Jessica, in tracing whom he has been as far as Genoa. This conversation can in no way be made to agree with Halpin's "interval of eleven hours" only; and is too important to be passed over, so he avoids the difficulty by setting down poor Tubal as "a manifest liar"! (p. 409). Against such

powerful argument as this, criticism collapses: the gods themselves could not contend with it.

This is the last of the "interval" scenes; and it may be admitted that it requires some effort of the imagination to believe that they very satisfactorily account for the lapse of time necessary to bring the bond to within a fortnight of maturity; but that effort seems to me as nothing compared with the frightful wrench to our sense of probability which Halpin's theory would require of us. In flat contradiction to the evidences of the passage of time which we have noted in the scenes in question, Halpin would have us believe that they all occur on the morning following Bassanio's departure from Venice, and before eight o'clock of that morning; for he fixes that hour for the commencement of the following scene (Act III. scene ii.), in which Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets.

Portia was no doubt as healthy as she was wealthy and wise; and no wonder, if she was in the habit of rising as early as she must have done on this morning to get through the work here cut out for her. She has to receive the Prince of Arragon; who of course has to take the oath in the temple before he can be admitted to take his choice of the caskets; then with due solemnity she superintends his choice; bids him adieu; receives Bassanio's forerunner; receives Bassanio himself, who having first imparted his love to her, and taken the oath, is ready to make his choice of the caskets at 8 A.M. exactly.

The morning's work at Venice is still more startling: on this morning Salarino must have reasoned yesterday with his Frenchman; on this morning Tubal must have flown to and from Genoa in pursuit of Jessica, often coming where he heard of her, but not able to overtake her in spite of the rapidity of his journeying; on one night of this same morning Jessica spent in Genoa four-score ducats, on another occasion she bought a monkey, and then, with "motion of no less celerity than that of thought," she and her husband flit to Belmont, arriving there shortly after 8 o'clock on this same morning. On this same morning Shylock, bespeaking an officer a fortnight before, rushes instantly to arrest Antonio a fortnight hence, and "plies the duke at morning and at night" for justice; "twenty merchants, the duke himself and the magnificoes of greatest port" all persuade

with him on this morning, but in vain: so Antonio, being arrested a fortnight hence, writes his letter to Bassanio on this same morning and despatches it to Belmont by Salerio, who arrives there with it very shortly after 8 a.m., and, be it remarked, unlike Macbeth's fore-runner, with plenty of breath left to "make up his message." If this is not the triumph of short-time, it must at least be allowed a triumph of unreason.

And now to return to the Play. In Act III. scene i., then, we learned that all but a fortnight of the three months of the bond had expired: and now, in scene ii., we find ourselves again in Belmont. Now is the day on which Bassanio risks his fortune at the caskets, and wins his wife: he has scarcely done so when Salerio arrives with a letter from Antonio telling him that the bond is forfeit, and that he has fallen into the power of the Jew. More than a fortnight's interval therefore (allowing of course for Salerio's journey, and the time passed by him in Venice, after the arrest, during which the chief citizens interceded with Shylock on behalf of Antonio) must be supposed between scenes i. and ii. of this Act. There can be no difficulty in supposing that. The difficulty is to make out what Bassanio has been about ever since his arrival at Belmont. can't fix the time of his arrival with precision; but it must evidently have been at some time long previous to the expiration of the three months of the bond. Halpin asserts (p. 395) that in this scene ii. of Act III., he "has his first interview, in the capacity of a suitor, with Portia"; but on this point Bassanio himself contradicts him.

Speaking to Portia, he says:-

No one will contend that in saying this he was referring to the "fair speechless messages" alluded to in Act I, scene i. l. 164. Halpin himself does not pretend this: he merely ignores the lines I have quoted. Bassanio must therefore refer to some interview after

his arrival and previous to this scene. It may have been the interview during which he took his oath; or it may have been one of many previous interviews; for notwithstanding that Portia's words,—

"I pray you tarry: pause a day or two.

I would detain you here some month or two Before you venture for me," etc.

may seem to argue but a short previous acquaintance, the dialogue between them is that of two persons who by long intercourse are mutually certain of each other's love, and tremble lest fate should divide them. We must suppose that the lovers have been lingering out the time; putting off from day to day the dreaded ordeal of the caskets, the wrong choice of which would blast their happiness.

Bassanio in fact has been following Antonio's advice, and staying "the very riping of the time" (II. viii., 40); but, like Orlando in As You Like it, he "can live no more by thinking." The uncertainty of his fate makes him to live upon the rack and to fear the enjoying of his love: he must venture at last; and now has come the supreme moment. But Portia and he have not been alone in their wooing: Gratiano has been hard at it too, wooing 'till he sweat again, and "at last" Nerissa has promised him her hand if Bassanio achieves her mistress. The time was short enough to them no doubt, but they did not slubber up their business in the impossible short time, or rather no time, to which Halpin would stint them; nor did the Poet mean that they should; though he has not very precisely accounted for all the days and hours during which he has left them together.

I might here also adduce another little bit of evidence in favour of a lengthy sojourn for Bassanio at Belmont, before he decides his fate by the caskets, from Act III. scene v.; but as it reflects on Launcelot's moral character and is decidedly damaging to the reputation of a Moorish lady, I will pass it in discreet silence. Still it is strange that Lorenzo should make such a charge against Launcelot if

¹ At least twelve weeks, according to Dr. Tanner, Signs and Diseases of Pregnancy, 1860, p. 65.—F.

Launcelot had only arrived with his new master at Belmont the day before this scene takes place.¹

With this scene ii. of Act III. commences Halpin's "Second Period" of 18 hours. As I have, however, already disposed of this period in the attempt to ascertain the distance between Venice and Belmont, it will be sufficient here to recapitulate his scheme and that sanctioned by the play.

He fixes, quite arbitrarily, the time of the commencement of this Belmont scene at 8 a.m. By noon of the same day he gets all the characters—including of course Balthasar, who has been on an errand to Padua for Portia—into court in Venice, for the trial. Portia and Nerissa set out on their return to Belmont shortly after the trial. Antonio and Bassanio don't start till the following morning, but so early in the morning that they actually get back to Belmont in time to finish up the play by 2 a.m. Total time 18 hours. Accepting 8 a.m. (though I think that too early) for the commencement of scene ii. Act III., and 2 a.m. for the conclusion of Act V., the very shortest time that the play can possibly be made to sanction is 66 hours.

Scenes ii. and iv. Act III., at Belmont (choice of the caskets, and departures of Bassanio and Portia for Venice), and scene iii. Act III., at Venice (Antonio in custody), are on one and the same day. In scene iii. we learn from Antonio that the trial is for the morrow: it follows then that a night intervenes between these scenes and the Trial scene, Act IV. scene i. A night also (the ring night) intervenes between the Trial and the final night at Belmont. We have then (1) 16 hours, (2) two entire days, (3) the two final morning hours. Total 66 hours. A total differing in rather a remarkable degree from Halpin's, but the least the play will allow us to tot up. In this statement I have not noticed scene v. Act III. (Lorenzo, Jessica and Launcelot, at Belmont, before dinner). In Halpin's scheme it would of course be coincident with Portia's journey to Venice. I should bracket it with the Trial scene in point of time.

¹ A further reason for lapse of time was suggested at the Society's Meeting: what did Bassanio want 3000 ducats for (say £600, worth £4000 now), if he had not to maintain h mself for some weeks while he was courting. He could hardly spend the whole sum in dress, liveries, and a day's sail.—F.

Its position however is not important, as it does not interfere in the main course of the action. Neither have I thought it necessary to refute Halpin's notion (p. 412) that Antonio's mention of to-morrow as the day of trial is merely a miscalculation on his part. The absurdity of this notion is its own sufficient condemnation. Indeed this censure may be most justly applied to by far the greater part of Mr Halpin's paper, from its commencement to its end. So astonishing to me is its whole tenor, that I have sometimes asked myself whether it really could have been written in good faith, or whether, after all, it was merely intended as a mystification. In the latter case it must be considered as a very poor joke, but in the former the ignorance it supposes of the Play itself is quite incomprehensible.

I shall only notice one more "error," and that chiefly because it touches on a point of time.

When in Act V. Portia gets back to Belmont, the moon is shining, and she says,—

"This night methinks is but the day-light sick; It looks a little paler: 'tis a day, Such as the day is when the sun is hid" (l. 124—6).

A few lines later on Gratiano says,-

"By yonder moon I swear," etc. (l. 142).

Later on still Bassanio swears-

"by these blessed candles of the night," i. e. the stars (1. 220). In the very last lines of the play Gratiano says that it is still "two hours to day" (1. 303).

It would seem impossible for any one studying this scene, with special reference to the time at which it takes place, to overlook all this evidence; yet Halpin manages to do so. He asserts (p. 398) that the time is "dusky dawn;" and for confirmation of his assertion he calls to witness "the shortness of the Italian summer night." His science here shows as unhappily as his knowledge of the scene: a moment's reflection must have told him that the latitude of Italy was incompatible with *shortness* of nights; and in point of fact the earliest sun-rise on the longest day in Venice is not before 4.10 A.M.

I now leave my readers to form their own opinion of the value

of Mr Halpin's work, and, with this final specimen of his accuracy, I conclude a paper which I cannot but fear is already too long for the importance of the subject of which it treats.

I add a scheme of the time of the Play such as appears to me to be sanctioned by the text. By one day is, of course, to be understood the whole or any portion of the twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight.

1. Act I. sc. i., ii., iii. One day (No. 1). The bond. Morocco arrives at Belmont.

Interval, say a week.

2. Act II. sc. i. to vii. One day (No. 2). Bassanio starts for Belmont. Conclusion of Morocco's venture.

Interval, a day at least.

3. Act II. sc. viii. and ix. One day (No. 3). Salanio and Salarino in Venice. Arragon's venture.

Interval, bringing the time to within a fortnight of the maturity of the bond.

4. Act III. sc. i, One day (No. 4). Salanio and Salarino. Shylock and Tubal.

Interval, rather more than a fortnight.

- Act III. sc. ii., iii., iv. One day (No. 5). Bassanio's choice.
 He and Portia start for Venice. Antonio in custody.
- 6. Act III. sc. v.
 Act IV. sc. i. and ii. One day (No. 6). Lorenzo, Jessica, and
 Launcelot at Belmont. The Trial. The
 rings.
- 7, 8. Act V. sc. i. Two days (Nos. 7 and 8). Night in the Garden at Belmont.

The days Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 are consecutive.

P. A. DANIEL.

1st October, 1877.

V.

ON THE FIRST QUARTO OF ROMEO AND JULIET IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE OF A SECOND HAND IN IT?

BY T. ALFRED SPALDING, ESQ., LL.B.

(Read at the 39th Meeting of the Society, Jan. 11, 1878.)

Or the many difficulties that the editors of Shakspere's works have to encounter, those arising from the differences between the texts of Romeo and Juliet are not by any means the least important or the easiest of solution. Let the most recent and perhaps the most careful editor of the Play, Mr Daniel, speak his experience. "At every step," he says, "the judgment of the editor is called into play, in selecting, combining, and correcting; nor can he lay down, in the-case of this Play, any fixed rules for his guidance in the work:"—and again: "After all is said and done, and the editor has bestowed his utmost care, and made use of all his ability in accomplishing his task, he must rise at its completion with a deep sense of his power-lessness to right all the wrong he has passed in review, and a profound regret that the Author himself did not think fit to set forth and oversee his own writings." 1

What man could do to "right the wrong" which all Shakspere lovers, with Mr Daniel, so profoundly regret, has been done by him, as his work for our Society abundantly witnesses. There is one "wrong," however, not necessarily created by the texts, but imported into them by the ingeniousness of a certain school of critics, with which I do not find that Mr Daniel has dealt in any part of his Introductions or Notes: partly, no doubt, because the theories referred to were not so fully developed when his work was published

¹ See Mr. Daniel's Introduction to his Revised Edition. N.S.S., 1875.

as they now are. I refer to the attempt which has been made to show that Shakspere was not the sole author of Romeo and Juliet, at any rate in the form in which it first appeared,—the first Quarto.

The first move in this direction with which I am acquainted was made by Mr Grant White in his edition of Shakspere. This has been quite recently followed up by an article by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, published in *Macmillan's Magazine*. The object of this paper is to consider the positions of both these critics; it will be well, therefore, to state them in their own words at the outset.

Mr Grant White's opinion is that the first Quarto "represents imperfectly" (that is, is a pirated copy of) "a composition not entirely Shakspere's; and that the difference between the two" (that is, between the first and the second Quartos) "is owing partly to the rejection by him of the work of a co-labourer; partly to the surreptitious and inadequate means by which the copy of the earlier edition was obtained; and partly perhaps, though to a very much less degree, to Shakspere's elaboration of what he himself had written."

Mr Fleay concludes "that the first draft of this Play was made about 1593, probably by George Peele; that after his death it was partially revised by Shakspere, and produced at the Curtain Theatre in 1596 in the shape that we find it as printed in the first Quarto; and that he subsequently revised it completely as we read it in the second Quarto."

The exact amount of difference between these two theories must be carefully noted: Mr Grant White's view is that the first Quarto is the joint work of Shakspere and another author whose name he does not mention; ² Mr Fleay's, that it is a partial revision by Shakspere of a Play entirely by Peele: Mr Grant White holds that the copy was obtained surreptitiously; Mr Fleay holds the contrary opinion. Now, as it is only in case it can be shown that the first Quarto was printed from a legitimate source, that its accuracy can be relied upon as sufficient basis for the metrical criticism upon which Mr Fleay relies to support his proposition with regard to the second hand, the question of its origin becomes of paramount importance. This question will therefore be investigated first: the evidence for

¹ July, 1877, p. 195.

² See post., p. 86.

and against the probability of Peele having had any hand in the Play will then be discussed; and finally the question of the possibility of foreign element will be considered from Mr Grant White's point of view.

First;—as to the means by which the first Quarto was obtained. Authority distinctly declares itself in favour of Mr Grant White in this matter. Until Mr Fleay, not unmoved perhaps by the necessities of the cause of which he had constituted himself the advocate, propounded the opposite theory, the question was one upon which Shakspere critics were happily agreed. What, then, is the evidence that has led to this general agreement of opinion, and by what means does Mr Fleay attempt to set it aside?

The chief characteristic of a pirated edition of a Play is the extreme irregularity of the metre. When plays follow one another in such rapid succession as they did during the great days of the Elizabethan Drama, it must be impossible for the actor to commit his part to memory with anything like complete verbal accuracy, even if he had any wish to do so. He could but obtain a rough knowledge of his rôle, and trust to the prompter and his own readiness to carry him through. The comic characters we know took more deliberate licence, and many a time must the blank verse of Shakspere have "halted for it" under the determined attempts of the clown to make the people laugh. All these influences combined to transform ordinary five-foot lines into monsters unheard of-lines without heads, tails, or middles; lines with one, two, three, or more redundant syllables, halting Alexandrines; and, lastly, sheer prose. These additions and excisions do not always improve the sense of the passage operated upon, but they necessarily get repeated in the notes of the short-hand writer, aggravated of course by slips, faults, and emendations of his own. A specimen of the transformation that one of Hamlet's soliloquies underwent in the process of piracy may help to illustrate this:-

"To be, or not to be, I, there's the point,
To die, to sleepe, is that all? I, all:
No, to sleepe, to dreame, I, mary, there it goes,
For in that dreame of death, when wee awake,
And borne before an everlasting Judge,

From whence no passenger ever returnd The undiscovered country, at whose sight The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd. But for this the joyfull hope of this, Whol'd bear the scornes and flattery of the world. Scorned by the right rich, the rich curssed of the poore? The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong'd, The taste of hunger, or a tirant's raigne, And thousand more calamities besides, To grunt and sweate under this weary life, When that he may his full quietus make With a bare bodkin."

Five lines out of these sixteen are faulty, to say nothing of the violations of sense and grammar contained in them.

The following speech of Romeo's will serve to show the presence of the same faults in the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet (v. 1, 34):—

> "Doo as I bid thee, get me inke and paper, And hyre those horse: stay not, I say. · Well Juliet, I will lye with thee to-night Lets see for meanes. As I doo remember Here dwells a Pothecarie whom oft I noted As I past by, whose needie shop is stufft With beggerlie accounts of emptie boxes: And in the same an Aligarta hangs Olde endes of Packthred, and cakes of Roses, Are thinly strewed to make up a show. Him as I noted, thus with myselfe I thought: And if a man should need a poyson now, (Whose present sale is death in Mantua) Here he might buy it. This thought of mine Did but fore-runne my need; and here about he dwels."

In fifteen lines six are, from one cause or another, imperfect.

These imperfections of metre will be more minutely investigated when the metrical tests whereby it is sought to distinguish Peele's work from Shakspere's are considered: it is sufficient here merely to refer to, and illustrate them.

In a pirated edition of a Play the following peculiarity will always be found. Whenever the dialogue flows smoothly, and there is no element of disturbance in the action, the text proceeds with moderate correctness; but directly the dialogue becomes of an exciting nature, or complicated from the number of speakers on the stage, the text immediately falls off in accuracy, and sometimes fails to represent the scene except in the form of a stage direction. A very good illustration of this is afforded by the first scene in the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet. So long as the two serving men of the Capulets maintain the dialogue between them, there is little fault to be found with the text; but when it is complicated by the intervention of the two Montagues, there is a manifest falling off:—

- 1. Moun: Doo you bite your thumbe at us?
- 1. I bite my thumbe.
- 2 Moun. I but is't at us?
- 1. I bite my thumbe, is the law on our side?
- 2. No.
- 1. I bite my thumbe.
- 1 Moun. But is't at us?

[Enter Benvolio.

2. Say I here comes my masters kinsman.

Thus far the Reporter was able to follow the dialogue, though imperfectly; but when Tybalt, three or four citizens with clubs and partysons, Capulet exclaiming for a longsword, and his wife for a crutch, Montague and his wife, and lastly Prince Eskales and his train, all entered while fifteen unfortunate lines were being spoken, and perhaps some few improvised speeches from the fools, that had not been set down for them, and a free fight was going on in addition to other complications, it is not surprising that the unfortunate man threw up the pen in despair, and took refuge in the following stage direction, or rather explanation:—

"They draw: to them enters Tybalt, they fight, to them the Prince, old Montague, and his wife, old Capulet and his wife and other citizens and part them."

Similar fallings off in the text, although not so absolute, will be found where the hue and cry is raised after Mercutio's death; and, in the last scene of the Play, when all the actors enter for the final explanation before the tomb of the Capulets.

A third peculiarity often found in reported Plays is the manner

in which the stage directions are worded. It will be frequently found that these are not so much instructions to the actor or stage manager, as some striking action upon the stage that is not necessarily suggested by the text. A few examples will show this.

In the pretty love-scene between Romeo and Juliet in Laurence's cell, to which reference will again have to be made, Juliet's entrance is indicated thus: "Enter Juliet, somewhat fast, & embraceth Romeo."

The death of Mercutio is thus indicated :-

"Tybalt under Romeo's arme thrusts Mercutio in & flies."

The direction in the second Quarto answering to this is merely,
"Away Tybalt."

Again, we get such directions as these: "Enter Nurse, wringing her hands, with the ladder of cordes in her lap:"—"He" (Romeo) "offers to stab himself, & Nurse snatches the dagger away:—Fryer stoopes & lookes on the blood, & weapons;"—and lastly, a very curious case, after the nurse has counselled Juliet to accept the County as a second husband and has gone out; before Juliet begins those splendid lines—

"Auncient damnation, O most cursed fiend," &c.,

we are told that "she lookes after Nurse."

Such directions would be of even less use to the actor than the celebrated one in the first Quarto of *Hamlet*: "Enter ghost in his night gowne:" but they are intelligible upon the supposition that they are the notes made by an observer of passages in the performance that struck him as remarkable.

Here, then, are three distinct marks of piracy, marks that are hardly to be explained upon any other theory. There are many other slighter indications that occur to the reader of a pirated text. For instance: the name of a character is never prefixed to his speeches unless his name occurs in the spoken part. Sufficient, however, has been said to show that the conclusion that the text of the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet was surreptitiously obtained was not arrived at in the absence of strong evidence to support it.

We must now proceed to consider upon what grounds Mr Fleay

seeks to dispute this conclusion, and to establish that the first Quarto was printed from a legitimately obtained copy of the author's MS.

It is a curious fact that no attempt is made either to show that the peculiarities of a pirated Play do not appear in this first Quarto, or to attribute the existence of them to other causes. Instead of making a direct attack upon his opponents Mr Fleay executes a flank movement, and entrenches himself in a position the strength of which he believes will compel his enemy to retire. But the enemy is hardly likely to do so without a previous reconnaissance in force of Mr Fleay's parallels. These are two in number: first, the nature of the misprints in the first Quarto; and second, the nature of the emendations in the second Quarto.

With regard to the misprints, Mr Fleay points out that they are few in number in comparison with the ordinary printed productions of the day; in comparison indeed with the second Quarto: and that the misprints that do occur are such as would arise rather from an error of the eye than one of the ear; in the printing house, not in the Theatre. If this were absolutely true (it is practically), it would not render our former position untenable, for such a state of things might occur in a print from a pirated copy. It would be quite possible for a clever editor so to conceal by emendations any hiatus in the report as to prevent a reader who was not acquainted with the original Play from detecting the alteration: and as it is an earlier form of Romeo and Juliet, not the amended Play as it appears in the second Quarto, that the Reporter was operating upon, it would be impossible for the acutest nineteenth-century critic to discover it. The errors of eye would infallibly arise in printing from the pirated MS. But it is not perfectly clear that all the errors do arise solely from the eye. Many of them might arise from either source; but this fact so little affects the main question, that it is hardly worth while pointing out the few cases about which there may be doubt.

With regard to the second position, the nature of the emendations in the second Quarto, I feel that it will be the safest plan to let Mr Fleay speak for himself. He says:—"That Q1 was not a mere corruption or imperfect representation of Q2 is demonstrable; for it

can be shown that the correcting process was not finished before O2 was printed, but only in progress."

Now no one ever contended that the first Quarto was a corrupt representation of the second; but of an earlier form of the Play. What is contended for is this. The first Quarto has all the signs of having been surreptitiously procured: the second bears none of these, but it does contain evidence of having been revised upon an earlier play: therefore the second Quarto is a revised edition of the manuscript of the Play imperfectly represented in the first Quarto.

"But," says Mr Fleay, "in every instance where we get two versions of a passage in Q2, the version in Q1 lies between them; differing from either less than they differ from each other. If this is to be explained on the short-hand note-taking system, either the piratical reporter must have had a supernatural insight into the corrections that were to appear in Q2 or the theory of probabilities must be discarded."

In two of the passages that Mr Fleay gives in illustration of this peculiar relation between the two Quartos, namely, Act III. sc. iii. ll. 35-45, and II. iii. 1-4,(1) one of the versions in the second Quarto is identical with the reading in the first, so no inspiration came to the note-taker in these cases. In the third the two passages (V. iii. 108 and 123) in the second Quarto are identical, and only vary from the corresponding passage in the first Quarto in one word: "quick" instead of "swift." The fourth passage, as the last prop of an ingenious theory, deserves fuller investigation: I therefore parallel the Quartos. (iv. 1.)

First Quarto.

Second Quarto.

"And in this borrowed likenes of shrunke death

"And in this borrowed likenesse of shrunke death

Thou shalt remaine full two and fortie houres

Thou shalt continue two and fortie hours,

¹ In the passage in the friar's speech here referred to there is a difference of one word between the second reading of Q2 and the reading of Q1; and two other words vary as to spelling. So the second reading in Q2 differs from the first exactly as the reading in QI does: the latter is no mean between the two readings in Q2.

And then awake as from a pleasant sleepe.

Now when the Bridegroome in the morning comes, 108

To rowse thee from thy bed there art thou dead:

Then as the manner of our countrie is,

In 1 thy best robes uncovered on the Beere,

Be borne to buriall in thy kindred's grave: 112

Thou shalt be borne to that same auncient vault 113

Where all the kindred of the Capulets lie," &c.

And when thou art laid in thy kindreds Vault,

Ile send in hast to Mantua to thy lord."

The contention is that because the lines in the second Quarto, from 108 to 112, are not grammatical, therefore line 112 represents the form of the earliest version (Peele's), the corresponding line in the first Quarto the result of the first revision, and line 113 the second revision that was intended as a substitute for both: therefore the first Quarto cannot be a surreptitious one. Surely this is too ponderous an argument for such a small line to sustain. It might be reasonable to say that the "Thou shalt" of line 106 was understood in the following sentence, or that there was some line that had dropped out accidentally; but the greater argument it is surely incapable of sustaining.

It is therefore quite warrantable, for the purpose of this investigation, to state as a fact that the first Quarto, if not actually proved to be a surreptitiously obtained copy, bears all the brand-marks of such an origin, and that hitherto no successful attempt has been made either to explain away these marks, or to produce other evidence to prove that the print had a more legitimate origin. The bearing of

v. mr spalding. Is peele's hand to be seen in Rom. & Jul. Q1 ? 67

this upon the value of any metrical tests derived from the first Quarto is too apparent to need explanation.

We must now pass on to investigate the evidence that has sufficient strength to convince Mr Fleay that Peele's hand can be traced in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. This evidence divides itself into external and internal evidence: the latter subdividing into three classes, evidence from metre, style, and phraseology.

First, as to the external evidence.

When a writer announces, with a degree of calmness indicative of great confidence in his cause, that there is external evidence in favour of his proposition that there are passages by a second author in a Play generally regarded as Shakspere's, the reader feels a natural agitation to know what is to come next. Visions of a newly-discovered Meres, or a hitherto mute inglorious Manningham float before the mind, and he hurries forward to the unveiling of the mystery with an excusable mingling of interest and distrust. The latter feeling will in this case obtain a strong predominance, whilst the former will sink almost to zero; for the evidence in question consists of the somewhat well known fact that Shakspere's name does not appear on the title-page of any one of the Quartos of Romeo and Juliet, except perhaps, upon a few copies that were suppressed. If this mode of argument were generally adopted, and rigorously shutting their eyes to all external evidence in the true sense, such as that of Meres, the critics were to dispute the unity of authorship of all the Plays that appeared in Quarto without the author's name on the title-page, our ideas about Elizabethan literature would become somewhat confused. There was a period in Shakspere's life, the earliest, when his name was not sufficiently known to make it worth while putting it on the title-page, perhaps when the editor did not even know the name of the author of the successful Play he had pirated. This soon changed, and Shakspere's name was a recommendation of the trash that represented his Play: and subsequently it paid to put his name to Plays he had never put pen to. It is rather a curious fact that his name did not appear on the second Quarto: but at this distance of time it seems aperilous assumption that it was because he would not claim sole authorship of a Play partly written by another. This sort of

guess-work is dangerous to begin upon, and it is wiser sometimes in Shakspere criticism, as in religious dogmatizing, candidly to admit the impossibility of knowledge on a point than to invent an explanation unsupported by fact merely for the sake of explaining everything. But curiously enough we have an opportunity of putting this evidence into Mr Fleay's own balance; and weighed there it is found very wanting indeed. What would have been the effect on Mr Fleay's argument had the first Quarto borne the name of Shakspere on the title-page? It appears that it would have had no effect at all. The external evidence as to Shakspere's authorship of Richard III. is on all-fours with that relating to Romeo and Juliet, except in the one particular of the name. The second Quarto of the former Play is an exact reprint of the first, except that it contains two more lines, and bears Shakspere's name on the title-page: so the first Quarto may be said to bear the name of Shakspere. Both Plays are attributed by Meres to Shakspere. But does this prevent Mr Fleay from doubting Shakspere's sole authorship of Richard III? Not in the slightest. Mr Fleay has a pet theory that Peele had a hand in Richard III. as well as in Romeo and Juliet, and in such a case the name on the title-page has no weight whatever. If therefore the presence of Shakspere's name on the title-page of the first Quarto would have been no evidence of his sole authorship, how can its absence be "absolutely fatal" to his claim to such authorship?

So much for the external evidence, from which we pass on to the internal, which must be investigated with some care, at the risk of tediousness, so important are its bearings upon the question in hand.

The internal evidence, as was before stated, is divisible into three heads; namely, evidence from metre, from style, and from peculiar phraseology. The metrical evidence subdivides into three classes.

- 1. Lines deficient by a foot or head syllable.
- 2. The number of Alexandrines.
- 3. Lines with a superfluous strong syllable that does not occur after a pause.

It is true Mr Fleay does not use the first two divisions as evidence, because these might be due "either to the original writer, or to the copyist if the edition were issued without revision. It would

be reasoning in a circle to use these as an argument either one way or the other." It is clear, therefore, that the first and second classes come in as confirmatory evidence of Peele's hand if its presence can be proved by other means; so I shall consider the crucial test first, leaving the confirmatory evidence for subsequent remark.

The proposition, then, is that lines containing a superfluous strong syllable that is not to be disposed of by contraction, and does not occur after a pause, are evidence of Peele's hand. Mr Fleay finds fifty-six of these lines in the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, and he instances two:

| Where's he | that slew | Mercu|tio, Ty|balt that Vill|ain| where the extra syllable must be either -balt, that, or Vill-: and

| When young king |Cophet|ua loved | the beg|gar wench| where the extra syllable is either "when," "young," or "king."

It is somewhat unfortunate that the only two examples of the lines in question that are given in illustration should be taken from passages that are not only printed as prose, but are unscannable as verse. Take the whole of the passages from which they are derived.

The first is from the part of the first Quarto that answers to Act III. scene i. ll. 135-6.

Romeo. Ah I am fortune's slave!

[Enter Citizens.]

Watch. Wher's he that slue Mercutio, Tybalt that villaine?

Benvolio. There is that Tybalt.

Watch. Up sirra goe with us.

This occurs between two passages of verse, but can hardly be called verse itself, and the line which is relied on as a specimen of Peele's peculiarity appears to be an Alexandrine if it is anything.

The second example is taken from the part answering to Act II. scene i. ll. 14—22. The former part of the speech, although printed as prose, is scannable, but from the line quoted it goes on thus:—

"Hee heares me not. I conjure thee by Rosalindes bright eye, high forehead, and scarlet lip, her prettie foote, straight leg, and quivering thigh, and the demaines that there adjacent lie, that in thy likenesse thou appeare to us."

And Mercutio's speech immediately following is only prose, although many lines lie imbedded in the passages, indicating that they are imperfect representations of what should be verse. I am not arguing, of course, that because these passages are printed as prose they must be treated as such; but I am merely pointing out that it is rather unsatisfactory, after ingenuity has been expended to show that the first Quarto is not a surreptitious print, but a most careful reproduction of a copy of the author's MS, to have lines produced from a piece of unscannable prose in illustration of a peculiarity of the metre of a writer whose verse is remarkable chiefly for the regularity and monotony of its rhythm.

This being the case, I have had some difficulty in finding out which are the fifty-six lines in the first Quarto; indeed, after admitting many lines that are manifestly susceptible of another explanation, I have been unable to make up that number; nevertheless, I have no doubt that they do exist, and that Mr Fleav could easily substantiate this statement. But before proceeding to consider how far this species of verse is a peculiarity of Peele's, it seems necessary to settle what effect the admission of the accuracy of this test would have upon the second Quarto; that is, the standard text, necessary to bear in mind the theory concerning the first Quarto that we are supposing for the sake of the argument to be correct. Quarto is a Play of Peele's, partially revised by Shakspere, and printed from his manuscript. If, therefore, a style of verse peculiar to Peele alone appears in a given passage, it is fair to conclude that that passage, if not the scene containing it, has not been subject to It would be absurd to assert that Shakspere had re-written all the passage except the line with the extra head syllable. a step further, if one of the passages in question is reprinted in the second Quarto just as it stands, except for the removal of Peele's metrical peculiarity, it seems incontestable that it must nevertheless be credited to Peele, and not to Shakspere. A careful consideration of the position of the lines in question leads inevitably to the conclusion that, if this test is to hold good, Romeo and Juliet must henceforth be printed in an appendix to Shakspere's works as a Play produced by him and Peele jointly. A few examples of this will v. MR SPALDING. NOT THE FAINTEST TRACE OF PEELE IN ROM. & JUL. 71

show what I mean. The famous Queen Mab speech contains at least two of these lines:—

|| And || then dreams he of another benefice This is that Mab || that || makes maids lie on their backs.

In the second Quarto the passage stands almost as it does in the first Quarto: one or two lines are cut out, including the latter of the two quoted; one or two are inserted, and a few slight emendations are made: but if Peele wrote the speech as it stands in the first Quarto he is practically the author of it as it appears in the second. One more example: this time of a whole scene. If Act II, scene ii., the lovely balcony scene between Romeo and Juliet, be read for comparison in Mr Daniel's parallel text edition, it will be seen that. except for a few additions in the second Quarto, the texts are practically identical; that is, all the first Quarto is contained in the second. Yet this scene, besides Alexandrines and other metrical peculiarities, contains no less than six lines with the extra syllable. all which are corrected in the second Quarto. Out of 168 lines. those answering to 47, 76, 83, 92, 123, and 191 in the second Quarto bear the stamp of George Peele, so it will be seen that they do not occur all in a heap, but are spread equally through the whole scene. These are the lines referred to :-

- 47. Retaine | the | devine perfection he owes
- 76. I would not for the world | they | should find thee here.
- 83. | I | he gave me counsaile, and I lent him eyes
- 92. Dost thou love me ? | Nay | I know thou wilt say I.
- 123. It is too rash too sodaine | too | unadvised.
- 191. Yet I should kill thee with much cherishing | thee |

It seems difficult not to conclude that Peele was the author of the scene as it stands in the first Quarto, and that Shakspere's additions are confined to the variations in the second Quarto. If this is not the case, perhaps some critic will have the courage to split this magnificent scene into parts, pointing out which lines Shakspere wrote and which Peele. For my part I am unable to distinguish the faintest trace of the hand of the man whose attempts at pathos move indeed, but move to laughter.

Many other passages might be cited to show that the lines in question occur in passages retained in the second Quarto, not in passages for which fresh matter is substituted, as one would expect if the theory of the gradual elimination of Peele's work by Shakspere's were correct, but these instances are sufficient.

Let us now pass on to the main question: is this line with the extra strong syllable a characteristic of Peele, and Peele alone? I have no hesitation in saying no: and for the purpose of showing the justice of this answer let us take Peele's two principal works, Edward I. and David and Bethsabe, and see how many of these lines they respectively contain. Of Edward I. Dyce rightly observes that it is "perhaps the most incorrectly printed of all our old Plays"; and yet under circumstances so favourable to the production of irregularities, I can only find nine lines of the description in question to set against the fifty-six in the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet. These nine are as follows:

Baliol behold, I give | thee | the Scottish crown.

Tailers Imbroders, | and | men of rare device ²

Madam content | ye | would that were greatest care.

Owen ap Rice, while we stay | for | further force.

| My | lords will you stand to what I shall award.

She vaunts that mighty England | hath | felt her fist.

Proud Edward, call | in | thy Elinor; be still.³

Farewell | and | be hanged, half Sinon's sapon's brood.

| Fair | Queen Elinor could never be so false.³

Of these the last but one is absolute nonsense, and reasonable amendments may be suggested for most.

David and Bethsabe is much more carefully printed than Edward I., and consequently is a much better Play to test any peculiarity of Peele's versification: and curiously enough, it contains

² Dyce reads "imbroiderers" for imbroders, thus turning the line into an

Alexandrine.

³ Probably these should be omitted, as Elinor is a dissyllable or trisyllable as occasion may require. Two lines have been omitted containing the word "coronation," which is evidently used as a dissyllable. Cf. Richard III. iii. 4. 2.

¹ The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First, &c., 4°, 1593. Brit. Mus.: Press mark C. 34. d. 52.

only one line with the extra syllable. It is in Nathan's address to David. He says:—

"There came a stranger to this wealthy man,
And he refus'd, and spar'd to take his owne,
But tooke the poore mans sheepe, partly, poore mans store,
And drest it for this stranger in his house."

"Some deep corruption here," says Dyce, in a note on the third line. "An instance of Peele's metrical peculiarity," Mr Fleay would say. Which of the two is right?

Perhaps Greene has as much if not more right than Peele to be considered the joint author of *Romeo and Juliet*, if the extra syllable be any test.² Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay contains 6 of these lines:

James IV. " 6 " "

The Looking Glass for London and England, by Greene and Lodge, contains five, three of which occur in four lines.

Lastly, the efficacy of this test may be well illustrated by applying it to the two Plays, Alphonsus king of Aragon and George-a-Greene. The former, a very carefully printed Play, contains only four of these lines: if "prowess" may be read as a monosyllable, only two: the latter, which bears the marks of having been pirated, contains at least twenty-six in addition to lines of every other number of feet.

These facts are surely enough to dispel any idea that the lines in question are any test of Peele's workmanship, and I shall now proceed to attempt to account in another manner for their existence. It is only fair, however, to state here that Mr Fleay says that he has chosen this test out of several that point to Peele as Shakspere's coadjutor. It is impossible of course to guess what these tests may be: but the remark of the master of the feast at the marriage at Cana in Galilee on tasting the miraculously-produced wine inevitably occurs to the mind in connection with this assertion.

An examination of a few of these extra syllable lines will disclose two important facts concerning them. The first is that the extra syllable has no necessary place in the line. It is not like the double,

¹ The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe, &c., 4°, 1596. Brit. Mus.: Press Mark C. 34. d. 54.

² These statistics are worked from Dyce's edition: probably a perusal of the original Quartos would furnish one or two more.

or triple ending, always in one position, but may appear in any position whatever. It is not, therefore, the result of an attempt to produce a peculiar and distinctive rhythm; on the contrary, it has always the effect of giving an ungainly jolt to the line in which it occurs. The second fact is that the extra syllable can nearly always be removed, and the line thereby improved without altering the sense. These lead me to believe that such lines in the Elizabethan Dramas arose from two causes:—

- 1. Actor's errors repeated by the Reporter.
- 2. Printer's errors.

There are very few cases of the latter class indeed, as printer's errors are more generally those of omission than those of commission; but they are very frequent in a piratical print. A few illustrations from the first Quarto will show how probable this is.

I. i. 189. Being vext, a sea raging with | a | lover's tears.

The line preceding is: "Being purdge, a fire sparkling in lover's eyes."

I. i. 207. With Cupid's arrow; she hath Dian ae s wit.

I. iv. 75. | And | then dreams he of another benefice.

II. ii. 92. Dost thou love me? | Nay | I know thou wilt say I,

II. iii. 25. For this being smelt | too | with that part cheers each part.

II. v. 4. | Oh | she is lazie, love's heralds should be thoughts.

Or perhaps the Actor said, or the Reporter misheard, "lazie" for "lame."

III. iii. 110. Murdered her kinsman: | Ah | tell me holy Friar-

III. v. 237. I | and | from my soul, or else beshrew them both.

V. i. 51. Him as I noted, | thus | with myself I thought.

V. i. 85. Than this which thou hast given me: | go | hie thee hence.

V. iii. 157. But what we talkt of: | but | yet I cannot see:-

I do not say that all the lines can be explained away with equal facility, but I think those quoted are sufficient to show how they come about.

But Mr Fleay challenges the production of such lines from any other notoriously pirated Play, and suggests the Corambis *Hamlet*, from which he would like to see instances. It would appear that in fact the Corambis *Hamlet* contains more of these lines than the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, probably because it was printed from a

more carelessly prepared copy. If Mr Fleay had looked at the Corambis *Hamlet* before writing his article he would probably have avoided making any reference to it, for the third line in the Play stands thus:—

O you come most carefully upon your watch.

I will give a few instances of these lines in this Play, of which I find at least 39, to show how exactly the remarks I have made about the *Romeo and Juliet* lines apply to them.

Who as you know | was | by Fortenbrass of Norway—
My | good | lord I came to see your father's funeral.
| Oh | I pre thee do not mocke me fellow studient.
| And | remember well what I have said to you.
So to seduce my | most | seeming vertuous Queene.
Hic et ubique | nay | then we'll shift our ground.
What have you given him | any | cross words of late?¹
Tell me true; come; I know the | good | King and Queene.
Yes faith, this | great | world you see, contents me not.
What is the reason | sir | that you worry me thus?

Who will point out Peele's share in Hamlet?

In the Quarto of *Henry V*. printed in 1600 I find at least twenty-one of these lines, of which the following are examples:—

I. i. l. 3. Of | some | serious matters touching us and France.

I. ii. l. 188. | And | we understand him well how he comes ore us.

II. ii. 28. That is mercie, but | too | much securitie.

II. ii. 81. | Should | proceed one spark that might annoy my finger. II. iiii. 27. My gracious father cut | up | this English short.

It would be interesting to know how much of this Quarto of *Henry V*. Peele wrote.

In the Chronicle History of King Lear, 1608,² without counting such passages as are hopelessly mangled into prose, I find about 40 of these lines, from which I select the following as illustrations:—

In three our kingdome; and tis our | first | intent | How | nothing can come of nothing; speake againe.

¹ So in Folio. ² Brit. Mus.: press mark C. 34, k. 17.

Shall be as | well | neighbourd pittyed and relieued Shall | have | dread to speake when power to flatterie bowes. Why fare | thee | well king, since thus thou wilt appeare. My dutie kneeling, came | there | a reeking post And clamour moystened her, | then | away she started.

We shall some day perhaps be told how much of *Lear* was written by Peele.

I have not carried my investigations of spurious Quartos any farther than this; but I think that what I have said is sufficient to substantiate the following propositions:

- 1. That extra heavy syllable lines are not characteristic of Peele's work.
- 2. That when they exist in any considerable number, they are characteristic of a print of a Play surreptitiously obtained, and are due principally to actors' errors, but in a less degree perhaps to the reporter and the printer.

I therefore conclude that the extra heavy syllable in *Romeo and Juliet* is only further evidence of a piracy.

The "distinctive" test having thus fallen to the ground, the confirmatory tests become of no importance. I shall only mention them therefore to show that, like their more important relation, they are strongly indicative of a piracy.

With regard to Alexandrines, it can hardly be said that they form a distinctive peculiarity of any Dramatic Author of the period: it is therefore only the exceeding number of such lines that can constitute a test. The first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet indeed teems with them: I find about 40, and I do not pretend to have marked all. But on turning to the Plays of Peele before referred to, nothing like the number is to be found. The Corambis Hamlet however produces at least 45, and the Chronicle History of King Lear at least 44. This seems to point to the corruption of an ordinary line by the improper insertion of two syllables; and this is borne out by the fact that lines do occur in pirated Plays which, although they contain twelve syllables, are nevertheless unscannable as Alexandrines.

¹ I have marked 26 in Edward I. and 6 in David and Bethsabe.

The second of these confirmatory tests is the line lacking a foot or head syllable. Of these lines the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet and the Chronicle Historie of King Lear contain about 25 each: the Corambis Hamlet about double that number. Edward I. contains about 20, and David and Bethsabe 6.

The examination of a few of the lines of this description will disclose two points somewhat analogous to those noticed with regard to the extra syllable lines.

- 1. That the hiatus has no fixed place in the line.
- 2. That the hiatus may be easily filled up without injury to the sense, and to the improvement of the music of the metre.

A few examples will illustrate this clearly.

II. ii. 104. I should have bin | more | strange I must confesse . . .

II. v. 17. Oh now she comes | nay | tell me gentle nurse . . .

III. i. 109. Hath beene my kinsman: Ah | sweet Juliet

III. i. 145. | Oh | Tybalt, Tybalt: oh my brother's child!

III. iii. 104. Oh she says nothing, but | she | weepes and pules . . .

V. iii. 40. Well I'll begone and | will | not trouble you.

Such lines arise therefore from:

- 1. Actors' errors.
- 2. Printers' errors.

The former being by far the most prolific source: but in a very careless piece of printing the latter may cause a considerable number of these lines.

It now only remains to glance at the peculiarities of style and phraseology that have helped to convince Mr Fleay that Shakspere was not the sole author of Romeo and Juliet.

The first point is the lengthening of r's, l's and n's into separate syllables. The only cases of this in the first Quarto that are at all out of the common, are two mentioned by Mr Fleay: Thursday and packthread. The word "Thursday" is used thirteen times in this Play: in eleven of these cases it is a dissyllable, in two only can it be claimed as a trisyllable. The word "packthread" is never used by Shakspere again in verse, so this form of it can hardly be said to

¹ It occurs again in The Shrew, III. ii. 64, in a passage of prose.

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be un-Shaksperean. Besides, all lines of this nature may be explained away as lines lacking one foot.

The next point is drawn from a comparison of the two versions of the elegy of Paris at Juliet's grave, which I here parallel (v. 3):

First Quarto.

"Sweete Flower, with flowers I strew thy Bridale bed:

Sweete Tombe that in thy circuite dost containe,

The perfect modell of eternitie:

Faire Juliet that with angells dost remaine,

Accept this latest favour at my hands,

That living honourd thee, and being dead

With funerall praises doo adorne thy Tombe."

Second Quarto.

"Sweet flower, with flowers thy Bridall bed I strew:

O woe, thy Canapie is dust and stones, -

Which with sweete water nightly will I dewe,

Or wanting that, with teares distild by mones,

The obsequies that I for thee will keepe:

Nightly shall be to strew thy grave and weepe."

Of the version in the first Quarto Mr Fleay says:

"Was this lovely bit the production of an obscure note-taker? Surely not. Was it an early draft by Shakspere, discarded for 'the form in the second Quarto?' I do not think it possible that he should either have issued an unfinished dirge, or have substituted one so very inferior. It seems to me that he objected to the form of the one he found done to his hand, and found it easier to write a new one than to remodel the other; thus obtaining the form he wanted though with inferior matter."

It is to be noted that in the last sentence but one Mr Fleay states a deliberate opinion that Shakspere could not possibly have written the form in the second Quarto on the ground of its inferiority to that in the first; and in the very next sentence comes to the conclusion that he *did* write the second form to save himself trouble. Such an argument is somewhat difficult to follow: and it must be enough to say that nobody ever asserted that the elegy in the first

Quarto was either the *production* of a note-taker, or an early draft by Shakspere. What is contended is that it is an imperfect representation of an earlier dirge which Shakspere subsequently replaced by the stanza in the second Quarto:—and this for two reasons.

- 1. Because, although not a regular rhyming stanza, it contains evidence of being intended to be one.
- 2. Because the sense of this "beautiful bit" is, to say the least, open to question.

The first line is clear enough, and complete in itself. Juliet is addressed under the metaphor "sweet flower." The second line begins an address to the tomb in which she is buried. How far does this go down? Clearly it cannot go beyond the end of the third line; for then sense and grammar would be equally absurd. But to put a full stop at the end of "eternitie" gives only a subject and its enlargement. The Reporter has made a mess of it.

The third question of style raised by Mr Fleay is upon the lament over Juliet's body; which appears in the first Quarto in this form:

"Cap. Cruel, unjust, impartiall destinies
Why to this day have you preserv'd my life?
To see my hope, my stay, my joy, my life,
Deprived of sence, of life, of all by death,
Cruell, unjust, impartiall destinies.

Cap. O sad fac'd sorrow map of misery
Why this sad time have I desird to see.
This day, this unjust, this impartiall day,
Wherein I hop'd to see my comfort full,
To be deprivde by suddaine destinie.

Moth. Oh woe, alacke, distrest, why should I live?
To see this day, this miserable day.
Alacke the time that ever I was borne,
To be partaker of this destinie,
Alacke the day, alacke and well-a-day."

This style of composition "is nowhere used by Shakspere, and is utterly discordant with the genius of his dramatic writings."

Of what author is it characteristic? Mr Fleay does not venture to assert that it is in Peele's style, although both Peele and Greene were fond of a series of speeches ending up with the same refrain. The nearest approach to it is the lament of David and his friends on and.

leaving Jerusalem; where three speeches of 4, 5, and 5 lines of bombast respectively end up with a similar refrain.

Let us see what Shakspere actually did do in the second Quarto. According to his usual practice, he has introduced a light bustling comic scene immediately after the crisis when Juliet takes the potion, and the comedy is unfortunately carried on into that part of the scene where the discovery of the death takes place, a blot which, I venture to think, would not have been allowed to disfigure the Play had Shakspere revised it in his more mature period. In this scene the Nurse and old Capulet at any rate, perhaps the Mother too, are purely comic, and the fun consists of the parody of the ravings of Hieronimo in that well-abused play, The Spanish Tragedy. The nurse's ejaculatory bombast is of exactly the same nature as the speeches Shakspere put in the mouth of Pyramus in a certain well-known "tedious brief scene;" and the two lines:

"O love, O life, not life, but love in death"—

"O childe, O childe, my soule and not my childe" . . .

are only two out of many parodies on Hieronimo's

"O eyes! no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears:

O life! no life, but lively form in death:

O world! no world, but mass of public wrongs." 1

It is clear therefore that there is nothing "discordant with the genius of Shakspere's Dramatic writings" in the introduction of a piece of comic satire upon the style of the elder dramatists at this point of the Play.

Turning to the passage in the first Quarto, it will be noticed that the first two speeches are assigned to Capulet; the second to his wife. In reprinting the passage in his article Mr Fleay has, without giving any reason, assigned the second of these to Paris, thus giving to readers unacquainted with the first Quarto an impression of regularity which the passage does not in reality possess. It is possible that the second "Cap." is wrongly inserted, and that the two speeches constitute one only: or perhaps a line assigned to some one else has

¹ Act III. Hazlitt's Dodsley, Vol. 5, p. 67.

accidentally dropped out. At any rate, if one of the Capulet speeches has to be assigned to some one, the Nurse has far more claim to it than Paris; for Paris has only just finished such mild regrets as were to be expected from a sorrowing but not overencouraged lover; while, if the Nurse is to be excluded in favour of Paris, she has no opportunity of having her say between the first announcement of the death, and her exit "strewing Rosemary:" and the Nurse was hardly the character to content herself with a merely silent demonstration of affliction.1

If then the Nurse is the speaker of one of these passages, we have got this far: that all the speakers in the portion in question may be looked upon as comic characters. The scene therefore is probably intended to be a comic satire, as its substitute in the second Quarto manifestly is. This probably comic scene bears a slight resemblance to the peculiarities of some of Shakspere's predecessors in the Dramatic Art. It therefore represents a piece of satire on those peculiarities: but it is impossible to say exactly upon what passages it is a satire, as we only possess the note-taker's version o what is a very animated and complicated dialogue, which probably wanted a good deal of touching up before it went to press.

The fourth point that Mr Fleay dwells upon is the fact that singulars are made to rhyme with plurals: as "fire" with "liers." &c. It hardly appears necessary to dwell upon this: the origin of the manuscript will be a sufficient explanation.

The last argument is derived from the fact that the first Quarto of Romeo and Juliet contains lines that can be paralleled from Richard III. and Henry VI. It will be safe to pass this over also with the remark that no proof has yet been offered that Peele had anything to do with Richard III., and that the most recent critic of 2 and 3 Henry VI., Miss Jane Lee, is inclined to exclude him from any share in those Plays.

¹ The words "why this sad time have I desired to see:" and "wherein I hoped to see my comfort full," are not at all unsuitable in the mouth of the Nurse. She takes the interest of a foster-mother in Juliet, and the only joy that her limited vision can descry for her is that of marriage. She tells her: "Might I but live to see thee married once, I have my wish," I. iii, 61. The day was evidently one on which she expected to see her "comfort full."

The whole of Mr Fleay's arguments against the entirety of Shakspere's authorship of Romeo and Juliet have now been passed in review, and I cannot help thinking that this Society will be of opinion that doubt has been cast upon the Play without sufficient reason. The arguments appear to me so utterly without foundation that once or twice during the preparation of this paper it has occurred to me that perhaps the whole thing was a practical joke to test how much the Editor of Macmillan's Magazine and its readers would swallow without gasping; and this idea was partially confirmed by a passage that occurs in Mr Fleay's Guide to Shaksperean Study to this effect: "the earlier of these" (the Quartos of Romeo and Juliet) "is surreptitious, cut down for acting purposes, and probably obtained from shorthand notes at the theatre." Now the book and the article must have appeared within very few weeks, if not days, of one another: and the assertion quoted reads rather curiously beside the laborious attempt to prove the reverse in the article. Only one of these statements can be meant seriously, and it would be wronging Mr Fleay to suppose that he would trifle in a book intended for young students. The article must therefore be a joke; and we may look forward to a speedy denial to Peele of any part or share in the Play.

Mr Grant White's opinion is, it will be remembered, that the first Quarto imperfectly represents a Play not entirely Shakspere's. He does not state whom he considers the coadjutor to have been, but it is clear that he inclines to the opinion that it was Greene. As Mr Grant White's conclusion has been arrived at from a comparison of styles chiefly, it cannot be dealt with in the same manner as Mr Fleay's, which is supported by an array of evidence that it is possible to bring to the test; and any opinion expressed by Mr Grant White is always worthy of careful consideration. But he himself says, in his Introduction to Romeo and Juliet, that "in the attempt to decide questions of this kind opinion must of necessity seem arbitrary, perhaps be so;"—and it is a duty to scrutinize keenly the grounds that a man competent to express such an opinion has for his conclusion before accepting it.

If the first Quarto were printed from manuscript in the ordinary

manner, Mr Grant White would have, unquestionably, strong grounds for asserting that the style of many of the passages is decidedly un-Shaksperean. But this is not the case. There have been three deposits of non-Shaksperean matter over the pure text:—

- 1. The Actor's faults.
- 2. The Reporter's faults.
- 3. The Editor's emendations.

Through all these the critic has to look; and in such a case it is surely courageous, to say the least of it, for him to say, "I am prepared to distinguish between the faults arising from these sources, and the portions of the Play that are the product of Shakspere's coadjutor." If Mr Grant White had the power claimed by Mr Hugh Junor Browne, who has discovered that Shakspere's Plays were written by him under inspiration of a band of spirits, whom he has since met in the spheres, and were corrected and improved by his friends Bacon and Ben Jonson, he might possibly be able to speak with equal certainty; but without the power of clairvoyance it seems rash to pitch upon any passages in this pirated print, and say, "this is not Shakspere."

To illustrate the delicacy of the task Mr Grant White has undertaken, a few quotations from his "Introduction" to Romeo and Juliet will be compared.

When he is seeking to prove that the first Quarto is a pirated print, he points out that the line in the first Quarto, Act IV. scene v. l. 40,²

"Death is my sonne in law, to him I give all that I have," is merely a summary of the corresponding passage in the second Quarto; and says:—

³" The person who provided the copy for the edition of 1597 was either unable to set down the last two lines and a half, or could not remember their phraseology well enough to imitate them. But he did not forget their purport and 'lumped it' after this fashion."

I do not quite know what the exact process of "lumping" is;

¹ The Holy Truth, p. 85.

but from the sound I should judge that lines of Shakspere exposed to such treatment might appear somewhat in disguise afterwards.

Again: when seeking to prove that certain passages in the first Quarto are not Shakspere's, Mr Grant White says:—

"Any person of ordinary poetic apprehension and discrimination, on reading the whole of the latter speech, will see clearly, and at once, that it is none of Shakspere's. Thus it runs:—

'Rom. This morning here she pointed we should meet And consumate those never parting bands, Witnes of our harts loue by ioyning hands And come she will.'

Who will believe that this dribble of tame verse and feeble rhythm was written by the same man who (according to the same edition) had written in the first scene of the Play the following passage:—

'Madame, an houre before the worshipt sunne Peept through the golden window of the East A troubled thought drew me from companie: Where underneath the Groue Sicamoure That Westward rooteth from the Citties side, So early walking might I see your sonne.'"

It is quite true that the passage cited is poor enough; but what is there in it to show that it has not been "lumped"? Why is it not rational to assume, admitting, as Mr Grant White does, that the reporter would imitate a passage that he could not take down with verbal accuracy, that in this case he got into a muddle, and then got out of it in the best way he could? It is clear that this cannot be decided until an accurate distinction between "dribbling" and "lumped" verse has been drawn.

The three scenes that Mr Grant White points out as the work of the second author are—Act II. scene vi.: The lament in Act IV. scene iv., and parts of Laurence's speech in Act V. scene iii. The lament in Act IV. has already been commented upon sufficiently, and it is only necessary to add that Mr Grant White looks upon the form of the second Quarto as a caricature; but that in the first Quarto as a serious attempt at magnificent writing. The scene in Act II. he seems at first to condemn entirely: but subsequently he prints it as it is printed below, and it is not clear whether he intends

only to reject the passages italicised, or whether they constitute the evidence for the rejection of the whole scene. If the former is intended, it would reveal a somewhat extraordinary method of co-authorship to have existed in the time of Shakspere: if the latter. it would appear equally fair to italicise the remaining passages as proofs of Shakspere's sole authorship.

Enter Romeo and Frier.

Rom. Now, Father Laurence, in thy holy grant Consists the good of me and Juliet.

Fr. Without more words I will doo all I may.

To make you happie, if in me it lye.

Rom. This morning here she pointed we should meet. And consumate those never parting bands Witnes of our harts love by joyning hands, And come she will.

I gesse she will indeed Youths love is quicke, swifter than swiftest speed.

Enter Juliet somewhat fast, and embraceth Romeo.

See where she comes,

So light of foot nere hurts the troden flower: Of love and joy see, see, the soveraigne power.

Jul. Romeo.

Rom. My Juliet, welcome. As doo waking eyes (Cloasd in Night's mists) attend the frolike day, So Romeo hath expected Juliet,

And thou art come.

Jul. I am (If I be day)

Come to my sunne: shine forth, and make me faire. Rom. All beauteous fairnes dwelleth in thine eyes Jul. Romeo, from thine all brightnes doth arise.

Fr. Come wantons come, the stealing hours do passe Defer imbracements till some fitrer time.

Part for a while, you shall not be alone,

Till holy Church have igned ye both in one.

Rom. Lead holy Father, all delay seemes long. Jul. Make hast, make hast, this lingring doth us wrong.

Fr. Oh, soft and faire makes sweetest worke they say.

Hast is a common hindrer in crosse way.

There seems no justification for assuming either that this scene is the work of two hands, or, considering the origin of the first Quarto, of any other single hand than Shakspere's.

There seeems nothing in Friar Laurence's speech, apart from

style, which helps Mr Grant White to his conclusion, except the expression "for to". This occurs twice in the first Quarto, and Mr Grant White refers to his Essay on Henry VI., where he uses this expression as a mark of Greene's authorship. That this expression is peculiar to Greene can hardly be sustained, although he makes frequent use of it. An expression that is to be found in the Authorised version of the Bible can hardly be a distinctive characteristic of style; and Mr Grant White must have been speaking from a memory that deceived him when he asserted that it occurred in Peele only half-a-dozen times. It is much more frequent. The Play Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes contains it at least 61 times; but perhaps Peele's authorship of that Play is not clearly ascertained. Mr Grant White's memory deceived him too, when he asserted that this expression never occurred in Shakspere's undoubted works. The Folio, in Alls Well that Ends Well, Act V. scene iii. I. 181, reads:—

"Let your Highnes Lay a more noble thought upon mine honour, Then for to thinke that I would sinke it here."

In the second Quarto of Hamlet we read, in Act I. scene ii. l. 175:

"Weele teach you for to drinke ere you depart":

and in Act III. scene i. l. 175: "Which" for to "prevent..": and in The Winter's Tale, Act I. scene ii. l. 421, the Folio reads:—

"You may as well Forbid the sea for to obey the moone . ."

There are other instances of this expression in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *Pericles*, and *Titus Andronicus*; and curiously enough it occurs twice in the Corambis *Hamlet*:

"For to adorne a king, and guild his crowne."

and

"For to try his cunning."

Why should not this too be an actor's or reporter's importation?

The argument in favour of the purely Shaksperean origin of Romeo and Juliet might be carried a great deal farther: the unity of tone that exists throughout the Play might be pointed out, and the dissimilarity of the style of the suspected passages to the work

of the men who might have been Shakspere's associates in such an enterprise commented on. But to do this effectively more space would be required than the limits of an ordinary paper afford; and if it is considered that the attempt to repel the attacks hitherto made on this beautiful Play have been successful, the further object will sink into secondary importance. This paper will therefore be concluded with two propositions which appear to be fully justified by what has gone before.

The first is this. A metrical test, to be of any value, must be one that can be shown to work by law, not by accident. A peculiarity that cannot be reduced to any regular working may be attributed to some other cause than the author's individuality of style.

The second is that conclusions upon questions of style are of little worth when the work upon which these conclusions are based was obtained in a surreptitious manner.

VI.

SHAKSPERE'S "NEW MAP."

BY MR C. H. COOTE,

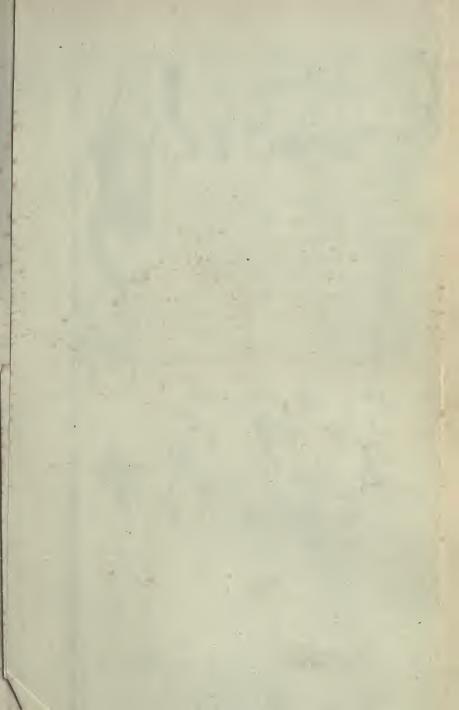
OF THE MAP DEPARTMENT OF THE BEITISH MUSEUM.

(Read at the 44th Meeting of the Society, June 14, 1878.)

To the student of Shakspere, as also to the bibliographer and geographer, it has always been a subject of interest and curiosity to learn what was the particular map referred to by Shakspere in Twelfth Night, Act III. scene ii., when Maria says of Malvolio—"He does smile his face into more lines than are in the 'new map' with the augmentation of the Indies." The commentators Steevens, Knight, Collier, and others, have so far agreed to remark, that the map referred to was to be looked for in the English translation of Linschoten's Voyages into the East and West Indies, fol. London, 1598. But it will be observed that with the exception of Knight, none of them have ventured to fix the identity of this particular map, either by reference to its title or to the folio in Linschoten, wherein it is to be found.

Knight, however, in his Pictorial Shakspere of 1838, attempted to fix the identity of this map by reproducing on a small scale a section of the map of the Moluccas, to be found on fol. 328 of Linschoten. (By the way, this reproduction can hardly be called a success, for in his zeal to show up the multilineal lines the illustrator, as a comparison of one of the sets of rhumb-lines with the original will show, has gone far beyond his text, and has multiplied the points of the compass, which are only 32 in number, into 58! as I count them.)

The only apparent advantage in favour of the map selected by Knight is, that this map of the Moluccas is peculiar to the English





edition of Linschoten, and is neither to be found in the original edition, published in Dutch two years before at Amsterdam, nor in any of the subsequent German or Latin editions; notwithstanding this apparent argument in its favour, and the remarks of many commentators, I venture to question the theory of the "new map" of Shakspere being identifiable with this of Linschoten.

Knight, in casting about for a map with many lines, evidently pitched upon this one for the reason above stated, without the slightest attempt to investigate its claims to be the "new map" at the time of the appearance of Twelfth Night. These claims, though they have not been seriously investigated hitherto, so far as I am aware, constitute in my opinion the most important element in the case for the "new map."

A close scrutiny of this map of the Moluccas shows beyond a doubt that it is not a "new map" in any sense, but that, like some others in the volume, it is an inferior and somewhat reduced re-engraving of an old one.

A comparison of the western half of it with the "Map of the Coasts of China," inserted at fol. 33 of Linschoten, shows at a glance, not only that the geography of the region of the Canton river on the former map was obsolete, but that it was superfluous for illustrating the text. Again, a glance at the heading of the chapter in the text, against which the supposed "new map" is inserted, shows at once that it was put in by the English editor under an entire misapprehension, for the chapter itself relates to the straits of Malacca, whereas the Map—as its title informs us—is one of the islands of the Moluccas. On the S.E. corner of the map is to be found the latest geographical discovery recorded upon it, namely, that of the Salomen Islands, by Alvara de Mendaña in 1567, which discovery at the time of the appearance of Twelfth Night was 30 years old. These awkward facts, I think, not only go a great way to explain why the map is not to be found in either the earlier or subsequent editions of Linschoten, but also to shake one's faith in the newness of the supposed "new map."

Steevens's supposed allusion to this map as "the first in which the Eastern Islands are included" is incorrect and wide of the mark;

for we find these islands laid down more or less perfectly in the large Mappemonde of Mercator of 1569, a map to which I shall again refer in the next part of my paper. He would have been more correct had he called it one of the earliest engraved maps in which these islands, including those of Salomen with New Guinea, were delineated on a large scale with some few pretensions to accuracy.

As to its claims as the map with the multilineal lines, I have to add that it possesses these not only in common with the other maps in the same volume, but with any number of maps and charts, both MS. and engraved, executed at various periods, reaching back to more than half a century. Mercator's map is a case in point, with this difference, that whereas it shows both the East and West Indies, Linschoten's map does not. This last fact I think finally disposes of the statement of Steevens before alluded to.

I am in a position to add that I am not alone in my doubts as to the supposed reference by Shakspere to the map or maps in Linschoten. The learned Joseph Hunter, in his *Illustrations to Shakspere*, says, "I would not assert that there is not an allusion to these maps of Linschoten, but I doubt it. The turn of the expression (used by Shakspere) seems to point not to the maps in Linschoten, but to some single map well known at the time as 'the new map;' and further, that the map alluded to had the words in its title,—'with the augmentation of the Indies,' which is not the case with any of Linschoten's maps" (vol. i. p. 378).

A later writer, the Rev. J. Mulligan of New York, on p. xiii. of the Introduction to his translation of the De Insulis Nuper Inventis (or Narrative of the Second Voyage of Columbus), by Nicolaus Syllacious, also says, "Do not the words, 'with the augmentation of the Indies,' refer rather to a map representing a larger portion of the world than merely the East Indian Islands?" Thus you see I am not alone in my doubts, which were raised in my mind solely by an attentive study of Linschoten, before I met with the adverse quotations of the two distinguished authors above quoted. After a considerable amount of fruitless research in the direction indicated by Hunter—that is, for a map with a title containing the words "with the augmentation of the Indies,"—I am not inclined to attach much

importance to the suggestion, as I hope before I conclude to be able to prove to you that the words used by Shakspere are susceptible of a far more reasonable and satisfactory interpretation.

The whole case as against the supposed map in Linschoten may be summarized thus:—

- (1) The alleged map of the Moluccas was not a "new" one, but a feebly reduced copy of an old one, the latest geographical information to be found on it when *Twelfth Night* appeared being at least 30 years old.
- (2) It was not a separate publication well known at the time, as would seem to be required by the terms used by Shakspere—that is to say, "the new map."
- (3) It showed no portion of the great Indian peninsula, and with the exception of the Salomen Islands and New Guinea, it afforded no other geographical information but what was far better supplied by other maps in the same work.
- (4) It had on it four sets of rhumb-lines less than are to be found on what I believe to be a far more formidable rival.

In order to prepare your minds for the reception of the evidence in favour of what I believe to be the "new map" alluded to by Shakspere, it will perhaps be convenient here for me to remind you that the date assigned to the first performance of *Twelfth Night* in the Hall of the Middle Temple is Feb. 1601-2. This date has an important bearing upon that of the production of the "new map," as the sequel will show.

It is also desirable that I should draw your attention to one or two of the most important engraved maps of the 16th century that preceded our "new" one, and to the true position of the latter in the history of cartography.

In 1569 was produced that famous large Mappemonde by Mercator at Duisbourg before alluded to, and many years elapsed before it was taken into consideration by other map-makers.

In 1570 appeared the well-known map of the world on the "oval" projection by Ortelius, entitled *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, which is to be found at the beginning of all the editions of his well-known atlas. From this period up to the time of the appearance of our

"new map" this one of Ortelius's was regarded as the best general map of the world for ordinary reference. Not only was it sold separately, but it was reproduced again and again, and is to be found inserted in numerous geographical works of the period. A wretched reproduction of it is inserted in the beginning of the English Linschoten of 1598, that we have had under our notice.

In 1587 appeared the exceedingly rare map made for Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr's Decades; it is signed F. G., probably the Francis Gualle whose name occurs on the section of the "new map" before you.

The same year saw the light, the map of the world in two hemispheres, by Mercator's son Rumold, afterwards published in his well-known atlas.

In 1589 appeared the rare and less known map by Cornelius de Jode, afterwards published in his *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*. This map is remarkable, as showing in all probability the first attempt to divide the central meridional line after the manner of the then almost forgotten large map of Mercator.

The last year of the 16th century, and the first year of the 17th, were remarkable ones in the history of geography and cartography. During this short period was produced and completed that remarkable "Prose Epic of the English Nation," Hakluyt's Voyages, in three vols., folio. In 1599 was also produced by his friend and colleague, Edward Wright, one of the most learned mathematicians of his time, a treatise entitled Errors in Navigation, which made an entire revolution in the art of projecting general maps and charts of the world.

About two years before (1597) was published by Judocus Hondius (probably in Amsterdam) a map entitled Typus totius orbis terrarum, etc., at the bottom of which is to be seen an allegorical figure of a Christian Soldier armed for the fight against all the powers of evil. This is, I believe, one of the first maps, if not the first, laid down upon the true projection now known as Mercator's, but which I prefer to call Wright's, as he, and not Mercator, was the first to demonstrate the true principles upon which such maps were to be laid down. Wright, in his preface to the reader in his work, bitterly complains that he was induced to lend the MS. of it to Hondius,

who with its aid, and without the consent of Wright, prepared and published, as Wright says, several "Mappes of the Word, which maps had been vnhatched, had not he (Hondius) learned the right way to lay the ground-work of some of them out of this book." That this Typus is one of the pirated maps complained of, seems to be proved beyond question. Although it is not dated, the latest geographical information to be found on it goes to show that it must have been published two years before the appearance of Wright's treatise, or four years before the first performance of Twelfth Night in 1601. Moreover, Wright's name is to be found upon it.

With the exception of this pirated map by Hondius, the only one laid down upon the new projection that could have any pretensions to be regarded as a "new map" about 1600 a.d. is the one to which I have now the honour of drawing your attention, and which after careful consideration and diligent research I believe to be the "new map" of Shakspere. Copies of a section of it are now lying before you, as also a reproduction of the map as a whole, kindly lent to the Society for inspection this evening by Mr Quaritch. I cannot do better than introduce it to your notice in the words of the learned Hallam, which, although written apparently with an imperfect knowledge of its real history and antecedents, are on the whole not an unworthy description of it.

In his Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries he writes, "The best map of the 16th century is one of uncommon rarity, which is found in a few copies of the first edition of Hakluyt's Voyages." In his remarks upon that portion of it represented in the section before you, he writes, "Corea is represented near its place, and China with some degree of correctness." After alluding to the inscription to be seen in the corner of it he continues, "The ultra-Indian region is inaccurate; the sea of Aral is still unknown, and little pains have been taken with central and northern Asia." He concludes by saying, "But on the whole it (the complete map) represents the utmost limit of geographical knowledge at the close of the 16th century, and far excels the map in the edition of Ortelius at Antwerp in 1588."

¹ p. 34, 2nd edition.

What Hallam failed to realize was, that it was a new map on a new projection laid down upon the principles set forth by Wright. Again, had he examined more attentively that portion of the map represented in the section before you, he would not have fallen into the error of associating it exclusively, as he has done, with the first and incomplete edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, in one volume, published in 1589.

On the portion of the map now before you, we find the latest geographical discovery recorded, later by two years than anything to be found on the pirated map of Hondius, namely, that of Northern Novya Zembla, by the Dutchman Barentz in his third voyage in 1596. The news of this did not reach Holland until 1598. Allowing one year for this to reach England and to be worked up into our map, the conclusion is irresistible that this map had every claim to be regarded as the "new map," in that it was published on or about 1599, or within two years of the first performance of *Twelfth Night* in 1601.

As the Society's limits of space did not admit of reproducing the "new map" for my paper as a whole, it was not without due deliberation by Mr Furnivall and myself that we selected for reproduction the section before you. Somehow I am inclined to think that Mr Furnivall has not been without misgivings as to the wisdom of our choice, as the section selected gives greater prominence to that portion of it in proximity to "Greenland's icy mountains" than to "India's coral strand." In justification of our choice I would ask this question. To what but to this portion of our "new map," and the discovery of Barentz recorded upon it, does Shakspere refer, where, in some fifty lines preceding the words of my text, Fabian says to Sir Andrew Ague-cheek, You are now sailed into the north of my lady's opinion, where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard? From whence did Shakspere obtain this knowledge? Certainly not from the pages of Hakluyt, as they are silent respecting That he obtained it as current oral news is of course quite possible; but be this as it may, the most reasonable and natural explanation of the matter is, that it was suggested to the mind of Shakspere by a glance at our "new map" with many lines, in all probability the earliest engraved map produced in England whereon this important Arctic discovery is to be found.

I now come to the Gordian knot of my text, namely, the phrase "augmentation of the Indies." I am free to confess until quite recently these words had for me all the fascinating charms of a conundrum. Gradually, however, there dawned upon me what I conceived to be the true sense of the word "augmentation" as used by Shakspere. At first I was inclined to limit its meaning to nothing more nor less than addition, or in other words that the phrase was intended to refer to some map showing both the East and West Indies. I soon found I could afford to drop the latter altogether. A little reflection will show that addition and augmentation are not exactly synonymous. That which is added is extrinsic and retains its individuality. Perhaps the best instance of this on a map is the record of the discovery of Barentz just mentioned, and which henceforth I hope will prove a distinguishing feature of our "new map."

On the other hand, that which is "augmented" is intrinsic, and loses its individuality in assimilation, either by deteriorating or improving that into which it is incorporated.

Now what was the state of things to be seen upon the eastern portion of our "new map" at the close of the 16th century, as compared with all the best general maps of the world that preceded it? A marked development in the geography of India proper, then known as the land of the Mogores or Mogol, the island of Ceylon, and the two peninsulas of Cochin China, and the Corea. For the first time the distant island of Japan began to assume its modern shape (this last, by the way, is not to be seen on the map in Linschoten). Turning to the S.E. portion of the "new map', (unfortunately not shown in the section before you), there were to be seen traces of the first appearance of the Dutch under Houtman at Bantam (W. end of Java), synchronizing almost within a year with that of their fellow-countrymen in Novya Zembla; and which within 10 years led to their unconscious discovery, or rather rediscovery, of Australia.

On all the old maps, including the one of Ortelius's inserted in our old friend Linschoten, was to be seen the huge Terra Australis of the old geography. This, as Hallam remarked, had been left out upon our "new map," and in its place was partly to be traced New Holland. This of course would be suggestive of nothing to the mind of

Shakspere; but what is so remarkable is, that upon our "new map" there should have appeared to rise, like a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand, the then unknown continent of Australia.

It is this appreciation of the marked improvement and development to be observed in the geography of the eastern portion of our map, to which I believe Shakspere desired to give expression in his judicious and happy use of the term "augmentation," which to my mind seems to add new force and emphasis to the words of my text, "he does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies."

Hallam's error in associating the "new map" with the first edition of Hakluyt ten years before, is due probably to his misreading of a portion of the preface to that work, which reads thus: "Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall and Hydrographicall tables (i. e. maps) thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented myself with inserting into the works one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for divers yeers greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull Marchant, Mr William Sanderson."

"The best generall mappe" referred to here by Hakluyt, it is evident, could not have been our "new map," as has been assumed by Hallam and others; the one referred to was the well-known map of Ortelius's, which, as I said before, was to be found inserted in many other geographical works of the period. "The comming out of the very large . . terrestriall globe" referred to was accomplished in 1592. The only example of it known to exist in England is the one now preserved in the Library of the Middle Temple, with the date altered (by the pen) to 1603. We learn from the Comedy of Errors, Act. III. scene ii., that Shakspere was not unfamiliar with the use of the Globes, and as the play from which my text is taken is so

intimately associated with the noble hall of the same honourable and learned Society, it may be pardonable to indulge in the thought that Shakspere himself may possibly have consulted and handled this precious monument of geography, the first globe made in England and by an Englishman.

Hitherto one of the great obstacles to fixing the identity of this "new map" has been its anonymous authorship. A careful perusal of its title, to be seen on the lower part of the map as a whole, affords us, as I think, the required clue. The title runs thus: "Thou hast here gentle reader a true hydrographicall description of so much of the world as hath beene hitherto discouered, and is come to our knowledge, which we have in such sort performed, yt [that] all places herin set downe haue the same position and distances that they have in the globe, being therin placed in same longitudes and latitudes which they have in this chart, which by the ordinary seachart can in no wise be performed;"-evidently a reference to the then new projection. The globe here referred to is not, as has been supposed, the globe of the earth, but some particular terrestrial globe, and is no other than the one made by Mollineux, who is also the accepted author of our "new map" or chart. In this question of authorship I am supported by no less an authority than the eminent geographer, Mr J. G. Kohl of Bremen, who describes our "new map" as "the excellent map of the world composed by Mr Emmerie Mollineux, which was partly published on Hakluyt's admonition, and probably with his assistance." He also says in another passage, when speaking of Mollineux's globe, "Mollineux was a most able geographer, who made besides this globe a plain map of the world, which is. I believe, the best and most conscientious plain (globe?) map of the time."2

As at the outset it was my good fortune to be able to point out that my doubts respecting the map in Linschoten were anticipated by no less an authority than the learned Joseph Hunter, so is it now my good fortune to be able to announce that I am not altogether unsupported in my belief that the map before us is identical with that of Shakspere. I allude to the Rev. John Mulligan of New York. In his learned work before mentioned, after expressing his

¹ Maps relating to America in *Hakluyt*, p. 7.

² Ibid, p. 23.

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dissatisfaction with the Linschoten theory, he proceeds to express his opinion as to what is required to meet the case in the following words: "Such a map of the World is found in Hakluyt's Voyages, London, 1598—1600. It has been celebrated by Hallam as the best map of the 16th century.... This map," he proceeds to say, "embraces both the East and West Indian Islands, and is quite as multilineal as that which appears in Linschoten's Voyages." I beg leave to add and more; for the twelve sets of rhumb-lines to be found in Linschoten, we find sixteen on our "new map" as a whole, without counting the cross lines of latitude and longitude, to which probably no reference is intended. Although it affords me much pleasure to be able to refer you to so distinguished an author in confirmation of my views, it is also my duty to point out that he, like Hallam, failed to see that it was a "new map" on a new projection, recording the latest geographical discovery of Barentz in 1596.

As we have already seen, it would be an anachronism to associate our "new map" with the first edition of Hakluyt, published in 1589; to do so exclusively with the second would, I venture to think, be equally a mistake, as in the latter we find no mention of our "new map," or of the discovery of Barentz. The truth seems to be that it was a separate map well known at the time, made in all probability for the convenience of the purchasers of either one or the other of the two editions of Hakluyt, who although they required a good modern map, as our "new" one then undoubtedly was, did not care to be encumbered with copies of the "very large and most exact terrestriall globe" two feet high, advertised, as we have seen, in the preface to the first edition.

The whole case for our map may be summarized thus:-

- 1. It was a "new map" on a new projection made by one of the most eminent globe-makers of his time, probably under the super-intendence of Hakluyt.
- 2. It had upon it as many sets of rhumb-lines as were to be found on any that preceded it, and *four* more than the one of the Moluccas in Linschoten.
- 3. It showed the whole of the East Indies, including Japan, which the map in Linschoten did not.

4. If not absolutely certain, it is probable in the extreme, that the thought underlying the words, "you are now sailed into the north of my lady's opinion, where you will hang like an icicle on a Dutchman's beard," was suggested to the mind of Shakspere by a glance at the upper portion of our "new map," showing the discovery of Barentz, which on account of this, and other improved geography to be seen on the Eastern portion of it, had earned for itself the then probably well-known title of "the new map with the augmentation of the Indies."

Such is the evidence I adduce in favour of what I believe to be the "new map;" the greater part of it I believe to be as new to students of Shakspere as it is to geographers. Although I am not so sanguine as to suppose that I have won your unanimous assent to my views, I think I may venture to assert that henceforth both commentators and illustrators of Shakspere will pause ere they refer to, or reproduce, any of the maps in Linschoten. Future research may possibly be able to bring to light a more successful rival to our "new map," but I doubt the probability of it. I am not without hope that henceforth our "new map" will be as firmly associated with Shakspere's Twelfth Night, as it has been hitherto with the pages of Hakluyt.

C. H. COOTE.

After Mr Furnivall's summing-up, strongly in support of the Paper, Mr Coote read the following extract from de Veer's account of Barentz's voyage, in order to show how these Dutchmen with icicles on their beards spent their *Twelfth Night* in the Arctic Region:—

"Jan. 5, 1596-7. And when we had taken paines al day, we remembered ourselves that it was Twelf Euen (Drie Conighen Avondt), Three Kings Euen; and then we prayed our maister (skipper) that [in the midst of all our troubles] we might be merry that night, and said that we were content to spend some of the wine that night which we had spared and which was our share every second day, and whereof for certaine daies we had not drunke; and so that night we made merry and drunke to the three Kings (lit.

played at kings). And therewith we had two pound of meale [which we had taken to make paste for the cartridges] whereof we [now] made pancakes with oyle, and [we laid to] euery man a white bisket which we sopt in [the] wine. And so supposing that we were in our owne country and amongst our friends, it comforted vs as well as if we had made a great banket, in our owne house. And we also made (distributed) tickets, and our gunner was King of Noua Zembla, which is at least two hundred [800] miles long and lyeth between two seas."—Phillip's trans., 1609. Beke, p. 138.

VII. SCRAPS.

- 1. Touchstone's feature.
- 2. Iago's squadron.
- 3. Launcelot's Master, &c.
- 4. Falstaff's carves.
- 5. Hamlet's sear.
- 6. Claudius's union.
- 7. warn.
- 8. Edmund's Villains by necessity.
- 9. Time's wallet.
- 10. Shylock's bagpipe and urine.

- 11. Ophelia's Christian Souls.
- 12. Dogberry's comparisons are odour-
- 13. An earlier Autolycus.
- 14. On Lines 343-4 and 302 of the Passionate Pilgrim,
- 15. Shakspere's anticipation of Newton.
- 16. Coram and Custalorum.
- 17. Boyet's 'angels vailing clouds.'
- 18. Ceremony's 'soul of adoration.

1. On Touchstone's 'feature.'

In As you like it, III. iii. 3, Touchstone asks Audrey, "Doth my simple feature content you?" and the context,—with Touchstone's calling himself 'a poet' and mentioning his "verses (that) cannot be understood"—necessitate a comment like Mr Aldis Wright's, in his Clarendon Press edition, 1876, p. 140. "There is possibly some joke intended here, the key to which is lost." However, the key is now found, for one of our members, Mr W. Wilkins of Trinity Coll., Dublin, belonging to a quicker-witted race than us Englishmen, pointed out at one of our Meetings, that Shakspere has—after his custom in like cases—made Touchstone use feature in its etymological sense of 'making', that is, the Early English making or writing of verses, as we use 'composition,' &c., now.

Ben Jonson seems to use the word in the same sense when he says of his creature or creation, the play of *Volpone*, that 2 months

before it was no feature¹:—

¹ Cotgrave gives "Faicture, Facture: f. The facture, workemanship, framing, making of a thing." Florio: "Fattura, a making, a handy worke, a fashion or workmanship of any thing." D'Arnis: "Factura.—Creatura; créature... pictura textilis; broderie."

"In all his poems still hath been this measure,

To mix profit with your pleasure

And not as some, whose throats their envy failing,

Cry hoarsely, 'All he writes, is railing:'

And when his plays come forth, think they can flout them,

With saying, he was a year about them.

To this there needs no lie, but this his creature, Which was two months since no feature:

And though he dares give them five lives to mend it,

'Tis known, five weeks fully penn'd it, From his own hand, without a co-adjutor,

Novice, journey-man, or tutor."

1607, Ben Jonson. Prologue to Volpone, p. 174, col. 1, ed. 1838.

Mr W. A. Harrison finds the same sense in Bp. Latimer and

Pliny:-

"Frvitfvll | Sermons | preached by the right Re|uerend Father, and constant Martyr | of Iesus Christ, Master Hvgh | Latimer, to the edyfying of all | which will dispose themselves | to the readings of the same. At London, Reprinted by Valentine Sims—A.D. 1596.

Sig. B. 4, p. 12.

"What a thing was that, that once every hundred yeare was brought forth in Rome, by the children of this world, and with how much policie it was made: Ye heard at Pauls Crosse in the beginning of the last parliament, how some brought forth canonizations, some expectations, some pluralities and vnions, some tot-quots and dispensations, some pardons and those of wonderful variety, some stationaries, some jubilaries, some pocularies for drinkers, some manuaries for handlers of reliques, some pedaries for pilgrimes, some oscularies for kissers: Some of them ingendred one, some other

Ben Jonson uses *feature* in the sense of creation, apparition, or form in his *Masque of Queens*, p. 571, col. 2, Moxon, 1838 (see Nares).

"Dame. Stay, all our charms do nothing win Upon the night: our labour dies, Our magic feature will not rise."

And in his note (col. 1) on the 4th Charm, he says-

"Here they speak as if they were creating some new feature, which the devil persuades them to be able to do often, by the pronouncing of words and pouring out of liquors on the earth" (with quotations from Agrippa and Apuleius). Cp. too Nares's.

"Bid him

Report the feature of Octavia."-Ant. & Cl., II. v.

"She also doft her heavy haberjeon,

Which the fair feature of her limbs did hide."

Spenser, F. Q., III. ix.

1 Tot-quots. "Si in aliquâ ecclesiâ sit indulgentia perennis (sicut in Ecclesiâ B. Petri), tunc quoties vadit aliquis, toties indulgentiam consequitur."

—Thomas Aquinas. Summ. Theol. Supplem. Part III., quæst. 25, Art. II. Jewel mentions "tot-quots" as an expedient for raising money.

such features, and euery one in that he was deliuered of was excellent, politike, wise; yea so wise, that with their wisedome they

had almost made al the world fooles."

Feture means here 'a thing made;' 'a production.' Pliny (Præf. Lib. I.) uses fetura figuratively of a literary production, and calls his work on Natural History, *Proxima fetura*: "Libros Naturalis Historiæ.. natos apud me proxima fetura."—F.

2. On Iago's 'squadron.'

In Othello, Act I. Sc. i. l. 22, Iago derides Cassio as a fellow-

"That never set a **squadron** in the field, Nor the division of a battle knows More than a spinster."

Most readers—and I confess myself to have been one of them—pass over this term **squadron** without any very definite idea of meaning: those perhaps who have some acquaintance with military affairs will take it in its modern sense of the principal division of a regiment of cavalry; but generally by it will be understood that very uncertain number of soldiers called "a certain number."

My own attention to its significance was awakened not long ago by reading in Geffray Fenton's translation (1599) of Guicciardini's

Historia d'Italia, Lib. i., the following sentence:

"his army contained little lesse then a hundreth squadrons of

men at armes, accounting xx. men to a squadron."

Further investigation showed me that, according to Florio (Ital. Dic. 1611), a SQUÁDRA or squadron, besides its general meaning of "a troupe or band of men," was "properly a part of a companie of souldiers of twentie or five and twentie whose chiefe is a Corporall."

Cotgrave (ed. 1660) has:—"SQUADRON: m. A squadron; a square troop, or band, or battell of souldiers; also, in every company, the

troop thats under the command of a Corporall."

At the end of Robt. Barrett's Theoricke and Practicke of moderne Warres, 1598, is "A Table, shewing the signification of sundry forraine words, used in these discourses." In it I find:—

"SQUADRA, a Spanish word: and is a certaine part of a company

of some 20, or 25 souldiers, whose chiefe is the Caporall.

SQUADRON, a Spanish word, and is a great number of souldiers pikemen reduced in arraies to march, and also is a certaine companie of musketiers framed in order to march of 2 fight, and is also a certaine number of men, aranged in order to march, or charge."

In the body of the work, Barrett uses the terms squadra and squadron indifferently when speaking of the Corporal's company.

Cf. pp. 16, 17.

¹ Properly a], also a certaine, ed. 1598.

Other lexicographers—as Minsheu, 1626; Gouldman, 1669; Coles, 1679—translate corporal as manipularis, decurio a commander of ten men only.

In Beaumont and Fletcher's Bonduca Act. I. Sc. ii., Suetonius,

speaking of Bonduca's army, says,-

"—that the proud woman Is infinite in number better likes me, Than if we dealt with squadrons."

Here, evidently, squadron is used in the sense of a small number, a handful.

It is but right to say that Shakspere nowhere in his use of the word squadron defines the number of men of which it was composed; nevertheless it has seemed to me that he may in the instance above, quoted from *Othello*, have used it in the sense of the smallest company, commanded by the lowest officer, and have placed it in Iago's mouth to give additional point to that villain's contemptuous estimate of Cassio's soldiership.—P. A. Daniel, 6th Sept. 1877.

Mr Daniel's happy explanation of Iago's sarcasm is confirmd by

the Spanish:

"Esquadra, f. a carpenters squire, a squadron of 25. souldiers."
"Esquadron, m. a squadron of souldiers of the whole army, a great squadron."—Percivale's Spanish Dict., by Jn. Minsheu, 1628.

The termination -on, Ital. -one, here rightly marks the larger body, though in Iago's English but a squad.—F. J. F.

3. On 'Master Launcelot,' and 'Goodman Dull' and 'Delver,' &c.

In my edition of Harrison (New Shaksp. Soc., 1877), p. 133, 137, are some passages on the use of the words master and goodman which illustrate well the use of the former word in the Merchant of Venice, and of the latter in Love's Labour's Lost, Hamlet, &c. Harrison borrows from Sir Thos. Smith's Commonwealth of England, and from this I shall quote.

In the Merchant, II. ii. 50, &c., Launcelot Gobbo says to his

sand-blind father who doesn't recognize him:

"Talke you of yong Master Launcelet?—marke me now! now will I raise the waters!—Talke you of yong Maister Launcelet?

"Old Gobbo. No Maister, sir, but a poore mans sonne: his Father, though I say 't, is an honest exceeding poore man, and, God be thanked, well to liue."

Sir Thos. Smith says in his Common-wealth, bk. I., ch. 20 (p. 28,

new ed. 1612),

"as for Gentlemen, they be made good cheap in England. For

1.3/

whosoeuer studieth the laws of the Realm, who studieth in the Universities, who professeth liberall Sciences: and to be short, who can liue idely, and without manuall labour, and will beare the port, charge and countenance of a Gentleman, hee shall bee called master, for that is the tytle which men give to Esquires, and other Gentlemen, and shall bee taken for a Gentleman."

The Goodman or Yeoman is treated of in chap. 23:

"I call him a yeoman whome our lawes doe call Legalem hominem,—a word familiar in writs and Enquests,—which is, a free man borne English, and may dispend of his own free land in yeerely reuenue to the summe of xl.s. sterling. This maketh vi.li. of our currant money at this present [1565]. This sort of people confesse themselues to be no Gentlemen . . . These be not called maisters, for that (as I said) pertaineth to Gentlemen only. But to their surnames men adde Goodman: as if the surname be Luter, Finch, White, Browne, they are called 'goodman Luter, goodman Finch, goodman White¹, goodman Browne,' amongst their neighbours . . . amongst the Husbandmen, Labourers, the lowest and rascall sort of the people, such as be exempted out of the number of the rascability of the popular, be called and written Yeomen, as in the degree next unto Gentlemen."

Old Gobbo who had a 'phill-horse,' and could give away doves, must surely not be reckond among "the rascability of the popular," but may take his place with Dull, Verges, Adam, Buff of Parson, the delver, &c., among the Goodmen or Yeomen, tho' whether the 'goodman boys,' Tybalt and Edmund, are to be put in the same

class is more than doubtful.

As to the 'rascability,' who were not 'respectable,' who did not keep the gigs of the period, and to whom, according to Harrison, p. 134, the ambitious young Master Launcelot, as a serving-man,

belongd, Sir Thos. Smith says, in Bk. I., chap. 24:

"The fourth sort or classe amongst vs, is of those which the old Romans called capite sensu proletarii or operarii, day laborers, poore husbandmen, yea Marchants or retailers which haue no free land, copyholders, and all artificers, as Tailers, Shoomakers, Carpenters, Brickmakers, Bricklayers, Masons, &c. These haue no voyce nor authority in our Commonwealth, and no account is made of them, but only to be ruled, and not to rule other; and yet they be not altogether neglected. For in Cities & corporate townes, for default of Yeomen, enquests and Iuries are impaneled of such manner of people. And in Villages they be commonly made Churchwardens, Alecunners, and many times Constables, which office toucheth more the Commonwealth, and at the first was not imployed upon such low and base persons."—F. J. Furnivalle.

¹ Harrison says also, that they were called "onelie John and Thomas," &c., p. 134.

4. On Falstaff's 'carves.'

"I spy entertainment in [Ford's wife]; she discourses, she carves, she gives the leer of invitation." Falstaff, in *Mer. Wi. W. I.* iii. 41.

craves, Q₃; Jackson; Collier. Steevens and Boswell (in Variorum) understand this literally of carving at dinner or supper. Hunter compares a passage from "a Prophecie of Cadwallader," by Wm. Herbert, 4to. 1604:

"There might yon Caius Marius carving find, And martial Sylla courting Venus kind."

New Illustrations, &c.

Dyce adds: "Her amorous glances are her accusers; her very lookes write sonnets in thy commendations; she carues thee at boord, & cannot sleepe for dreaming on thee in bedde."—Day's Ile of Gulls, 1606, Sig. D.

He quotes also a passage from Beaumont's transl. of Ovid's Remedia Amoris; but here the word may be possibly taken

literally.

Grant White quotes 'A very woman' among the 'Characters'

published with Sir Thos. Overbury's 'Wife,' &c.:

"Her lightness gets her to swim at the top of the table, where her wrie little finger bewraies carving."—Sig. E 3 (Ed. 1632).

Littleton's Lat.-Eng. Dict. (1675) in Dyce, &c., has:

"A carver = chironomus."

"Chironomus = one that useth apish motions with his hands."

"Chironomia = a kind of gesture with the hands either i

"Chironomia = a kind of gesture with the hands, either in dancing, carving of meat, or pleading," &c. &c.

I would add to these references a passage in *Pepys's Diary*, just brought to light, from the new edition by Mynors Bright, now in

course of publication (vol. ii. p. 292).

"Aug. 6th, 1663. To my cozen Mary Ioyce's at a gossiping, where much company & good cheer Ballard's wife, a pretty & a well-bred woman, I took occasion to kiss several times, & she to carve, drink, & show me great respect."—W. A. HARRISON.

5. Hamlet's 'sear.'

sear, sb. catch of a gunlock, that the trigger frees (tickle o' the

sear (hair-triggers at laughing).—Haml. II. ii. 337).

"I gather therefore, that even as a Pistole that is ready charged and bent, will flie off by and by, if a man do but touch the Seare; And as the evill humor in a naturall bodie (being ejected into the outward partes, and gathered to a boyle, or head) will easily breake, if it be never so little prickte or launced: So the commons of some partes of the realme, being at that time [Wat Tyler's] full swolue

with rancor that they had before conceived against their lords, lay now in await for some opportunitie to cast out their venome: and therefore, taking occasion at the Taxe of money which touched them al, they flocked together by and by, and laboured under that covert to pull their necks cleane out of the collers."—1570, Wm. Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent. 1826 reprint, p. 407-8.

At the Meeting at which this was read, Mr Hetherington quoted the saying of a Cumberland Farmer to him, on a very short-temperd

woman :-

"She's as tickle as a mouse-trap: touch the spring, and off she goes."—F.

6. CLAUDIUS'S 'union.'—HAMLET, V. ii. 283.

See Batman vpon Bartholome, ed. 1583, leaf 263, back:—
"¶ Of Margarita, chap. 62.

The Orient perle. Margarita, is chiefe of all white precious stones, as Isid[orus] sayth, and hath that name Margarita, for it is founde in shells and in shell fish of the sea. It breedeth in flesh of shel fish, and is sometime found in the braine of the fish, and is gendred of the deaw of heuen, the which deaw, shell fish receive in certaine times of the yeare. Of the which Margarites, some be called Vniones, and have a covenable name, for onely one is found, & never two or moe together. And white Margarites are better than yelow; & those that be conceived of the morrow deawe, be made dimme with the aire of the even tide. Huc vsque Isidorus, li. 16. And they have vertue comfortative, either of all the whole kinde, as some men saye, or els because they are besprong with certayn specialtie, they comfort the lyms . . ."—F.

7. On 'warn,' MEANING TO SUMMON.

"They mean to warn us at Philippi here."—Julius Cæsar, V. i. 5.
"And sent to warn them to his royal presence."—Rich. III., I. iii. 39.
"Who is it that hath warned us to the walls?"—Kg. John, II. i. 201.
"At his warning... the erring spirit hies to his confine."—

Hamlet, I. i. 152.

This use of warn, in the sense of giving notice or summoning, though common enough in Elizabethan English, is rare at the present day; but in the dialect of Cumberland it still survives, especially in connection with funerals. In many country places there used to be a custom, now becoming rare, of sending some old person to every house in the place, to warn the people to attend the funeral. There was also a peculiar use of the passive voice of this verb, for it was said that the 'funeral was warned' for a certain hour, and not the people.—J. N. Hetherington.

8. Edmund's 'Villains by necessity.'—Lear, I. ii. 132.

"Where were become al good ordre among men, if every misordred wretche myght alledge that his mischieuous dede was his desteny they may be then wel aunswered with their owne wordes, as one was serued in a good towne in Almayn, which, when he had robbed a man and was brought before ye iudges he could not deny the dede, but he sayde it was his desteny to do it, and therefore thei might not blame hym, thei aunswered him after his owne doctrine, that yf it were his desteny to steale, & that therfore they muste holde hym excused, than it was also their desteny to hange hym, and therfore he must as well hold them excused agayn."-More's Works, p. 274, ed. 1557.

9. Time's 'wallet,' Tr. and Cres., III. iii.

One of the cuts to the Ballad of "Poor Robin's Dream; commonly-called, Poor Charity, in the Bagford Collection, I. 46" (ed. Ebsworth, Pt. 3, p. 973) illustrates the lines in Troilus and Cressida, iii. 3:

> "Time hath, my Lord, a wallet at his back, Wherein he puts alms for oblivion."



J. W. E.

10. SHYLOCK'S 'bagpipe and urine,' MERCHANT, IV. i. 49-50.

"I jumble, as one dothe that can play upon an instrument. Je brouille, prim. conj. It wolde make one pysse to here him jombyll on. a lute: il feroyt vng homme pisser en ses chausses louyr brouyller sur vng lus."—1530, Palsgrave, p. 595, col. 2.—F.

11. OPHELIA'S Christian Souls.

"We see there [in purgatory] our chyldren too, whome we loued so well, pype, sing, & daunce, & no more thinke on their fathers soules, then on their olde shone, sauing y^t sometime cometh out, God have mercy on al christen soules. But it cummeth out so coldly & with so dull affection, y^t it lyeth but in the lippes, & neuer came nere the hert."—(died 1535) Sir T. More's Workes (1557), p. 337.—R. ROBERTS.

12. Dogberry's 'comparisons are odourous.'-Much Ado, III. v. 18

"Comparationes vero, Princeps, ut te aliquando dixisse recolo, odiosae reputatantur."—Fortescue, De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, fol. 42, ed. 1616.

The Prince was the son of Henry VI. Fortescue was about to

compare the Common and Civil Laws.—W. D. Stone.1

13. An EARLIER Autolycus in Winter's Tale.

"Pedler. Conyskins, maydes! Conyskins for old pastes! What lacke you, what buy you? any good pinnes? Knit caps for children, biggens and wastes? Come let us bargaine; bring forth your Conyskins."

1595, The Pedlers Prophecie, 1. 930-3.

"Pedler. And it will please you to help to sing a ballet before you go,

I will teach you cunningly to make the water.

Arti. I know the Pedler can sing pleasantly,

Both upon the booke, and also without.

Traveller. I will sing, seeing he desireth me so instantly,

But to sing by heart, to agree, I stand in doubt. Ped. Behold, I have ballet books here.

Truly prickt, with your rests, and where you shall come in.

Then we foure will make an honest quere

I will follow, if the Pedler will begin."—Ib. 11. 957—966.

Hic Cant[et].—F.

14. On lines 343-4 in the Passionate Pilgrim, by Edwd. G. Doggett, Esq.; and on line 302 by F. J. F.

In the Passionate Pilgrim the verse beginning at line 341, Globe Edition, p. 1056, col. 1, is marked †, that is, as "corrupt in such a

Lord Burghley's letter of Aug. 10, 1586, to Sir Francis Walsingham (State Papers, Domestic, vol. 192), on the dozen stupid watchmen in a lump— "Lièvres morionnez (Sillie Artificers, or cowardlie Trades-men, turned watchmen), the ordinarie watchmen of good townes." 1611, Cotgrave—standing under a pentice, and pretending to look out for some of the Babington conspirators, by the token that one had a hookt nose; but as the original of, the Letter was printed by Mr. Lemon and Mr. J. P. Collier as the first of the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, a reference to that will do instead of a reprint.—F.

way as to affect the sense, no admissible emendation having been proposed."

According to Malone, vol. x. p. 339, edition 1790, note, the

reading of the original edition is-

"Think women still to strive with men,
To sin and never for to saint;
There is no heaven by holy then,
When time with age shall them attaint.
Were kisses all the joys in bed,
One woman would another wed."

The third line of this verse is the one that has caused the difficulty. The Globe Edition gives the verse thus—

"Think women still to strive with men,
To sin and never for to saint:
There is no heaven, by holy then,
When time with age doth them attaint.
Were," &c.

Malone gives the reading of the original edition, but being unable to make anything of it, he prints the verse in his text thus—

"Think, women love to match with men And not to live so like a saint: Here is no heaven; they holy then Begin, when age doth them attaint. Were," &c.

In his Note, Malone intimates, that in printing the verse he

followed an old MS. copy.

Staunton prints the lines the same as Malone, and in a note says, "This is the lection of the MS. followed by Malone; it is poor stuff" (which it certainly is), "but it has the advantage of being intelligible, which cannot be said of the corresponding stanza in the Passionate Pilgrim."

The reading adopted by Malone may be intelligible after a fashion; but seeing that matrimony is holy, it seems hardly pious to assert that women only begin to be holy when the first object of holy matrimony as taught by the Prayer Book is no longer attain-

able through them.

Pickering's Edition, 1825, gives the old reading without any note. Collier, 1843, has—

"Think, women still to strive with men,
To sin and never for to saint:
There is no heaven; be holy then,
When time with age shall them attaint.
Were," &c.

The assertion in the third line is startling, and neither Scriptural nor Shaksperean. And why any one should take the trouble to be holy *because* there is no heaven, requires peculiar faculties to perceive.

Keightley (Bell and Daldy, 1868) follows Collier with the

exception of having no comma after 'Think.'

The variations from the first edition do not strike me as emendations, which may readily be imagined as I have something different to offer. I propose to read the verse thus—

'Think women still to strive with men,
To sin and never for to saint?
There is no heaven, by th' holy! then,
When time with age shall them attaint.
Were," &c

A note of exclamation in the third line is all that appears to me to be absolutely necessary to make the sense complete, and completely in accordance with the rest of the poem. 1 As I understand the passage, the poet means to say, and swear, that there is no heaven for women in this world when age has deprived them of love. Every lover, poet, and versifier, vows that love is heaven; whence it follows, in love if not in logic, that there is no heaven without love. It appears to me not unlikely that Shakspere may have written, 'There is no heaven, by holy, then,' omitting the definite article. The oath 'by the Mass' had got to be used in his time in the form of 'Mass' simply. "Mass, I cannot tell," will occur to every one. "Yes, by roode, you are the autor of that heresy," is an expression which I lately met with in Foxe's Actes and Monumentes. It shews that the definite article was sometimes dropped in swearing 'by the rood!' 'By the holy' is an oath common I believe with the Irish even now. At all events, I used to hear it as an Irish oath, sometimes modified into 'By the hokey!' It probably means 'by the holy rood!' an oath to be found in Shakspere, or 'by the holy Mass.' I remember seeing it stated that 'By the holy' was an abbreviation of the expression, 'By the holy poker of Hell²!' I am sorry to say I cannot remember the name of the work in which I met with this, but it was in some book where the writer was demonstrating the fact that the Irish are a highly imaginative and poetical people.

In the first edition of the *Passionate Pilgrim* there seems to be no comma after the word *holy*, so that that word was supposed to qualify the word *then* which nobody could understand. It would be satisfactory to get a facsimile of the first edition so as to be sure

about the exact punctuation in that edition.

Steevens thought that perhaps, "by holy then," might be equivalent to a phrase still in use, "by all that's sacred."—F.
of Moses, we us't to say at school,—F, J, F.

The note of exclamation was never, or if ever, it was very sparingly used in Shakspere's day. For example, take the following passage from Booth's reprint of *The Life and Death of King John*, p. 12, col. 2—

'O Lord, my boy, my Arthur, my faire sonne, My life, my ioy, my food, my all the world: My widow-comfort, and my sorrowes cure."

Here there is not one note of exclamation, whilst in the same passage Malone, Staunton, and the Globe Edition, p. 345, col. 1, have no less than four, to which more might easily be added. I instance this to justify my proposal; which is, I submit, as little of an interference as can well be, with the earliest text.

P.S. The reprint of the Isham copy of the 1599 edition prints—

"There is no heaven (by holy then)."

On line 4 of No. XIX. of the Passionate Pilgrim.

The Globe Editors put an † to line 4:-

"When as thine eye hath chose the dame,
And stall'd the deer that thou should'st strike,
Let reason rule things worthy blame,
†As well as fancy partial might:
Take counsel of some wiser head,
Neither too young nor yet unwed."

The stanzas following show that the 'things worthy blame' which had to be controlld, were men's naughtinesses with women; and if we take the poet to advise that these things should be under the impartial rule of Reason—a wiser friend's counsel—as well as the partial might of Fancy—the hot lover's passion—we get a natural meaning for the line obelized. I should read, then, 'fancy's' for 'fancy,' and print—

"Let Reason rule things worthy blame, As well as Fancy's partial might."—F. J. F.

P.S. The Isham reprint has-

"As well as fancy (partyall might)."

A contemporary of Shakspere's says almost the same thing, in Clement Robinson's Handefull of pleasant delites, ?1584, p. 37-8, ed. Arber, 1878:

"If Cupids dart do chance to light, So that affection dimmes thy sight, Then raise up reason by and by, With skill thy heart to fortifie:

Where is a breach,

Oft times too late doth come the Leach:

Sparks are put out, when fornace flames do raye about. Thine owne delay must win the field,
When lust doth leade thy heart to yeeld:
When steed is stolne, who makes al fast,
May go on foot, for al his haste:
In time, shut gate,

For had-I-wist doth come too late; Fast bind, fast find,

Repentance alwaies commeth behind,"

15. SHAKSPERE'S ANTICIPATION OF NEWTON.

I do not know that any critic has noticed the lines in Troilus and Cressida (IV. ii. 109):

"But the strong base and building of my love Is as the very centre of the earth Drawing all things to it."

How did Shakspere know what Newton was going to discover? Or, if he did not know it, what do the lines mean?—Edw. Rose.

I suppose Shakspere only meant here, and in his 'true as earth

to the centre'1, what Batman says below:-

"Also hereto he [Basilius] saith that ye earth is euen way with his owne weights, & euery part thereof busieth with his owne weight to come to the middle of ye earth. By that busieng & inclination of partes, ye whole earth hangeth in euen weight about the middle point, & is euenly held vnmouable, as it is written

Psa. 19. The heavens declare the glorie of God, and the firma-

ment sheweth his glorious worke.

Psa. 24. The earth is the Lords, and all that therin is, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therin.

For he hath founded it vpon the seas, & established it vpon the flouds. "Thou hast founded ye earth vpon his stablenesse, &c. And therefore li. 12. Isi[dorus] calleth ye earth Solum, for it is a sad element, & bereth vp all ye elements of euery body, be it neuer so heuie: therfore all heuy things that be aboue & from the earth, be without rest till it come to the earth that is sted fast and stable, and rest when they come to the earth."—Ed. 1582, Batman vpon Bartholome, leaf 201, back, col. 2.

"Also though the whole Earth be sounde ³ and sad in substaunce thereof, yet every part thereof moveth kindly towarde the middle point; and because of meddeling of firie and of airie parts, the earth is in some parts thereof hollow and dim, and spoungie and smokie."
—ib. leaf 202, foot, and back. The like doctrine is said to be in

Aristotle.—F.

1 " Cres. In that I'll war with you. O virtuous fight. When right with right wars who shall be most right! True swains in love shall, in the world to come, Approve their truths by Troilus: when their rhymes, Full of protest, of oath, and big compare, Want similes, truth tir'd with iteration,-'As true as steel, as plantage to the moon, As sun to day, as turtle to her mate, As iron to adamant, as earth to the centre,'-Yet, after all comparisons of truth, As truth's authentic author to be cited, 'As true as Troilus' shall crown up the verse, And sanctify the numbers."—Tr. & Cr. III. ii. 3 leaf 202, back. leaf 202.

16. SLENDER'S Coram, AND SHALLOW'S Custalorum.

Coram: Merry Wives, I. i. 6. "All the authoritie and power of these Commissioners of the Peace, floweth out of their Commissions. and out of the Statutes (as it were from two principall Heads or Fountaines,") says Lambarde, Eirenarcha, chap. viii., bk I, ed. 1607, p. 35. The King's Commission, issued by the Chancellor, first appointed a certain number of men to be Justices of the Peace in a county, and then went on in its 2nd Clause, to say that, of them, one of certain Men specified by name [the most learned,] must be present at the Sessions: "Assignauimus etiam vos & quoslibet duos, vel plures vestrum (Quorum aliquem vestrum A. B. C. E. F. &c., vnum esse volumus) Iusticiarios nostros, ad inquirendum per Sacramentum proborum & legalium hominum de comitatu prædicto (per quos rei veritas melius sciri potuit) de omnibus, & omnimodis felonijs, veneficijs, incantationibus, sortilegijs arte magica transgressionibus, forstallarijs, regratarijs, Ingrossarijs & extorsionibus quibuscumque," &c. &c. this, Lambarde says, p. 48, "The latter clause (or Assignauimus) of the Commission, comprehendeth the power given to these Iustices, as wel for to enquire of al those offences that be contained therein. as to procede, heare, and determine thereof, vpon any former (or future) enditements: So alwayes that two of these Iustices at the least be present thereat, and so that one of these two be of that select number, which is commonly termed of the Quorum.

"For those of the Quorum were woont (and that not without just cause) to bee chosen specially for their knowledge in the Lawes of the lande; and that was it which leade the makers of the Statutes (18 Ed. 3. cap. 2, 34 Ed. 3. cap. 1, and 13 R. 2, cap. 7) expressely to enact that some learned in the Lawes should bee put into the Commission of the peace; and (to say the trueth) all statutes that desire the presence of the Quorum, do secretly signifie such a learned man."— Lambarde's Eirenarcha, ed. 1607, p. 48. Slender's Coram is got, no doubt, from the proceedings coram vobis (before you) of the Commission.

Custalorum: Merry Wives, I. i. 7. "Amongst the Officers [at the Sessions the Custos Rotulorum hath worthily the first place, both for that he is alwaies a Iustice of ye Quorum in ye Commission, and amongst them of the Quorum, a man (for the most part) especially picked out either for wisdome, countenance, or credite: and yet in this behalfe he beareth the person of an Officer, and ought to attende by himselfe, or his deputie. . . .

"This man (as his very name bewrayeth) hath the custodie of the Rolles (or Recordes) of the sessions of the peace: and whether the custody of the Commission of the peace it self 1 doe pertaine to him alone, it hath been made some question. . . [But] it seemeth most reasonable that hee that is put in trust with the rest of the Records, should be credited with the custodie of the Commission also.

¹ The document seald by the King's Seal appointing the Justices.

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"But vnder the name of the 'Recordes of the Sessions of the peace,' I doe not comprehend all maner of Records concerning the peace, but those only which ought to be at the Sessions of the peace: as Bils, Plaints, Informations, Inditements, presentments, the Rolles of processes, Trials, Iudgements, Executions, and all other the Actes of ye Sessions of the peace themselues: And furthermore, the Ingrossement of the rates of seruants wages, all Recognusances of the peace & good Abearing: Recognusances concerning Felonies and Alehouse keepers, and such like as ought to be certified (or brought) to the Sessions of the peace, must be numbred amongst the Records of the Sessions, and therefore the Custos Rotulorum, or some for him, ought to bee readie there to shewe them."—Lambarde's Eirenarcha, ed. 1607, p. 382-383.

17. Boyet's 'Angels vailing clouds.'

The Globe editors put an obelus to Loves Labours Lost, V. ii. 297; but if vailing is taken in the sense in which Shakspere uses it in some dozen passages, that of 'lowering, letting fall,' the meaning of the line is quite appropriate and plain.

"Boyet [to the Princess and her ladies]. Therefore change favours; and, when they [the King and his nobles] repair,

Blow like sweet roses in this summer air.

Princess. How blow? how blow? speak to be understood.

Boyet. Fair ladies mask'd, are roses in their bud;

Dismask'd,—their damask sweet commixture [the red and white of their faces] shown,—

†Are angels vailing clouds [letting fall the clouds that hide their glory], or roses blown." 297.—F.

18. CEREMONY'S 'soul of adoration.'

Another obelus or dagger of the Globe editors may safely be removed, I think, namely, that to *Henry V*, IV. i. 262. The Folio, p. 85, col. 1, prints the context and line thus:—

"And what art thou, thou Idoll Ceremonie?
What kind of God art thou? that suffer'st more
Of mortall griefes, then doe thy worshippers.
What are thy Rents? what are thy commings in?
O Ceremonie, shew me but thy worth.
What? is thy Soule of Odoration?
Art thou else but Place, Degree, and Forme,
Creating awe and feare in other men?"

The Globe editors rightly adopt the emendation Adoration for

Odoration, and shift the query-mark (?) after What, to the end of the line, and print:

"† What is thy soul of adoration?"

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Now if we interpret this line by the parallel phrase that we all understand, "What is thy soul of worth (that men should worship thee)?" and read it, "What, How much, is thy soul worthy of Adoration?"—we get the meaning that exactly suits the context. and the sense needed by the line itself; and we see that the difficulty in the line arises simply from our not having kept for (or given to) the phrase 'of adoration,' the same reflex meaning 'worthy of adoration from others,' that we have kept for (or give to) the phrase 'of worth,' 'to be esteemd of value by others.' The A.S. weor'd is 'worth,' and weor Sung, 'honouring, veneration, worshipping,' is just Shakspere's 'adoration' here. F. J. F.

(Earlier or parallel uses of some of Shakspere's words.)

fruitfully, adv. All's Well, II. ii. 73. "Nowe if I woulde fruitefully meditate and thinke of this commandement secretely and shortly with my selfe, as I did of the former, then consider I, that as in other, so in this also, little is said, and much is meant; part is put for the whole; and in the negative the affirmative is implyed." 1588. Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 120.

purpose: of purpose, with a design; never us'd by Shakspere: occurs only in three spurious scenes, 1 Hen. VI, V. iv. 22; Timon, III. i. 26; Henry VIII, V. ii. 14. "The profitable vse and application of this commandement, is to wey and duely consider that it is the Lawe of no man, but of God the chiefest lawegiuer, the wisest, most righteous, and most able to reuenge, instuted of purpose by him for these and such like ends." 1588.—Bp. Babington on the Ten

Commandments, p. 196-7.

single, adj. unmarried. M. N. Dream, I. i. 78, 90, 121: runaway, M. N. D., III. ii. 405; Pax, Hen. V, III. vi. 42, 47. "Now where true loue of GOD is, out of it floweth a burning constant care to keep his commaundementes, not our owne. They [Papists] keepe their owne, and with fire and fagot doe reuenge the breach of them, but the Lordes worde not so: with abstayning from this meate and that meate, this day and that day, with single lyfe, though most impure, with prayers in an vnknowen tongue, and thus often repeated ouer and ouer, with crossings and creepings. Paxes and Beades, holie water and Creame, Ashes and spittle, with a thousande such things haue they deuised to worshippe the Lorde: and who-so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a runneaway from the Church; cite him

and summon him, excommunicate him, and imprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for he is not worthie to liue upon the earth!" [see tick-tack]. 1588.—Bp. Babington on the

Ten Commandments, p. 118, 119.

snuff: take it in snuff, take offence at it. L. L. Lost, V. ii 22; 1 Hen. IV, I. iii. 41. "And to set vp a picture of God not like him, whether it be to offende him, and to dishonor him, if other wise we cannot conceive it, let vs iudge by our selves, who quickly would take it in greeat snuffe, if one picturing vs should make either the eies too great, the nose too long or high, the eares, mouth, armes, hands, or any thing wrong. Yea, we would burst it in pieces, bid away with it, not abyde the sight of it. Yet dare we abuse the God of heaven our creator and maker, and set vp 20. thousand pictures of him in severall places, never a whit like him, (for it is vnpossible they should be,) neither one like another." 1588.—Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 92-93.

soundness, sb. All's Well, I. ii. 24. "Which when I consider, I neede no further shewe of grieuous guilt to cast me down from height of all supposed soundnes in this law. Mine eyes do see, my heart acknowledgeth, my conscience crieth, 'my sinne is great." 1588.—

Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 123.

ungracious, wicked. Rich. II, II. iii. 89. witless, adj. Meas. for Meas., I. iii. 10. "Whether is it better, for the present time, of man to be believed, & of the Lord for evermore abhorred, or with light vngratious people, with whom othes be onely truth, to abide a little deniall, and of God my God ever for my obedience to be loved? Yet have I, witlesse wretch, made choise of the former, manie a time, and neglected the latter." 1588.—Bp. Babington on

the Ten Commandments, p. 155-6.

tick-tack, adj. (sb. in Meas. for Meas., I. ii. 196). "But if he blaspheme the name of the Lord by horrible swearing, if he offende most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a ticktack tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, and most commonly so; or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuenting, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c." 1588.—Bp. Babington on the Ten Commandments, p. 119.—F.

[Squadron: the Squadron of cavalry is two Troops, of 50 men each on paper, but several less mounted. (At the cavalry drill this morning, at Primrose Hill, the Squadrons were 48 men strong, 24 in front.) The Troop corresponds to the Company of infantry, and is commanded by a Captain. The next division to the Troop is a Section of 8 men,—4 in front; the next, Half-Sections. 'Fours' are the unit of a cavalry troop, the solid block which turns on its centre:

it's 'Fours about,' 'Fours right,' &c .- F. 14 Sept. 1878.]

"I [Publications]. Series 1, no6

THE

NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS.

1877-9.

PART II.

A TIME-ANALYSIS OF THE PLOTS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS:

I. COMEDIES.

II. TRAGEDIES.

III. HISTORIES.

By P. A. DANIEL.

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* Correction. Romeo and Juliet, pp. 193-4, Act IV. sc. iv, should have

been included in Day 4.—P. A. D.

Mr. J. N. Rolfe, in the Notes to his edition of Romeo and Juliet, contends that the Friar's words in IV. iv. 79-93 show Juliet's funeral to have been early enough on Wednesday, to allow Balthazar—who witnest it, and 'presently took post' to Mantua (not 25 miles)—to reach Romeo on Wednesday afternoon or evening, and give him time to buy his poison, write his letter to his father, and post back to Verona late on Wednesday night. Mr. Rolfe thus saves one day of the action of the play, shortening the friar's 42 hours to 30, or thereabouts.—F. J. F.

† Note how the evening of March 14 is seemingly made one with that of Feb. 15, by Cicero's "Casca, brought you Cæsar home?" I. iii. 1, as if from the Lupercalia of Feb. 15, B.o. 44, I. ii. But as on the latter day Shakspere has put the triumph of Cæsar which took place early in the October before (B.o. 45), he may have meant to annihilate the one month, Feb.—March 44 (not directly mentiond in Plutarch's 3 source-Lives), as he did the four months Oct. 45—Feb. 44.—F. J. F.

VIII. TIME-ANALYSIS OF THE PLOTS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY 1

P. A. DANIEL.

(Read at the 46th Meeting of the Society, November 8, 1878.)

PART I. THE COMEDIES.

Note.—No attempt is here made at Chronological arrangement: the order taken is that of the First Folio and of the Globe edition: to the latter of which the numbering of Acts, Scenes and lines refers. By one "Day" is to be understood the whole or any portion of the twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight. All intervals are supposed to include, at the least, one clear day from midnight to midnight: a break in the action of the drama from noon one day to noon the next is not here considered an interval.

THE TEMPEST.

First printed in the Folio; divided into acts and scenes.

The period of time represented is little more than that required for the stage performance.

In Act I. sc. ii., the first scene on the Island, which follows immediately on the shipwreck, Prospero asks Ariel—

"What is the time o' th' day?

Ari. Past the mid season.

Pros. At least two glasses: the time 'twixt six and now Must by us both be spent most preciously."

The opening scene, the shipwreck, may therefore be supposed to commence shortly before 2 p.m., and it is now just past that hour.

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A little later, in sc. ii., Caliban, on being called out by Prospero, grumbles—

"I must eat my dinner."

Caliban, for those times, was a late diner.

At the commencement of the last scene of the play (Act V. sc. i.) Prospero again asks Ariel, "How's the day?" and Ariel replies—

"On the sixth hour: at which time, my lord, You said our work should cease."

The time, therefore, for the whole action would be, according to Prospero and Ariel, little more than four hours.

The testimony of Alonzo and the Boatswain is, however, somewhat at variance with this estimate of time.

In this same last scene Alonzo speaks of himself and his followers as they—

"——who three hours since Were wrack'd upon this shore.

And he subsequently says that his son's "eld'st acquaintance" with Miranda "cannot be three hours."

The Boatswain, also, who shortly after enters, says-

"——our ship— Which but *three glasses since*, we gave out split— Is tight and yare," etc.

It may be noted here, as a proof that this enquiry into the *time* of Shakspere's Plays is not without its value, even as regards the critical revision of the text, that a want of attention to it has led, in one instance at least, to an unnecessary alteration of the original.

The passage from Act I. sc. ii., which I have quoted at the beginning of this article, has been supposed corrupt as regards the distribution of the dialogue; for, it has been observed, Prospero asks a question and yet answers it himself. Warburton, adopting Theobald's conjecture [Upton's conjecture, according to Malone], read—

"Pros. What is the time o' th' day?

Ari. Past the mid season at least two glasses.

Pros. The time," etc.

Johnson, though thinking that "this passage needs not be disturbed,

it being common to ask a question which the next moment enables us to answer," suggested—

"Pros. What is the time o' th' day? Past the mid season?

Ari. At least two glasses.

Pros. The time," etc.

Staunton, to obviate the supposed inconsistency and render any change in the distribution of the speeches unnecessary, pointed Prospero's speech thus—

"At least two glasses—the time 'twixt six and now—Must by us both be spent most preciously."

"But," as Mr. Aldis Wright has observed in the Clarendon Press edition of the Play, "this would make it [the time of the commencement of the action] four in the afternoon, which hardly answers to Ariel's 'Past the mid season,'"

And it might be added that it would make Caliban's dinner-hour still more fashionable, and would reduce the time of the play to little more than two hours, a period at variance with both Prospero's and Alonzo's estimates of the time.

It cannot, however, be overlooked in an enquiry into the time of this play, that though that time is strictly limited to a few hours of one afternoon, it nevertheless contains touches which possess the mind of the audience with the idea of a much more extended period: for instance, Ferdinand, addressing Miranda in Act III. sc. i., says—

"——'tis fresh morning with me, When you are by at night."

And yet they have never been in each other's company at morning or at night.

As a question of time it is desirable to note here the meaning attached to the word "glass," used by Prospero and the Boatswain. Alonzo's "three hours," followed shortly afterwards by the Boatswain's "three glasses," must decide this measure of time for *The Tempest* to be a *one hour glass*.

The lines in 1 Henry VI, IV. ii. 35,—

"For ere the glass, that now begins to run, Finish the process of his sandy hour"— are in accordance with this interpretation; but in All's Well that Ends Well, II. i. 168, the "pilot's glass," unless there is some error in the text, must be a two hour glass. See the comment on this play.

In Admiral W. H. Smyth's Sailor's Word-Book, 1867, "glass" is explained as a measure of half an hour. Any interpretation, however, other than one hour would enormously increase in The Tempest the already existing discrepancy between Prospero's and Alonzo's estimate of the time, noticed above.

THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA.

FIRST printed in Folio; divided into acts and scenes.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Verona. Valentine embarks for Milan. His servant, Speed, tells Proteus how he had delivered the letter to Julia, and then follows his master.

Act I. sc. ii. Lucetta, who has received the letter in her mistress's name, now gives it to Julia. It is dinner-time when this scene ends.

An interval. Time to hear of Valentine's arrival at Milan and of his success at Court; time for Julia to acknowledge her love to Proteus. For a month past Antonio has been hammering on the question of sending Proteus abroad. We may perhaps allow a month for this interval; see, however, the remarks on Act IV. sc. i.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iii. Antonio resolves to send Proteus to the Emperor's Court, and fixes the *morrow* for his departure. It may be noted here that the sovereign of Milan is spoken of in this scene as an Emperor, and in Act II. sc. iv. l. 77 he himself seems to assume that title. Launce also, in Act II. sc. iii., talks of going to the "Imperial's court." From Act IV. sc. i. to the end of the play he is only spoken of as "Duke," and the prefix to his speeches throughout is *Duke*.

Act II. sc. i. Milan. Speed chaffs his master on being in love. Silvia declares her love to Valentine by returning to him the letter which, at her request, he has written in her name to her unknown friend. I place this scene in day No. 2, though it might equally

well come in the following day. It must from its position be coincident in point of time either with Act I. sc. iii. or with Act II. sc. ii. and iii.

Day 3. Act II. sc. ii. Proteus bids Julia adieu. This is the morrow of Act I. sc. iii.

Act II. sc. iii. Launce with his dog. Panthino bids him haste after his master, who is already shipped.

An interval. Proteus's journey to Milan.

Day 4. Act II. sc. iv. Milan. Valentine and Thurio rivals for Silvia's love. Proteus arrives and is smitten at first sight with love of Silvia.

Act II. sc. v. Speed welcomes Launce to Milan.

An interval of a few days to allow Proteus to settle at Court. When he reveals to the Duke Valentine's plot, he excuses himself for his treachery on the ground of

"——your gracious favours
Done to me," etc.

This implies a certain lapse of time since his arrival. Launce, too, has found time to fall in love and obtain a "cate-log" of his mistress's conditions.

Day 5. Act II. sc. vi. Proteus tells us that this night Valentine and Silvia intend to elope. He resolves to cross their purpose by revealing it to the Duke.

Act II. sc. vii. Back in Verona. Julia resolves to follow Proteus disguised as a page. It may be noticed that in Act I. sc. ii. Julia has a father; here she acts as a woman of independent fortune. The position of this scene, enclosed as it were by scenes which undoubtedly occur on one and the same day, determines its coincidence in point of time with those scenes.

Act III. sc. i. Proteus betrays Valentine to the Duke. The Duke detects Valentine with the ladder of rope and banishes him. The Duke has scarcely left the stage when Proteus and Launce enter with the news that the proclamation of Valentine's banishment is out, and with a full account of Silvia's grief thereat, and fruit-

less intercession for him. Valentine departs; Proteus sees him to the gates of the city.

Speed enters, and Launce, after showing him the "cate-log" of his mistress's conditions, sends him after his master.

Act III. sc. ii. The Duke and Thurio. The latter complains—
"Since his [Valentine's] exile she [Silvia] hath despised me most,
Foresworn my company and rail'd at me."

From this it might be supposed that some time—days—had passed since Valentine's departure; but it is not so. Proteus, who has been seeing Valentine off, now enters, and the Duke addresses him—

"How now, Sir Proteus! Is your countryman, According to our proclamation, gone?

Pro. Gone, my good lord."

It is evident that but an hour or two at the utmost can have elapsed since Valentine's departure. The Duke now persuades Proteus to undertake the advocacy of Thurio's love-suit to Silvia, and Thurio, acting on Proteus's advice, resolves to serenade Silvia this very night.

The time of this scene is apparently the afternoon: at the end of it Proteus says to the Duke, with reference to the proposed serenade,

"We'll wait upon your grace, till after supper; And afterward determine our proceedings."

The Duke replies-

"Even now about it; I will pardon you."

Act IV. sc. i. Valentine is stopped by the outlaws and becomes their captain.

With this scene we may, I think, end day No. 5.

There is here a note of time which should be considered in connection with the first interval which I have marked in the action of the play. Valentine, interrogated by the outlaws, says that he has sojourned in Milan "some sixteen months;" and he also says that he was banished for killing a man. Some motive for the self-accusation of murder may be conceived: it would impress the outlaws with the belief that he was a man of desperate fortunes, and therefore fit for their purpose; but why he should deceive them as to the time of his sojourn in Milan is not so clear. The sixteen

months is not wanted for the plot of the play; but if accepted, its place must be in the first "interval."

An interval: for reason of which see account of following scene.

- Day 6. Act IV. sc. ii. At night. Thurio serenades Silvia. This fact would at first sight seem to connect the scene with day No. 5, and lead us to suppose that Thurio was now putting in practice his resolution of Act III. sc. ii. There are, however, so many separating incidents in the scene, that one is fairly driven to the conclusion that this serenade is one of a later date than that resolved on in Act III. sc. ii. In the first place we find Proteus, at the beginning of the scene, speaking as though he had been for some time—days at least—urging his suit to Silvia, since, by the Duke's permission, he had obtained access to her. He tells her, too, he has heard that Valentine is dead: it is a lie, of course, but one he could not have ventured on if this were only the night of the day on which Valentine was banished: it implies a lapse of time. His courtship of Silvia has, in fact, become notorious, and mine host brings Julia (as Sebastian)—who has apparently arrived in Milan within the last few hours-to this serenade under Silvia's window, as to a place to which it is well known Proteus often resorts. The presence of Julia, too, whose resolution to follow Proteus is only made known in Act II. sc. vii. (day No. 5), would be a glaring impossibility if this scene were taken to be the night of that same day. Time for her journey must be allowed, and an interval supposed between this scene and those preceding it.
- Day 7. Act IV. sc. iii. In the early morning following the last scene, Sir Eglamour attends to receive Silvia's instructions, and it is arranged that they shall meet "this evening coming" at Friar Patrick's cell, previous to their flight to Mantua, where Silvia hears that Valentine makes his abode.

Act IV. sc. iv. Later in the day Launce returns from Silvia with his dog which she has rejected. Proteus employs Julia, who has entered his service as Sebastian, to call on Silvia for the portrait she had promised him *last night*.

Act V. sc. i. "The sun begins to gild the western sky" when Sir Eglamour and Silvia meet at Patrick's cell and set out on their flight.

Act V. sc. ii. The same evening—for the Duke, speaking of Silvia, says,

"—She did intend confession At Patrick's cell this even," etc.—

her flight is discovered, and the Duke, Thurio, Proteus, and Julia set out in pursuit.

Act V. sc. iii. and iv. In the forest. Silvia is captured by the outlaws; rescued by Proteus; Proteus offers violence, and is repulsed by Valentine; Julia is discovered, and Proteus returns to his first love; the friends are reconciled. The Duke—who with Thurio is also taken prisoner—consents to his daughter's marriage with Valentine; the outlaws are pardoned, and all are made happy, with the exception of Thurio, who, as a natural fool, can require no further blessing, and Sir Eglamour, who is heard of no more since he ran away from Silvia.

It may perhaps be questioned whether these two last scenes should not be placed in a separate day; but taking into consideration the extreme rapidity of the action of the play generally, it seems probable that they were intended to end the day commencing with Act IV. sc. iii.

The time of this play comprises seven days, represented on this stage, and intervals.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

Interval: a month, perhaps; perhaps sixteen months.

- ,, 2. Act I. sc. iii. and Act II. sc. i.
- ,, 3. Act II. sc. ii. and iii.

Interval: Proteus's journey to Milan.

- ,, 4. Act II. sc. iv. and v.

 Interval of a few days.
- ,, 5. Act II. sc. vi. and vii., Act III., and Act IV. sc. i.

 Interval, including Julia's journey to Milan.
- " 6. Act IV. sc. ii.
- ,, 7. Act IV. sc. iii. and iv., and Act V.

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

First printed in an imperfect shape in Qo. with no division of acts and scenes. In the Folio the acts and scenes are numbered.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Before Page's house. The altercation between Shallow and Falstaff, ending with the dinner at Page's.

Act I. sc. ii. Sir Hugh gives Simple a letter to Mrs Quickly, praying her good services with Anne on behalf of Slender. He re-enters the house to make an end of his dinner.

Act I. sc. iii. Later in the day at the Garter Inn. Falstaff considers what to do with his followers. Bardolph turns tapster. Nym and Pistol, refusing to carry letters to Mrs Ford and Mrs Page, are discharged, and the letters confided to Robin. In the course of the dialogue Falstaff remarks that Page's wife "even now gave me good eyes." This even now must refer to the dinner at Page's.

Act I. sc. iv. While the preceding scene is in action Simple delivers Sir Hugh's letter to Mrs Quickly at Dr Caius's house. Caius finds him there and, enraged at the purpose of his visit, writes a challenge to Sir Hugh, and entrusts it to Simple. Fenton now has an interview with Mrs Quickly with reference to his suit to Anne. He says, "I shall see her to-day,"—" if thou see'st her before me, commend me."

Was the interview which Fenton has with Anne in Act III. sc. iv. intended as the realization of this speech? However this may be, the action of the first day ends with this scene.

Days 2 & 3. Act II. sc. i. Mrs Page and Mrs Ford compare Falstaff's letters, which they must, or certainly ought to, have received yesterday. While they consider what course to pursue, Ford and Page enter with Nym and Pistol, who denounce their late master. Mrs Quickly comes to visit Anne, and the ladies resolve to make her their go-between with Falstaff. They retire; and Page and Ford, after discussing the information given them by Nym and Pistol, are joined by mine Host and Shallow, who desire them to come and see the result of the duel which the Host has dis-arranged between Sir Hugh and Dr Caius; Page goes with them, but Ford, having obtained a promise from the Host that he will introduce him to

Falstaff under the name of Brook, resolves to look further into the matter of Falstaff's courtship. In the course of the dialogue in this scene Mrs Page says to her husband, "You'll come to dinner, George." It is clear, therefore, that this scene takes place in the morning of the second day; the arrangement for the duel also supposes the time to be the morning following the challenge, and we must recollect that Falstaff's first meeting with Mrs Ford is supposed to take place while the business of the duel is in progress, i. e. "between ten and eleven." We must not, however, omit to note a slip on Shallow's part: when he arrives on the scene with the Host he addresses Page with "Good even and twenty, good Master Page."

Act II. sc. ii. At the Garter. Mrs Quickly invites Falstaff to his first interview with Mrs Ford, which is to take place between ten and eleven. She has but just left when Ford, who has not waited for mine Host's introduction, makes his appearance as Brook, and obtains information of the proposed meeting. Falstaff leaves him to keep the appointment, telling him to come to him soon at night and hear how it had passed off.

Act II. sc. iii. and Act III. sc. i. end the duel between Sir Hugh and Dr Caius.

Act III. sc. ii. Ford meets Mrs Page and Robin, who are on their way to join Mrs Ford. Then in come Page, Shallow, and the rest from the fields where the sham duel has been played out. Ford asks them all home with him to dinner, in order that they may witness the exposure of Falstaff. Page, Caius, and Evans accept; Shallow and Slender go off to court Anne, and the Host returns home.

Act III. sc. iii. In Ford's house. Mrs Ford, Mrs Page, Robin, and the servants prepare the buck-basket for Falstaff's first reception. All but Mrs Ford then retire. Falstaff enters, and after a little complimenting Mrs Page gives the alarm. Falstaff is crammed into the basket with the dirty clothes, and the servants are about to carry him off when Ford and his company arrive. The basket is allowed to pass, and they search the house without result. Ford affects to be satisfied and renews his invitation to his guests. Page also invites them all to breakfast the following morning, after which they are to go a-birding. The merry wives resolve to play Falstaff another

VIII. P. A. DANIEL. TIME-ANALYSIS OF MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. 127 trick, and determine that he shall "be sent for to-morrow, eight o'clock, to have amends."

Act III, sc. iv. At Page's house. The time of this scene is singularly elastic. It is prior to, concurrent with, and subsequent to the preceding scene. Prior to in the interview between Fenton and Anne; concurrent with in the arrival of Shallow and Slender, who left the company in sc. ii. to come here, while the rest of the company went on to Ford's house; subsequent to in the return home of Page and his wife from the dinner at Ford's house, with which sc. ii. is supposed to end. And Mrs Quickly? In modern editions Mrs Quickly arrives on the scene with Shallow and Slender; but there is no authority for this or any other of the entries in this scene in the Folio. The scene—and so it is with all the scenes throughout the Play—is merely headed with a list of the actors who appear in it: the special time at which they enter is not marked. This is the case not only with this Play but with others,-The Two Gentlemen of Verona, for instance,—and is a common arrangement with the early editions of plays.

In the "first sketch" of the Play Mrs Quickly enters with Fenton and Anne; she is in the confidence of the lovers, and she is here in her proper place to look out of window, or read on a book, or take a short nap while the principals are billing and cooing. To her Shallow naturally addresses himself when he enters, to get her to "break their talk." But how could she know of the second invitation she had to take to Falstaff if she was on this scene at its commencement? or, indeed, if she only made her first appearance with Shallow and Slender? The only solution of the difficulty is to suppose that when Mrs Page enters she makes a communication to her "aside." She certainly knows of the invitation for "to-morrow, eight o'clock," for she concludes the scene with—"Well, I must of another errand to Sir John Falstaff from my two mistresses: what a beast am I to slack it!"

It is to be presumed that she slacks it no longer than the time it takes her to get to the Garter Inn, where, in—

Act III. sc. v., we find Falstaff calling for sack to qualify the cold water he had swallowed when slighted into the river from the buckbasket. One would naturally suppose that the time of this scene

must be the afternoon of the day of that adventure, and, indeed, it can be but a little later than the time of the preceding scene; but lo! when Mrs Quickly enters with the invitation for "to-morrow, eight o'clock," she gives his worship good morrow [= good morning]; tells him that Ford goes this morning a-birding, and that Mrs Ford desires him to come to her once more, between eight and nine.

As Mrs Quickly departs, Falstaff remarks, "I marvel I hear not of Master Brook; he sent me word to stay within: I like his money well. O, here he comes." And Ford (as Brook), who was to have visited Falstaff "soon at night" after the adventure which ended with the buck-basket, makes his appearance to learn the result of the first interview, and to be told of the second, which is just about to take place. "Her husband," says Falstaff, "is this morning gone a-birding: I have received from her another embassy of meeting; 'twixt eight and nine is the hour, Master Brook." "Tis past eight already, sir," says Ford; and Falstaff replies, "Is it? I will then address me to my appointment," and so he goes out, and Ford follows, confident this time of taking him in his house.

Act IV. sc. i. A street. Mrs Page, Mrs Quickly, and William.

"Mrs Page. Is he at Master Ford's already, think'st thou?

Quickly. Sure he is by this, or will be presently. . . . Mistress
Ford desires you to come suddenly.

Mrs Page. I'll be with her by and by; I'll but bring my young

man here to school."

We see the time here follows close upon, is almost coincident in fact, with the latter part of the preceding scene at the Garter. Sir Hugh enters; there is no school to-day; "Master Slender is let the boys leave to play." Sir Hugh examines the boy in his learning, and then Mrs Page and Quickly hurry off to Ford's. "Come, we stay too long," says Mrs Page.

Act IV. sc. ii. Ford's house. Falstaff and Mrs Ford. She tells him her husband is a-birding, and for aught she knows she tells him the truth. A difficulty here presents itself: how did the merry wives propose to treat Falstaff at this second meeting? At the first meeting they had arranged the buck-basket for him; and though the unexpected arrival of Ford and his companions added greatly to the success of that plot, Falstaff would have been, and in fact was,

slighted into the Thames quite independently of any interference on Ford's part. As far as I can make out, all the punishment Mrs Ford and Mrs Page had devised for Falstaff at this second meeting was to frighten him out of the house in the disguise of an old woman. The alarm which Mrs Page gives at this second meeting is, however, a true alarm; she actually knows that Ford has drawn her husband and the rest of their company from their sport to make another experiment of his suspicion,—she must have learned this in coming through the streets,-but Mrs Ford does not know that it is true till after Falstaff has gone upstairs to put on Mother Prat's gown. "But is my husband coming?" she asks. "Ay, in good sadness, is he," says Mrs Page; "and talks of the basket too, howsoever he hath had intelligence." The arrival of Ford with his cudgel was quite unforeseen by them, and a mere providential addition to their plot. However, Falstaff is beaten out as an old woman; Ford and his companions proceed to search the house; and the merry wives, left alone, resolve to reveal to their husbands the tricks they have played on the fat knight.

Note that in this scene Ford refers to the first meeting as having taken place *yesterday*. "Master Page," says he, "as I am a man, there was one conveyed out of my house yesterday in this basket: why may not he be there again?"

Act IV. sc. iii. During the search in Ford's house we are transported to the Garter, and in a short scene between Bardolph and mine Host we learn that the Germans desire to borrow horses to meet the duke who comes to-morrow to Court. Mine Host assents.

Act IV. sc iv. We are back in Ford's house. The wives have revealed their plots on Falstaff, and now in general council it is resolved once more to tempt Falstaff to a meeting. Time and place: the ensuing midnight at Herne's oak in the park. Page and his wife resolve (apart from each other) that at the mock fairy scene which is to take place at midnight their daughter Anne shall be carried off and married—by Slender, so the husband decides; the wife determines, by the Doctor.

Act IV. sc. v. At the Garter again. This scene follows close on the preceding one in point of time. Simple, it would seem, has followed the false Mother Prat through the streets, and has seen her go up to Falstaff's chamber, and he waits till she comes down to consult her on behalf of his master. In reply to his Host's call, Falstaff makes his appearance, and acknowledges that there was "an old fat woman even now with me; but she's gone." Simple is shifted off, and Bardolph enters to tell mine Host that the Germans have run away with his horses; Evans and Caius follow in quick succession to warn him, now that it is too late, to beware of these "cozen-germans." All depart save Falstaff, who wishes all the world might be cozened as he has been. And now Mrs Quickly appears to tempt him to the third meeting at Herne's oak. They go up to his chamber together, and the scene closes,

Act IV. sc. vi. Still at the Garter. Fenton consoles the Host for his losses, and obtains his assistance for the runaway match which he intends to make that night with Anne Page; whom he is to steal away from the fairy scene prepared for Falstaff's discomfiture at Herne's oak.

Act V. sc. i. Falstaff has yielded to Mrs Quickly's persuasions, and he promises to be at the place of meeting at the appointed time. As Mrs Quickly goes out Ford enters, and Falstaff tells him—"Master Brook, the matter will be known to-night or never. Be you in the park about midnight, at Herne's oak, and you shall see wonders." The plot, as we have seen, is hopelessly entangled already, but Ford now puts the finishing touch to it. Referring to the second meeting, which took place on the morning of the very day on which he is speaking, he asks Falstaff, "Went you not to her yesterday, sir, as you told me you had appointed?" and Falstaff is not surprised, but gives him an account of the cudgelling he had received, as Mother Prat, on the morning of the day on which the question is asked.

The remaining scenes of the Play—Act V. sc. ii., iii., iv., and v.—comprise the discomfiture of Falstaff at Herne's oak, and the results of the plotting with reference to Anne Page, which ends in her marriage with Fenton.

The confusion which exists in the Play with reference to Falstaff's meetings with Mrs Ford may be briefly stated as follows:—The first meeting, which ends with the buck-basket, takes place between ten

and eleven on one morning; the second meeting is determined for the morrow of the first, and actually follows it; but yet the invitation to it and its actual occurrence are fixed by the Play at an earlier hour of the same day as that on which the first takes place; and when it has thus got in advance of the first, Ford refers to the first as being before it. And the confusion does not end here, for on the very day of the second meeting Ford refers to that second meeting as having taken place on the 'yesterday,' and thus the third meeting, which is on the night of the day of the second, is driven forward to the night of the day following it.

So much for the confusion of the Folio version of the Play. In the Quarto the hours of the two first interviews are transposed: the first interview takes place between eight and nine, the second between ten and eleven; but we do not thereby escape confusion. It should be noted that after the first interview the merry wives do not, as in the Folio (Act III. sc. iii.), mention the morrow as the time for the second, but the invitation to it is delivered, as in the Folio, by Mrs Quickly just after Falstaff's return from his ducking, and she then says it is for "to-morrow, sir, between ten and eleven;" when Ford, however, enters—immediately after her departure—Falstaff tells him it is to take place at once, that is, on the same day as the first interview; and yet—as in the Folio—when Ford the second time searches his house, he refers to the first, or buck-basket adventure, as having taken place yesterday.

The third, or Herne's oak meeting, is arranged, as in the Folio, for the night of the day on which the second interview (and the first too, as it appears) takes place; but as Ford—although he says he will—does not call on Falstaff to ascertain if he will keep tryst, we escape the last touch of confusion, which is given in the Folio by his referring to the second interview as having occurred 'yesterday.' Against this, however, we may set a little bit of confusion which is the exclusive property of the Quarto. When in Act II. sc. i. the Host and Shallow come to invite Page and Ford to go with them to see the fun of the sham duel, neither of them accepts the invitation, but they both go off to dine together—before eight o'clock in the morning; but yet in the subsequent scenes we find that they did not

go to dinner, for Page is with mine Host and the duellists, and Ford calls on Falstaff, as in the Folio. It should also be noticed that Page, after the first search has been made for Falstaff in Ford's house, invites all the company to dinner with him on the next day, and proposes that in the morning they shall go a-birding. Mrs Quickly, however, when she delivers the invitation to Falstaff for the first interview—between eight and nine—tells him that the birding is for that morning, when, indeed, the business of the duel is in hand.

In the Quarto the scene in which Fenton has an interview with Anne Page (Act III, sc. iv. Fo.) comes after the scene in which the invitation to Falstaff's second interview with Mrs Ford is given, but before the scene in which it takes place; in the Folio the Fenton scene comes before that of the invitation to the second interview. Mr Grant White in his preliminary remarks on this Play, in his edition of Shakespeare's works, notices this transposition of scenes and the introduction in the Folio version of the scene with the Pedagogue, Act IV. sc. i., as 'two manœuvres,' the result of which "is, that in the perfected Play the important incongruity [the confusion of the days of the first two interviews] ceases to be palpable;" and by them he considers that the author "skilfully concealed an error, to eradicate which would have cost more labour than he cared to bestow." Mr. White's argument is of course founded on the supposition that the Quarto represents the author's "first sketch" of the Play.

I fail utterly to see the force of this argument; for the 'change' in the Folio does not conceal the error in the slightest degree, that error manifesting itself in one scene only (Act III. sc. v.), so that no transposition or addition of scenes before or after can disguise it. It is important here to consider the condition of the Folio version of the Play, and on this point the conclusions of the Cambridge editors (expressed in their notes at the end of the Play) may with great confidence be received, as being the result of the most thorough examination of the text that the Play has yet received.

Besides noting minor points on which the Quarto affords evidence of imperfection in the Folio, they observe, Note iii., "The fact that so many omissions can be supplied from such mutilated copies as the early Quartos, indicates that there may be many more omissions for the detection of which we have no clue. The text of the Merry Wives given in F1 was probably printed from a carelessly-written copy of the author's MS." In Note vii. they remark, "The meaning of the text may have been obscured by some omission in the Folio;" and in Note viii. they say, "No doubt there is an omission here in the Folio which may be partly supplied from the Quarto."

The editors of the Cambridge edition do not express any opinion as to the confusion of time which exists in the Folio version of the Play, and it will be observed that while noting apparent omissions in it, they only ascribe them to "a carelessly-written copy of the author's MS.;" but something more than this, careless compression and mutilation of the Play are indicated by the extraordinary entanglement of the plot I have pointed out. I have already, in a letter published in The Athenaum, 6th April, 1878, endeavoured to account for this entanglement, and have suggested the means for its cure; but it is necessary for the completion of this article that I should repeat my argument here. The chief error, then, lies in sc. v. of Act III.; that scene must, I think, have been formed by the violent junction—I cannot call it fusion—of two separate scenes representing portions of two separate days. The first part of the scene-Mrs Quickly and Falstaff-is inseparably connected with the day of Falstaff's first interview with Mrs Ford; the second part is as inseparably connected with the day of the second interview. The first part clearly shows us Falstaff in the afternoon, just escaped from his ducking in the Thames; the second part as clearly shows him in the early morning about to keep his second appointment with Mrs Ford.

Cut this actual scene v. into two, ending the first with Mrs Quickly's last speech—"Peace be with you, sir,"—and the main difficulty vanishes, and the only change required in the text of the Folio to make it agree with the previous scenes is the alteration of two words. In her first speech Mrs Quickly says, "Give your worship good morrow,"—l. 28. For morrow read even. In lines 45-6 she says, "Her husband goes this morning a-birding." For N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

this morning read in the morning or to-morrow morning. Not a syllable need be changed in the Ford part of the scene; but with his part we might begin Act IV. The confusion between Falstaff's first and second interviews with Mrs Ford would be thus absolutely cured.

To complete our task and make the text of the play perfectly accordant with its plot we should further alter one word in Act V. sc. i. Ford there says, "Went you not to her yesterday, sir?" etc. For yesterday read this morning.

This is the great change which Mr Grant White imagines "would have cost" the author "more labour than he cared to bestow;" and with it—if any editor should be rash enough to make it—would end the confusion which we all deplore in this delightful Play.

I should add that this important "emendation" is suggested. and I may say absolutely justified, by the Quarto version of sc. v. Act III. In that version Mrs Quickly expressly states that the second interview is for the morrow—as the plot requires—and we only learn that we have arrived at this morrow when Ford appears. This glaring incongruity at once suggests that here are two scenesrun into one, and on examination it will be found that by merely drawing a line between the Quickly and Ford portions, and without altering a syllable of the text, the scene splits perfectly into two scenes representing portions of two separate days, as required by the plot. On the theory, therefore, that the Quarto represents the author's first sketch, it will be seen that absolutely no labour was required to correct the error in that edition, but that a certain amount of labour was actually bestowed on establishing it in the 'perfected' Play. I believe, however, that the error never existed in the author's MS., but is the result of some managerial attempt to compress the two scenes into one for the convenience of the stage representation, and that then the words, which I propose to alter, were introduced into the Folio version in order to make the new one-scene self-consistent; that the author himself could have been so forgetful of his plot as to make the change I hold to be incredible.

As it is impossible in its present state to make out any time-

division of the Play, I give that which results from the correction I propose; disentangling Days 2 and 3, and bringing the plot in accordance with the obvious intention of the author.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. to iv.

,, 2. Act II. sc. i. to iii., Act III. sc. i. to iv., and the Quickly portion of sc. v.

Day 3. The Ford portion of Act III. sc. v. to end of the Play.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

FIRST printed in Folio; divided into acts and scenes.

It should, however, be noted that scene ii. of Act I. is divided in the Folio into two scenes, *Scena Tertia* commencing with the entry of Provost, Claudio, etc. Scenes iii. and iv. of this act are accordingly numbered iv. and v. in the Folio. The Folio also makes the whole of Act iii. one continuous scene; here it is divided into two.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. The Duke gives his commission to Angelo and Escalus and departs.

A short interval must here be supposed, to allow the new governors to settle to their work.

Day 2. In Act I. sc. ii. we see the result, in the arrest of Claudio. Lucio promises to see Isabella immediately to get her to intercede for her brother.

Note that in this scene Claudio remarks that the laws under which he now suffers have been suspended for "nineteen zodiacs;" in the following scene the Duke says for "fourteen years."

Act I. sc. iii. The Duke confides to Friar Thomas his purpose of watching, under the disguise of a monk, the proceedings of his deputies.

Act I. sc. iv. Lucio has an interview with Isabella, who promises to call on Angelo at once and endeavour to obtain her brother's pardon. "Soon at night," says she, "I'll send him certain word of my success."

Act II. sc. i. Angelo, Escalus, etc., sitting in justice. Angelo

gives orders to the Provost that Claudio "be executed by nine to-morrow morning." Elbow brings Froth and Pompey before the bench. At the end of the scene it is eleven o'clock, and Escalus invites the Justice home with him to dinner.

Act II. sc. ii. The Provost returns to Angelo to be reassured that Claudio is to die to-morrow. Lucio and Isabella now enter to plead for Claudio. Angelo twice tells Isabella that her brother is to die to-morrow; at last, moved by her speech and beauty, he says, "I will bethink me: come again to-morrow," and again a little later on he says, "Well: come to me to-morrow." Isabella asks, "At what hour to-morrow?" and he replies, "At any time 'fore noon."

Act II. sc. iii. In the Prison. The Duke in disguise as a Friar. The Provost informs him that Claudio is to die to-morrow. No respite then has reached the prison in consequence of Isabella's interview with Angelo. The Duke has some discourse with Juliet, which he ends with "Your partner, as I hear, must die to-morrow, and I am going with instruction to him."

Act II. sc. iv. Isabella has a second interview with Angelo. This should be the "morrow fore noon" appointed in scene ii.; but the time both of the scene which precedes and of that which follows this binds us still to the day of Claudio's condemnation. In this scene Angelo makes his attempt on Isabella's virtue and is rejected. He leaves her to think over what he has said, telling her to answer him to-morrow. She resolves to acquaint her brother with his infamous proposals.

Act III. sc. i. The Duke fulfils his intention announced in Act II. sc. iii., and prepares Claudio for death. Isabella enters; three times she tells her brother that he must make up his mind to die on the morrow; she tells him of Angelo's proposal; and strangely enough she knows that "this night's the time" at which Angelo would have her accede to it. But Angelo in the preceding scene made no such suggestion, and Isabella could not have seen him since the second interview, when he told her to give him her final answer on the morrow of that interview.

The Duke now intervenes, and concerts with Isabella the plot in which Mariana is to take her place with Angelo "if for this night he

entreat you to his bed." Isabella departs at once to make the appointment with Angelo, and agrees to meet the Duke presently at the moated grange.

Act III. sc. ii. While Isabella is upon this business, Pompey and then Mrs Overdone are taken into custody. It is evening now. "Good even, good father," says Escalus to the Duke. Twice again in this scene reference is made to Claudio's death as fixed for the morrow, and at the end of it the Duke refers to his plot on Angelo for "to-night."

Act IV. sc. i. Mariana in the moated grange. The Duke makes his appearance, and she says—

"Here comes a man of comfort, whose advice Hath often still'd my brawling discontent."

Yet she only knows him as a Friar, and it was but this morning that he assumed the disguise; for we are still in the first day represented on the stage since his supposed departure from Vienna.

Isabella now arrives; she has agreed to meet Angelo "upon the heavy middle of the night," and they have to make haste, for "the vaporous night approaches." Mariana consents to the plot.

Act IV. sc. ii. In the Prison. The Provost engages Pompey as an assistant to the executioner; for "to-morrow morning are to die Claudio and Barnadine." He tells Abhorson to provide his block and axe "to-morrow four o'clock." A little later Claudio enters, and he says—

"Look, here's the warrant, Claudio, for thy death:
"Tis now dead midnight, and by eight to-morrow
Thou must be made immortal."

Day 3, then, begins here. The Duke enters. "The best and wholesomest spirits of the *night* envelope you, good Provost," says he. He comes to ask if any countermand for Claudio has yet reached the prison. None has, nor does the Provost expect any, for

"—upon the very siege of justice Lord Angelo hath to the public ear Profess'd the contrary."

This must refer to Act II. sc. i., and is important as showing that no order deferring the execution of Claudio has been given by Angelo in

consequence of Isabella's interviews with him, and, notwithstanding that the second interview was appointed for the morrow, it helps to prove that both those interviews were on the busy day just ended.

A messenger now arrives with a private note from Angelo to the Provost that "Claudio be executed by four of the clock; and in the afternoon Barnardine;" and he desires to have Claudio's head sent him by five. As the messenger departs he says, "Good morrow; for, as I take it, it is almost day."

The Duke now persuades the Provost to preserve Claudio's life and substitute for his head Barnardine's, and he craves but four days' respite to bring all things to a prosperous conclusion: later on he assures the Provost that the Duke will be here within these two days; and, as the scene ends, he remarks, "It is almost clear dawn;" so that we are now clearly entered on the third day of the action represented on the stage; the second since the Duke's supposed departure from Vienna.

Note that in Act II. sc. i. Claudio was to be executed at 9 a.m. In the scene which has just concluded the block is to be provided for 4 a.m.; according to the warrant the time is fixed at 8 a.m.; and in Angelo's private note it is 4 a.m.

Act IV. sc. iii. follows in time immediately on the preceding scene. We are still in the Prison. Pompey and Abhorson, and subsequently the Duke, try to persuade Barnardine to come and be killed; he obstinately declines, and then the Provost gets out of the difficulty by providing the head of the pirate Ragozine, who has opportunely died that morning. He himself undertakes to carry it at once to Angelo, for the hour [five] draws on prefixed by him. Again the Duke tells the Provost that all will be safe

"Ere twice the sun hath made his journal greeting To the under generation."

The Duke, left alone, says he will now write letters to Angelo, "whose contents shall witness to him I am near at home." And he proposes to himself that the Provost shall bear these letters.

Isabella now enters, and the Duke greets her with "Good morning to you, fair and gracious daughter." He conceals from

her her brother's preservation, and informs her that the "Duke comes home to-morrow," and that one of his convent has already "carried notice to Escalus and Angelo:" in fact, that the notice he proposed to send by the Provost has been already delivered by another person, Friar Peter; and he gives her a letter to this Friar in order that he may bring her before the Duke on his entry, where she may accuse Angelo. Lucio now enters, and salutes them with "Good even," so that it appears the day has suddenly grown old during this early morning scene.

Act IV. sc. iv. Angelo and Escalus discuss the Duke's letters and arrange for his public entrance on the morrow. The order for the despatch of complaints is to be proclaimed betimes i' the morn, and Angelo bids Escalus "Good night" when he departs. With this scene ends the third day of the action.

Day 4. Act IV. sc. v. and vi. and Act V. represent the morning of the Duke's public entry; during which Angelo is unmasked, and all wrongs are righted and faults pardoned.

The time of the Play, then, is four days:-

- Day 1. Act I. sc. i. may be taken as a kind of prelude, after which some little interval must be supposed in order to permit the new governors of the city to settle to their work. The rest of the Play is comprised in three consecutive days.
- Day 2. Commences with Act I. sc. ii, and ends in Act IV. sc. ii.
- Day 3. Commences in Act IV. sc. ii. and ends with Act IV. sc. iv.
- Day 4. Includes Act IV. sc. v. and vi. and the whole of Act V., which is in one scene only.

COMEDY OF ERRORS.

FIRST printed in Folio: divided into acts. The scenes not numbered.

The whole time of the dramatic action is comprised in one day, ending about 5 p.m.

Note.—When Egeon and his family were floating on the mast two ships of Corinth and of Epidarus made amain to them. Their mast being broken on a rock, the family was divided. Egeon supposed that his wife and the children with her were picked up by the Corinth ship (Act I. sc. i.). The wife says that she was picked up by men of Epidamnium, the children afterwards forcibly taken from them by the Corinth men, and she left to take to the "fortune that you see me in" (Act V. sc. i.).

Egeon is picked up by "another ship," is recognized, and of course returns home to Syracuse. At eighteen years of age his son, who was rescued with him, sets out to seek his brother, and has been seven years wandering about when he arrives at Ephesus (Act V. sc. i.); he is then twenty-five years old. Yet the Abbess, his mother, declares at the end of the Play—

"Thirty-three years have I but gone in travail Of you, my sons; and till the present hour My heavy burthen ne'er delivered."

Antipholus of Ephesus was brought from Corinth by Duke Menaphon, at what age does not appear; but the present Duke has been his patron for twenty years.

Egeon, after the departure of Antipholus of Syracuse, has been wandering "five summers" in search of him when he arrives in Ephesus.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

First printed in Quarto, with no division of acts and scenes. In the Folio the acts are numbered, but not the scenes.

Day 1. Act I. and sc. i. of Act II. represent the afternoon and evening of Don Pedro's arrival at Leonato's. A great supper is provided, after which at a masked ball the Prince woos Hero for Claudio, as agreed between them in the first scene of the Play. Claudio wishes his marriage to take place on the morrow, but Leonato defers it "till Monday,... which is hence a just seven-night." The Prince proposes that in the interim they shall employ themselves in bringing Beatrice

and Benedick "into a mountain of affection the one with the other." These scenes, then, are on a Monday. Note that in the opening scene the Prince says that their stay with Leonato will be "at the least a month."

Day 2. Act II. sc. ii. Don John resolves to cross Claudio's marriage. This scene cannot certainly be later than the second day of the action, for Don John must have had early news of the proposed marriage. It may possibly be included in the first day. We have, however, a week to dispose of, and may perhaps employ one day of the week for this scene, and call it the second day, or Tuesday.

Note that Borachio here professes to have overheard in the musty room he had been smoking the conversation between the Prince and Claudio which Antonio's man had overheard in the orchard (Act I. sc. ii.).

Day 3. Act II. sc. iii. Benedick in the orchard; he conceals himself as the Prince, Claudio, and Leonato enter, with music. After the music they, being aware of his concealment, hold out for him the lure which is to entice him into the toils of love. Towards the end of the scene Leonato remarks that "dinner is ready," and Beatrice is afterwards sent to bid Benedick "come in to dinner." This "dinner" I am disposed to think must be a slip for "supper;" the feeling of the scene—in the early part especially—is that of a quiet afternoon, and Claudio distinctly marks the time with the charming lines-

> "How still the evening is. As hush'd on purpose to grace harmony."

I place this scene in the third day (Wednesday). The love conspirators would scarcely defer their attempt on Benedick's peace of mind to a later date; but yet, for the verisimilitude of their description of Beatrice's passion-"she'll be up twenty times a night, and there will she sit in her smock till she have writ a sheet of paper," etc.—we must suppose a night or two to have passed since the opening scene.

Here, for reasons manifested in the next scene, I am forced to mark an interval of three days, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. Hero and Ursula lay a like trap for

Beatrice as that by which Benedick has been caught. That they should have deferred doing so till now is strange, for we are now clearly on the eve of the wedding. Ursula asks, "When are you married, madam?" [Why does she ask this question? She must have known the day.] And Hero replies—

"Why, every day, to-morrow. Come, go in: I'll show thee some attires, and have thy counsel Which is the best to furnish me to-morrow."

According to Leonato the first day of the action was a Monday, and then the wedding was fixed for the next Monday; as this scene is on the eve of the wedding it must therefore be Sunday.

Act III. sc. ii. The same day. Don John, being assured that the marriage is to take place on the *morrow*, proposes, in pursuance of his plot, to prove to the Prince and Claudio, *this very night*, the guilt of Hero.

Note, in the opening speech of this scene, Don Pedro says, "I do but stay till your marriage be consummate, and then go I toward Arragon." He has changed his mind, then, since the opening day, when he proposed to stay "at the least a month" with Leonato.

Act III. sc. iii. Late at night. Dogberry and Verges give their charge to the watch, and in especial pray them to "watch about Signior Leonato's door; for the wedding being there to-morrow, there is a great coil to-night." Borachio and Conrade enter, and the former tells how by his wooing of Margaret at Hero's window he has deceived the Prince and Claudio. They are overheard by the watch and arrested.

Day 5. Act. III. sc. 4. The wedding day—early morning. Hero and her maids are attiring for the ceremony. Beatrice joins them, and we learn that "'tis almost five o'clock." At the end of the scene Ursula announces that "the prince, the count, Signior Benedick, Don John, and all the gallants of the town, are come to fetch you to church."

Act III. sc. v. Dogberry and Verges inform Leonato that the watch have to-night 1 taken "two aspicious persons," and they would

¹ to night = last night. See instances noted in Schmidt's Shahespeare Lexicon, s. v. To night.

have them this morning examined before his worship. He tells them to examine the prisoners themselves, and is then summoned by a messenger,—"My lord, they stay for you to give your daughter to her husband."

Act IV. sc. i. In the church. Claudio accuses Hero of her supposed guilt—witnessed by him "yesternight," "last night," at her chamber window—and rejects her. She swoons, and after the departure of Claudio and his friends it is agreed that it shall be given out that she is dead.

Act IV. sc. ii. Borachio and Conrade are examined by the watch; Hero's innocence established; and we hear that Don John, the author of the mischief, has "this morning secretly stolen away."

Act V. sc. i. Leonato and Antonio threaten the Prince and Claudio with vengeance for Hero's death. Benedick challenges Claudio. The watch bring in Conrade and Borachio, and the latter confesses his guilt. Leonato determines that in satisfaction for his daughter's death Claudio shall

"Hang her an epitaph upon her tomb And sing it to her bones, sing it to-night,"

and that "to-morrow morning" he shall accept as his wife, in lieu of Hero, a daughter of his brother.

Act V. sc. ii. Benedick has a meeting with Beatrice; at the end of the scene they learn that Hero's innocence is established.

Act V. sc. iii. The night has come, and the Prince and Claudio fulfil their promise of hanging an epitaph upon the monument of Leonato in honour of Hero.

The night passes into day-

"The wolves have prey'd; and look, the gentle day, Before the wheels of Phœbus, round about Dapples the drowsy east with spots of grey."

"Come, let us hence," says the Prince, "and put on other weeds; and then to Leonato's we will go."

In this scene ends the day of the broken-off wedding, and the day commences which ends the Play in the next scene.

Day 6. Act V. sc. iv. Claudio accepts as his wife Leonato's supposed niece, who on unmasking is discovered to be the true Hero. Benedick and Beatrice resolve on marriage, and all ends happily.

It will be seen that in the endeavour to make the action of the Play agree as far as possible with Leonato's determination in Act II. sc. i., that the marriage of Claudio and Hero shall take place on "Monday... which is hence a just seven-night," I have supposed the following days to be represented on the stage.

- Day 1. Monday. Act I. and sc. i. of Act II.
 - , 2. Tuesday. Act II. sc. ii.
 - ,, 3. Wednesday. Act II. sc. iii.

 Thursday.
 Friday.
 Saturday.
 - , 4. Sunday. Act III. sc. i.—iii.
- ,, 5. Monday. Act III. sc. iv. and v., Act IV. sc. i. and ii., Act. V. sc. i., ii., and part of iii.

Day 6. Tuesday. Act V. sc. iii. (in part) and sc. iv.

The first Tuesday even in this scheme might very well be left a blank, and the sc. ii. of Act II. be included in the opening Monday.

I believe, however, that just as the Prince forgets his determination to stay "at the least a month" at Messina, so the "just seven-night" to the wedding was also either forgotten or intentionally set aside, and that only four *consecutive* days are actually included in the action of the drama.

- Day 1. Act I. and Act II. sc. i. and ii.
 - , 2. Act II. sc. iii. and Act III. sc. i.—iii.
- " 3. Act III. sc. iv. and v., Act IV., Act V. sc. i., ii., and part of iii.

Day 4. Act V. part of sc. iii. and sc. iv.

Note.—I take this occasion—as the matter is in some degree a question of time—to endeavour at an explanation of a phrase which must have made many a reader pause. In Act III. sc. i. where Ursula asks, "When are you married, madam?" Hero replies—

"Why cuerie [euery Qo.] day to morrow,"-Fo.

The usual punctuation is-

Why, every day;—to-morrow:—Var. ed. 1821, etc. The Cambridge editors have—

Why, every day, to-morrow.-

Mr. Collier (*Notes and Emendations*) considers the answer to be unintelligible, and that "the correction of the Folio, 1632, has made it quite clear by setting right a misprint: there Hero replies, 'Why, in a day,—to-morrow.'"

Mr. Staunton, as far as I am aware, is the only editor who attempts an explanation: he prints—

Why, every day to-morrow:-

and says,—"Hero plays on the form of Ursula's interrogatory, 'When are you married?'

'I am a married woman every day, after to-morrow.'"

I cannot consider either the emendation or the explanation as satisfactory: I fancy that "every day" is here used in the sense of immediately, without delay, as the French incessament.

I have met with one other instance of the use of the phrase, and I quote it as evidence in favour of the integrity of the text of *Much Ado*.

"Goldstone. Fare thee well: when shall I see thee at my chamber, when?

"Fitzgrave. Every day, shortly."

Middleton, Your Five Gallants, Act IV. sc. v., ed. Dyce Vol. II. p. 289.

LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST.

First printed in Quarto with no division of acts and scenes. The acts only numbered in the Folio; where by some error, Acts IV. and V. are both headed Actus Quartus.

Day 1. The first day of the action includes Acts I. and II. In it the Princess of France has her first interview with the King of Navarre. Toward the end of Act II. certain documents required for the establishment.

lishment of the French claims are stated to have not yet come; but, says Boyet, "to-morrow you shall have a sight of them" (l. 166), and the King tells the Princess—"To-morrow shall we visit you again" (l. 177).

Day 2. Act III. Armado intrusts Costard with a letter to Jaquenetta; immediately afterwards Biron also intrusts him with a letter for Rosaline, which he is to deliver this afternoon (l. 155).

Act IV. sc. i. The Princess remarks that "to-day we shall have our dispatch." This fixes the scene as the morrow referred to in the first day. Costard now enters to deliver, as he supposes, the letter entrusted to him by Biron. He mistakes, however, and gives up Armado's letter to Jaquenetta.

Act IV. sc. ii. Costard and Jaquenetta come to Holophernes and Nathaniel to get them to read the letter, as they suppose, of Armado to Jaquenetta. It turns out to be the letter of Biron to Rosaline, and Costard and Jaquenetta are sent off to give it up at once to the King. It is clear that these scenes from the beginning of Act III. are all on one day; but at the end of this scene Holophernes invites Nathaniel and Dull to dine with him "to day at the father's of a pupil of mine." This does not agree very well with "this afternoon" mentioned in Act III., and one or the other—the afternoon, I think—must be set down as an oversight.

Act IV. sc. iii. Still the same day. The King, Longaville, and Dumain mutually detect each other of love, and Biron triumphs over all three till his own backslidings are exposed by the entry of Costard and Jaquenetta with his letter to Rosaline. Finally, all four resolve to woo their mistresses openly, and determine that—

"——in the afternoon [They] will with some strange pastime solace them" (l. 376-7).

In pursuance of this idea in the next scene, Act V. sc. i., we find Armado consulting Holophernes and Nathaniel—who have now returned from their dinner—as to some masque with which "it is the King's most sweet pleasure and affection to congratulate the Princess at her pavilion in the posteriors of this day, which the rude

multitude call the afternoon" (l. 92-5). A masque of the Nine Worthies is determined on.

In the next scene the masque is presented accordingly, and with this scene the Play ends.

The time of the action, then, is two days:-

- 1. Acts I. and II.
 - 2. Acts III. to V.

MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM.

FIRST printed in Quarto, with no division of acts and scenes. Divided into acts only in the Folio.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Athens. In the first two speeches the proposed duration of the action seems pretty clearly set forth:—

"Theseus. Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour Draws on apace; four happy days bring in Another moon:

Hippolyta. Four days will quickly steep themselves in nights; Four nights will quickly dream away the time; And then the moon, like to a silver bow New-bent in heaven, shall behold the night Of our solemnities."

By this I understand, that four clear days are to intervene between the time of this scene and the day of the wedding. The night of this day No. 1 would, however, suppose five *nights* to come between.

Egeus complains that Lysander has stolen his daughter Hermia's heart. Theseus counsels her, and gives her 'till

"—the next new moon,
The sealing-day betwixt my love and me,"

to consider of her fate.

The lovers agree to steal away from Athens "to-morrow night," and meet in the wood a league without the town.

They confide their intention to Helena, who resolves to inform Demetrius and meet in the wood too.

Act I. sc. ii. The clowns resolve also to meet in the wood tomorrow night to rehearse their play of Pyramus and Thisbie.

- Day 2. Act II., Act III., and part of sc. i. Act IV. are on the morrow night, in the wood, and are occupied with the adventures of the lovers; with Oberon, Titania, Puck; the clowns and Nick Bottom. Daybreak being at hand, the fairies trip after the night's shade and leave the lovers and Bottom asleep.
- Day 3. Act IV. sc. i. continued. Morning. Mayday. Theseus, Hippolyta, etc., enter and awake the lovers with their hunting horns. Theseus, addressing Egeus, says—

"Is not this the day
That Hermia should give answer of her choice?

Egeus. It is, my lord."

Egeus's will as to the disposal of his daughter being overborne, Theseus resolves that

"——in the temple, by and by, with us These couples shall eternally be knit."

And so all return lovingly to Athens.

In Act I. it will be remembered that four days were to elapse before Theseus's nuptials and Hermia's resolve; but here we see the plot is altered, for we are now only in the second day from the opening scene, and only one clear day has intervened between day No. 1 and this, the wedding-day.

Bottom now also awakes and returns to Athens.

Act IV. sc. ii. Athens. Later in the day. The clowns lament the absence of Bottom. Snug enters to tell them that "the Duke is coming from the temple." Shortly afterwards Bottom makes his appearance, and tells them that "the Duke hath dined," and that they must "meet presently at the palace."

Act V. In the Palace. Evening. Theseus asks-

"——What masques, what dances shall we have, To wear away this long age of three hours Between our after-supper and bed-time?"

The clowns' play of *Pyramus and Thisbie* is then given. After which, when

"The iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve,"

all retire, leaving the stage free for the Fairies, who end the play with a blessing on the house and its occupants.

According to the opening speeches of Theseus and Hippolyta in Act I., we should have expected the dramatic action to have comprised five days exclusive of that Act; as it is we have only three days inclusive of it.

Day 1. Act I.

- " 2. Acts II., III., and part of sc. i. Act IV.
- ,, 3. Part of sc. i. Act IV., sc. ii. Act IV., and Act V.

MERCHANT OF VENICE.

First printed in Quarto, with no division of acts and scenes. Divided into acts only in the Folio.

. Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Venice. Bassanio, desiring to offer himself as a suitor to Portia, applies to his friend Antonio for means to enable him to do so. Antonio's fortunes being all at sea, he offers Bassanio his credit to raise a loan, and they separate, each to enquire where money is.

Act I. sc. ii. Belmont. Portia discusses with Nerissa the merits of her suitors. It is evident, from the intimate knowledge she displays of their manners and customs, that the suitors generally sojourn some little time at Belmont before they decide whether they will or will not risk their fortunes in the choice of the caskets. Four of them [Nerissa recapitulates six] now seek to take their leave, and the forerunner of a fifth, the Prince of Morocco, is announced; he brings word that his master will be here to-night.

Act I. sc. iii. Venice. Shylock agrees to lend Bassanio three thousand ducats; Antonio being bound to repay the sum on or before the expiration of three months, on pain of forfeiting a pound of his flesh to the Jew. As, in the beginning of this scene, Bassanio tells Shylock that he may see Antonio if he will *dine* with them, the time of this scene must be supposed the forenoon.

The two Venice scenes in this Act take place presumably on one and the same day. The position of the Belmont scene, between the N. S. SOC, TRANS., 1877-9.

two, fixes it as concurrent with them in point of time. The day presumably ends with the arrival of Morocco at Belmont.

An interval of some days—say a week—must now be supposed in the action of the drama, for reasons stated in the comment on the following scenes.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Belmont. Morocco determines to try his fortune at the caskets. His hazard is to be made after dinner.

Act II. sc. ii.—vi. Venice. These scenes comprise the business of a portion of one day, ending, at nine o'clock p.m., with the embarkation of Bassanio for Belmont, and the elopement of Lorenzo and Jessica.

Act II. sc. vii. Belmont. Morocco makes his choice of the caskets, and fails.

The position of the two Belmont scenes (i. and vii.)—which certainly take place on one and the same day-fixes the time of the Venice scenes (ii.—vi.) as concurrent with them. It is also evident that the first of these two Belmont scenes taking place in a forenoon, after the arrival of Morocco, all these scenes (i.-vii.) must be placed in a separate day from that represented in Act I. The question remains, are we to consider this as the day following that of Act I. or are we to imagine an interval between them? An examination of the Venice scenes must determine this question. In them we find Launcelot (sc. ii.) lamenting his hard life in Shylock's service; he knows that Bassanio gives "rare new liveries," and we may suppose that in going of errands between Shylock and Bassanio he has gained his knowledge of the superior comforts to be obtained in the service of the latter. He accordingly petitions to be admitted his servant, and he obtains his end; for Bassanio "knows him well," and tells him that this very day Shylock himself has preferred him. This fact alone shows that Shylock—however inwardly he has cherished his hate has been at least for some little time in familiar intercourse with Bassanio and his friends since the signing of the bond. We find, too, that he has got over his horror of pork, and now accepts an invitation to eat with the Christians almost as a matter of course. The time has been employed by Bassanio in providing his outfit; he

has engaged his ship, and is now waiting for a fair wind. Lorenzo, too, has been courting Jessica, and persuading her to elope with him. And Jessica, in Act III. sc. ii. l. 287—90, testifies that when she was with her father, *i. e.* after the signing of the bond, she had

"—— heard him swear To Tubal and to Chus, his countrymen, That he would rather have Antonio's flesh Than twenty times the value of the sum That he did owe him."

All this manifestly supposes a lapse of time since the signing of the bond, and I should allow an interval of several days—say a week—between Acts I. and II. It is true that if we allow this interval in Venice we must also allow it in Belmont, and suppose Morocco to have sojourned there a week before making his choice of the caskets; but there seems to me nothing improbable in this if we consider the custom of the suitors (see Act I. sc. ii.).

An interval of one day; for reasons see comment on Day 3.

Day 3. Act II. sc. viii. Venice. Salarino and Salanio discuss Shylock's rage on discovering the flight of his daughter. Salarino reports that he had reasoned with a Frenchman *yesterday* who brought news of the loss of a Venetian vessel in the narrow seas; he hopes it may not be one of Antonio's.

Act II. sc. ix. Belmont. The Prince of Arragon makes his choice of the caskets, and fails. As he takes his departure Bassanio's forerunner is announced; he brings word of the approach of his lord.

I make these two scenes coincident in point of time, and suppose them to take place on the second day after Bassanio's embarkation. We may suppose him to arrive at Belmont on the day his approach is announced. We cannot allow him longer time for his journey, for we shall see later in the Play that the distance between Belmont and Venice is but a day's journey. Neither can we give this day No. 3 an earlier date; for the *yesterday* mentioned by Salarino cannot possibly refer to a time earlier than the first day after Bassanio's departure from Venice. The only possible scheme of time seems to me that which I propose, and I must therefore ask the reader to take

his faith in both hands, and believe in an interval of one day between these two scenes and those which precede them.

An interval bringing the time to within a fortnight of the maturity of the bond.

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. Venice. Salanio and Salarino are still harping on the loss of the ship in the narrow seas; but now the rumour is that it is really one of Antonio's, and though the mention of this ship connects the scene with Act II. scene viii. (Day 3), it also marks the advance of time. The fact that Shylock, who joins them, is still brooding over his daughter's flight does not by any means necessitate a close approximation of the time of this scene and that of the elopement. As the scene progresses we find him already beginning to talk of Antonio as a probable bankrupt, and uttering threats in anticipation of the forfeiture of the bond. Tubal, who now makes his appearance, accounts for a considerable portion of the past time, and we learn from his conversation with Shylock that he has just returned from a fruitless pursuit of Jessica, in tracing whom he has been as far as Genoa. He brings news, too, of the loss of another of Antonio's ships, and tells how divers of Antonio's creditors swear he cannot choose but break. Whereupon Shylock gives him this instruction :-- "Go, Tubal, fee me an officer; bespeak him a fortnight before." However doubtful we may feel as to its flight, this distinct note of time leaves us no choice but to believe in an interval, between this and the preceding scenes, of sufficient length to bring the three-months bond to within a fortnight of its maturity.

An interval of rather more than a fortnight must now be supposed.

Day 5. Act III. sc. ii. Belmont. Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets and wins Portia for his wife. Gratiano announces that he and Nerissa intend to follow their example. Salerio now arrives, accompanied by Lorenzo and Jessica; he brings the news that the bond is forfeit, and that Antonio is fallen into the power of the Jew. With the assent of their wives Bassanio and Gratiano set out at once for Venice.

Act III. sc. iii. Venice. Antonio in custody. We learn from him that the trial is to take place on the morrow.

Act III. sc. iv. Belmont. Portia confides the care of her house to Lorenzo, and sets out for Venice with Nerissa, having previously despatched Balthazar to Padua to receive instructions from Bellario.

It is evident that the two Belmont scenes, ii. and iv., are on one and the same day. The position of the Venice scene, iii., fixes it also on that day. As Bassanio, Portia, etc., are all present at the trial on the morrow mentioned by Antonio, it follows that the journey between Belmont and Venice cannot be more than what could be effected in the interim. We must, in fact, be satisfied with a rough estimate of the distance as a day's journey.

In Act III. sc. i. (day No. 4) we arrived at the conclusion that all but a fortnight of the three months of the bond had expired. More than a fortnight's interval, therefore (allowing for Salerio's journey, and the time passed by him in Venice after the arrest, during which the chief citizens interceded with Shylock on behalf of Antonio), must be supposed between sc. i. and sc. ii.—iv. of this Act. So far all is clear: the difficulty is to account for Bassanio's proceedings since his arrival at Belmont. We cannot fix the time of his arrival with precision; but granting the first week's interval, spent in Venice in preparing for his journey, and his arrival at Belmont on the second day after his embarkation, we still are but nine days from the signing of the bond, and now when he makes his choice of the caskets more than the full three months of the bond have expired. We allowed Morocco a week in which to make his suit to Portia; to Arragon we could only afford one day; but Bassanio has taken the unconscionable time of some twelve weeks! And yet when he at last determines to risk his fortunes in the choice of the caskets, Portia addresses him with-

"I pray you tarry: pause a day or two.

I would detain you here some month or two Before you venture for me," etc.

This speech apart, however, we need not find much difficulty in

allowing for a somewhat lengthy sojourn at Belmont of Bassanio and his suite. The dialogue between him and Portia is that of two persons who by long intercourse are mutually certain of each other's love, and tremble lest fate should divide them. It is certain also that Bassanio is now no new-comer, for he refers to the time—

"When I did first impart my love to you," etc.,

and the mere sound of this line carries us back a long way into time-past. We must suppose—and the poet intended we should suppose—that Bassanio has been following Antonio's advice, and staying "the very riping of the time" (II. viii. 40). And Portia and he have not been alone in their wooing; Gratiano has been hard at it too, wooing till he sweat again, and "at last" Nerissa has promised him her hand if Bassanio achieve her mistress. We may even find some support for our theory of long-time at Belmont in the accusation which Lorenzo, in Act III. sc. v., brings against Launcelot in connection with the Moor: a period of some twelve weeks, I am told would be absolutely necessary before such an accusation could have any appearance of probability.

Day 6. Act III. sc. v. Belmont. Lorenzo, Jessica, and Launcelot in the garden, before dinner.

Act IV. sc. i. Venice. The trial. This scene also takes place before noon: towards the close the Duke invites Portia home with him to dinner. She excuses herself on the plea that she must away this night to Padua, and must presently set forth. Bassanio and Antonio propose to fly toward Belmont early next morning.

Act IV. sc. ii. This scene follows close on the preceding one. In it Portia and Nerissa obtain their husbands' rings. Portia proposes—

"—We'll away to-night,
And be a day before our husbands home."

Days 7 and 8. Act V. Belmont. At night in the garden. Lorenzo and Jessica discourse on music. Portia and Nerissa arrive. Afterwards Antonio, Bassanio, and Gratiano. The mock quarrel takes place about the rings, which the ladies pretend they had

received from the Doctor and his clerk *last night*,—i. e. on the shortest time theory, the night of the day of the trial,—and the Play ends at two hours before day.

Time: eight days represented on the stage; with intervals. Total time: a period of rather more than three months.

Day 1. Act I.

Interval-say a week.

,, 2. Act II. sc. i.—vii.

Interval—one day.

,, 3. Act II. sc. viii. and ix.

Interval—bringing the time to within a fortnight of the maturity of the bond.

, 4. Act III. sc. i.

Interval—rather more than a fortnight.

- , 5. Act III. sc. ii.—iv.
- ,, 6. Act III. sc. v., Act IV.
- " 7 and 8. Act V.

Note.—Much of this article is unavoidably a repetition of a paper read before the N. S. Soc. on the 12th Oct., 1877, and printed in the *Transactions* of that date, prepared by me in refutation of the Rev. N. J. Halpin's *Time-Analysis of The Merchant of Venice*, in which that gentleman endeavoured to prove that the whole "dramatic time of the action" was limited to thirty-nine consecutive hours!

About the beginning of the present century Ambrose Eccles published editions of *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline*. Part of his plan was to note the supposed time of each scene and its relation, in this respect, with the rest; to do in fact for these three plays what is here attempted for the whole series. My scheme of time for these plays was completed before I became aware of his work; but as he is, so far as I know, the only editor who has attempted anything of the kind, I have thought it might be of interest to note here the variations between his scheme of time and my own.

Of my Day No. 2 he makes two days by bringing together the Belmont scenes i. and vii., in which Morocco is concerned, and

placing them as the morrow of Day 1 in Act I. as sc. iv. and v. Of the Venice scenes ii. to vi. he makes a separate day, and between the two days thus obtained he places the interval required for Bassanio's preparations after signing the bond.

He includes in my Day No. 5 the Belmont scene, Act. III. sc. v. He also makes the whole of Acts IV. and V., beginning with the Trial in Venice and ending in the garden at Belmont, one day. To do this, however, he is obliged to explain away Bassanio's resolution of starting for Belmont on the morning after the Trial, and he entirely overlooks Nerissa's "last night" on which the ring quarrel is established.

In other respects our divisions of this play are substantially in agreement.

The editions of Eccles's work that I have seen are King Lear and Cymbeline, London, 1801, and Merchant of Venice, Dublin, 1805. Lowndes mentions other editions of the two first plays dated 1793, 1794, and 1805.

AS YOU LIKE IT.

FIRST printed in the Folio; divided into acts and scenes.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Orlando's altercation with his brother Oliver. Charles, the Duke's wrestler, comes to warn Oliver not to let Orlando take part in the match which is to come off next day; but the affectionate elder brother tells him he had as lief he broke his neck as not; indeed encourages him to do so. One might judge from the talk between the two that the "old Duke's" banishment was quite a recent event. Nothing new at Court has occurred since then, and it is only an on dit that "he is already in the forest of Arden." Oliver confirms this impression by asking if Rosalind be banished with her father, and Charles tells him, no; the love between the cousins being so great that Celia would have followed her exile, or have died to stay behind. This is somewhat at variance with what follows: in Act I. sc. iii., when the Duke banishes Rosalind, he says—

"Ay Celia; we stay'd her for your sake, Else had she with her father ranged along. Celia, I did not then entreat to have her stay.

I was too young that time to value her; But now I know her," etc.

Observe, too, that in Act II. sc. i. the banished Duke says, "Hath not old custom made this life more sweet," etc.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. The wrestling match. Charles is defeated by Orlando. Orlando and Rosalind fall in love. Le Beau informs Orlando of the Duke's displeasure and counsels him to depart.

Act I. sc. iii. The Duke banishes Rosalind. She and Celia resolve to fly together, and to take Touchstone with them.

Act II. sc. i. In the forest of Arden, with the banished Duke and his lords. "Hath not old custom," etc. Description of Jaques meditating on the wounded deer; the Duke goes out to seek him.

This scene in our scheme of time may be supposed concurrent with the two preceding scenes.

Note that Act II. sc. iii. must also be included in this Day 2.

An interval perhaps might be expected between the day of Rosalind's banishment and the day (No. 3) on which her flight is discovered. The Duke allows her ten days for preparation; but she and her companions would hardly delay so long, and any delay at all would throw the scheme of time utterly out of gear. See the comment on Act II. sc. vi. I believe the author started them on their journey on the night ensuing the banishment, and made Days 1, 2, and 3 consecutive. In Lodge's Rosalynde, it may be observed, the Duke, who banishes his daughter as well as his niece, bids them depart the same night.

Day 3. Act II. sc. ii. The flight of Rosalind and Celia is discovered; it is believed that Orlando is in their company, and the Duke orders that he be sent for, and, if absent from his brother's house, that Oliver himself be brought before him, "suddenly."

Note that Act III. sc. i. must either be included in this Day 3 or be supposed to occur on the following morning at the latest.

[Act II. sc. iii. Orlando returns home from the wrestling. Adam warns him not to enter the house, and together they set out to seek their fortune.

The time of this scene must evidently be the evening of Day No. 2, and I accordingly enclose it in brackets, as being out of place.]

An interval of a few days between Days 3 and 4 must now be supposed, while Rosalind and her companions, and Orlando and Adam journey towards Arden.

- Day 4. Act II. sc. iv. Rosalind, Celia, and Touchstone arrive in the forest of Arden. They meet with old Corin and purchase the Sheepcote for their residence. It is evening when they arrive. "Good even to you, friend," says Rosalind, addressing Corin.
- Day 5. Act II. sc. v. Morning in the forest. Jaques with Amiens and others join in song, while the Duke's banquet is being prepared. Amiens tells Jaques that the Duke "hath been all this day to look you;" "all this day," as we shall see in the following scene vii., means only all this morning. Jaques now goes out saying he will go sleep, and Amiens goes to seek the Duke; "his banquet is prepared."

Act II. sc. vi. Orlando and Adam arrive in the forest. Observe, that they set out on their journey on the evening of day No. 2, but arrive a day later than Rosalind and her companions. These arrivals are against any interval being allowed between Days 2 and 3.

Act II. sc. vii. A continuation of the preceding scene v. First Lord tells the Duke, who has been seeking Jaques—

"My lord, he is but even now gone hence: Here was he merry, hearing of a song."

Jaques again makes his appearance; he did not go asleep after all; he met with Touchstone, and is now full of his new acquaintance. His mention of Touchstone's consulting his dial and telling it was ten o'clock fixes the time of the scenes of Day 5 as morning scenes. The foresters now sit to the table, and Orlando enters with drawn

sword to demand relief. He is welcomed, and goes out to return again with old Adam.

It is a peculiarity of the banished Duke that he is always seeking for Jaques; he went out at the end of Act II. sc. i. (Day 2) with the intention of finding him, and in this sc. vii. he enters complaining that he can nowhere find him. Was this intended as a connecting link to the two scenes? If so, we must bring the earlier scene to this Day No. 5; we can't put scenes v. and vii. of Act II. back to scene i; for the arrival in the forest of Touchstone, whom Jaques has just met, comes between.

As it is not desirable to break the continuity of the dramatic action with intervals that are avoidable, we may take it that this meeting is on the first morning following the arrival of Rosalind, etc., in the forest; and therefore that Days 4 and 5 are consecutive.

[Act III. sc. i. Duke Frederick, in pursuance of his orders issued in Act II. sc. ii. (Day 3), has now before him Oliver, and calls on him to produce his brother dead or alive, and in the mean time seizes on his lands and goods.

The time of this scene must evidently be put back to day No. 3, or the morning immediately following it at the latest. Like Act II. sc. iii. it is accordingly placed within brackets.]

An interval of a few days may be allowed between Days 5 and 6, for reason of which see next scene.

Day 6. Act III. sc. ii. Orlando, who may now be considered as settled in the banished Duke's service, employs his leisure hours in hanging verses in praise of Rosalind on the trees; Touchstone, who has now had a little experience of a shepherd's life, discusses with Corin the relative merits of Court and country. Rosalind enters reading one of Orlando's sonnets; Celia meets her reading another, and tells her of Orlando's arrival. Orlando himself now makes his appearance with Jaques, who, after a little skirmish of wit, leaves him, and the cousins come forward to "play the knave with him." Rosalind proposes to cure him of love, and he agrees to court her as his mistress.

An interval—indefinite in duration—now seems requisite, during

which we may imagine the inhabitants of the forest "fleeting the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world." The Duke and his fellows hunting, carousing, and disputing with the melancholy Jaques; Orlando calling every day at the Sheepcote, wooing his mistress under the disguise of Ganymede; while Touchstone finds out and courts Audrey. Whether time has progressed or stood still matters not; and now on one fine evening in

- Day 7. Act III. sc. iii., we find Touchstone about to commit matrimony with Audrey, who is here first introduced to us. Sir Oliver Martext, however, is but a hedge-priest, and Jaques easily persuades the couple to defer their marriage for a time.
- Day 8. Act III. sc. iv. Rosalind is in distress, for Orlando "did swear he would come this morning, and comes not." A diversion appears in the shape of Corin, who invites the cousins to witness the wooing of Phebe by Silvius.

Act III. sc. v. In this scene, accordingly, we find Silvius pleading his love. Rosalind interferes and chides Phebe for her cruelty. Phebe is smitten with love of Ganymede (Rosalind), and determines to write him a letter straight, which Silvius undertakes to deliver.

Act IV. sc. i. Jaques meets Rosalind and Celia as they return from witnessing the pageant of love played in the preceding scene. He departs, however, on the entry of Orlando, who excuses the neglect complained of in scene iv., as, after all, he comes within an hour of his promise. Then follows a lesson of love, and Orlando leaves to attend the Duke at dinner, but promises to return by two o'clock.

Act IV. sc. ii. A short hunting scene, with song. Jaques, Lords, and Foresters.

Act IV. sc. iii. Rosalind and Celia again. "Past two o'clock; and here much Orlando." Silvius delivers Phebe's letter, and is rallied for his pains. Oliver, who has wandered to the forest and been rescued from the lioness by Orlando since scene i. of this Act, now makes his appearance to excuse his brother's broken promise, and to give Rosalind the napkin dyed in his blood.

Note that Oliver says-

"When last the young Orlando parted from you He left a promise to return again Within an hour," etc.

In Act IV. sc. i. l. 180, Orlando said two hours.

Act V. sc. i. Touchstone and Audrey meet with William, who is faced out of his claim to Audrey's hand. It is evening now, and with this scene we should perhaps conclude the day No. 8.

Day 9. Act V. sc. ii. Oliver acquaints Orlando with his love for Aliena (Celia), and it is agreed they shall be married "to-morrow." Ganymede (Rosalind) tells Orlando that the true Rosalind shall appear to-morrow, and he shall marry her if he will. Phebe also agrees to marry Silvius to-morrow if she refuse Ganymede.

Act V. sc. iii. Touchstone and Audrey also agree to be married to-morrow.

It is possible that these two scenes should be included in the previous day, No. 8.; but the plot does not confine us to any par ticular time, and it will be observed that in the last scene of that day, as I divide it, evening has already come. We may reasonably allow Orlando a night's rest after his wound, and suppose these scenes to take place on the following morning.

Day 10. Act V. sc. iv. concludes the Play, and is the morrow on which the several couples unite in holy matrimony. Jaques de Boys enters to announce the restoration of the banished Duke to his domains, and all ends happily.

The time, then, of this Play may be taken as ten days represented on the stage, with such sufficient intervals as the reader may imagine for himself as requisite for the probability of the plot.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

- 2. Act I. sc. ii. and iii., and Act II. sc. i. [Act II. sc. iii.]
- ,, 3. Act II. sc. ii. [Act III. sc. i.]

 An interval of a few days. The journey to Arden.
- " 4. Act II. sc. iv.
- ,, 5. Act II. sc. v., vi., and vii.

 An interval of a few days.

Day 6. Act III. sc. ii.

An interval—indefinite.

- " 7. Act III. sc. iii.
- ,, 8. Act III. sc. iv. and v., Act IV. sc. i., ii., and iii., and Act V. sc. i.
- ,, 9. Act V. sc. ii. and iii.
- ,, 10. Act V, sc. iv.

Two scenes of the Play—Act II. sc. iii. and Act III. sc. i.—are placed, within brackets, out of their actual order in this table. The first must be referred to day No. 2, the second to day No. 3 [see the analysis]. Looking to the *time* of the scenes, they are out of place: the author seems to have gone back to resume these threads of the story which were dropped while other parts of the plot were in hand.

Other instances of this irregularity will be found in Antony and Cleopatra and in Cymbeline.

THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

FIRST printed in the Folio. Divided into Acts I., III., IV., and V. Act II. not marked. No division of scenes. The division of the last three acts differs greatly from that of modern editions.

Actus Tertius includes Act III. sc. i. and ii., and Act IV. sc. i. and ii.

Actus Quartus commences with Act IV. sc. iii., and includes Act V. sc. i.

Actus Quintus commences with Act V. sc. ii.

The Induction. The plot on Christopher Sly need not here engage our attention. It is carefully elaborated up to the opening scene of the Play itself, and its characters again appear in half-a-dozen lines of dialogue at the end of sc. i.; after this it drops away from the Play altogether, no conclusion to Sly's adventure being given as in the older Play of "The Taming of a Shrew," 1594.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Lucentio and his man Tranio arrive in Padua. They overhear Baptista's resolution that his younger daughter,

Bianca, shall not be bestowed until a husband for the elder daughter, Katharine, is provided; they also hear the promise of the two suitors to Bianca, Gremio and Hortensio, to seek out masters for the education of the ladies. Lucentio falls in love with Bianca, and, to gain access to her, determines to offer himself as one of these masters, and in the mean time he prevails on Tranio to personate him in Padua.

Act I. sc. ii. Petruchio arrives and calls on his old friend Hortensio. Petruchio's purpose is to

"wive it wealthily in Padua; If wealthily, then happily in Padua."

Hortensio proposes Katharine to him, and he resolves at once that he will not sleep till he see her. Hortensio further proposes that his friend Petruchio shall offer him,

"disguised in sober robes, To old Baptista as a schoolmaster Well seen in music, to instruct Bianca."

In the mean time Lucentio has sought out Gremio, and now appears with him, disguised as "Cambio," a schoolmaster, "well read in poetry and other books," etc. Tranio (disguised as Lucentio) also makes his appearance in the character of a third suitor to Bianca. The three competitors agree to gratify Petruchio equally if he achieves Katharine, and on the motion of Tranio they all adjourn to quaff carouses to their mistress' health this afternoon.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. In Baptista's house. Katharine quarrels with her sister. Baptista interferes, and his daughters retire. The conspirators now enter. Petruchio presents himself as a suitor for Katharine, and presents Hortensio, disguised as the musician "Licio." Gremio presents Lucentio, disguised as "Cambio;" and Tranio, as Lucentio, offering himself as a suitor for Bianca, contributes a lute and a packet of books for the education of the ladies.

Baptista welcomes them all. The "schoolmasters" are sent in to the ladies, and Baptista proposes that

"We will go walk a little in the orchard, And then to dinner." But here "Licio" re-enters with his head broken by Katharine. Baptista consoles him, and all then leave the scene save Petruchio, to whom Katharine is immediately sent by her father.

Petruchio takes her by storm and, will she nill she, determines that they shall be married on Sunday. Baptista confirms the bargain, and Petruchio leaves to go to Venice,

"To buy apparel 'gainst the wedding day."

"Sunday," he says, "comes apace;" but it is not clear what day of the week before it this scene is supposed to represent.

Gremio and Tranio (as Lucentio) now vie with each other as to which will assure Bianca the larger dower. Baptista decides that Bianca shall be married on the Sunday following Katharine's wedding: to Tranio, if he can make good his assurance; if not, to Gremio.

Oddly enough, Hortensio, by gaining access to Bianca as "Licio," drops out of the competition for her hand, and neither Baptista, Gremio, nor Tranio appear to be at all surprised at his absence. The company all disperse without going to dinner, as proposed by Baptista (l. 112).

It is this dinner and the afternoon referred to at the end of Act I. sc. ii. which have induced me to mark Act II. as the second day of the action; otherwise there is nothing to prevent Acts I. and II. being considered as one day only; indeed, Petruchio's resolve to see Katharine before he sleeps is in favour of one day, and would be conclusive but for the afternoon's carouse proposed by Tranio.

- Day 3. Act III. sc. i. Bianca with "Cambio" and "Licio." The false schoolmasters begin to suspect each other. This scene is on the eve of the wedding. A servant enters with—
 - "Mistress, your father prays you leave your books And help to dress your sister's chamber up: You know to-morrow is the wedding day."
- Day 4. Act III. sc. ii. The wedding day. Sunday. How Petruchio keeps the wedding party waiting, in what mad attire he makes his appearance at last, and how he behaved at church, need no description. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that, in

spite of her resistance, he carries off his bride without waiting for the wedding *dinner*, and Bianca is left to take her sister's room at the table.

What must strike every reader as remarkable in this scene is the sudden knowledge Tranio (the supposed Lucentio) manifests of Petruchio's manners and customs. Neither Lucentio nor Tranio has any acquaintance with Petruchio, except what both may have gained from being in his company in Days 1 and 2—which perhaps after all are only one day; yet Baptista addresses himself to Tranio, when the wedding party is kept waiting, for explanation, and Tranio answers for Petruchio as if he were quite an old friend.

"Upon my life, Petruchio means but well, Whatever fortune stays him from his word: Though he be blunt, I know him passing wise; Though he be merry, yet withal he's honest."

Again-

"Tis some odd humour pricks him to this fashion; Yet oftentimes he goes but mean-apparell'd."

And again when Petruchio makes his appearance Tranio always counsels and addresses him as though he were an intimate of long standing.

The fact is, all these speeches of Tranio, of and to Petruchio, should be in the mouth of Hortensio, who is really Petruchio's familiar; but this wonderful plot of his, of disguising himself as Licio,—when there was no need for it,—has not only silenced him as an open competitor for the hand of Bianca, but also as the friend of Petruchio.

Note that in the old play Polidor [= Hortensio] does not disguise himself as the musician, and it is in his mouth that the speeches which are the equivalent of Tranio's in this scene are placed.

Act IV. sc. i, ends the wedding day at night at Petruchio's country house. After balking Katharine of her wedding dinner, and now of her supper, he conducts her to her chamber, and then returns to the stage to inform the audience that

"Last night she slept not, nor to-night she shall not."
N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

How did he know that she didn't sleep *last* night? This is the first night of their wedding. They can't have spent a night on the road, for the distance from Padua is no more than may be traversed between dinner and supper-time. See Act IV. sc. iii.

Day 5. Act IV. sc. ii. "Licio" and Tranio overhear the love-making between "Cambio" and Bianca; "Licio" discloses himself to Tranio as Hortensio, and they mutually swear to have nothing more to do with Bianca. Hortensio goes off, vowing to be married to a wealthy widow ere three days pass. Tranio informs the lovers of what has passed between him and Hortensio; but he knows—how, does not appear—that Hortensio has "gone unto the taming-school" of which "Petruchio is the master;" and sure enough we find Hortensio with Petruchio and Katharine in the next scene.

The Pedant now appears, and, in pursuance of the plot concerted between Tranio and Lucentio, Tranio engages him to personate Lucentio's father,

"To pass assurance of a dower in marriage

'Twixt me [Tranio-Lucentio] and one Baptista's daughter here."

It is not easy to fix the exact date of this scene. I have marked it as a separate day, and it may be the morrow of Katharine's marriage, or it may be two or three days after that event, or it *might* even be supposed to occur on the afternoon of the day of Katharine's wedding; tho' in this last case we must put it back in time to precede sc. i. of this Act, which would scarcely be a desirable arrangement.

Day 6. In this, the concluding day of the Play, the scene shifts from Petruchio's country house in Act IV. sc. iii. to Padua in Act IV. sc. iv.; then back to the road between Petruchio's house and Padua in Act IV. sc. v., and finally to Padua in Act V.

Act IV. sc. iii. Petruchio's house. Katharine is well-nigh famished, and Grumio torments her with offers of food. Petruchio brings in her meat, which, on submission, she is allowed to eat. Note that Hortensio is now on a visit to them; he has—as Tranio in Act IV. sc. ii. said he would—come to the "taming-school." Observe, too, that this and all the remaining scenes of the Play are included in one day, and that this day must be—if any regard is to be paid to

Baptista's programme—the Sunday following Katharine's wedding day. She can't have been a whole week without food, and yet somehow we get an impression that this is the first meat she has tasted in Petruchio's house.

The tailor and the haberdasher bring the wares which have been ordered by Grumio. This incident supposes the lapse of some days since the marriage day. Petruchio now determines to return to Baptista's house.

"Let's see," says he, "I think 'tis now some seven o'clock And well we may come there by dinner-time.

Kath. I dare assure you, sir, 'tis almost two;
And 'twill be supper-time ere you come there.

Pet. It shall be seven ere I go to horse:
Look, what I speak, or do, or think to do,
You still are crossing it. Sirs, let 't alone:
I will not go to-day; and ere I do,
It shall be what o'clock I say it is."

This scene closes then at 2 p.m.

Act IV. sc. iv. Padua. Scene, a street; Lucentio's house on one side of the stage, Baptista's on the other. Tranio enters from Lucentio's house with the Pedant; Biondello joins them and they knock at Baptista's door. Baptista enters with "Cambio." Tranio introduces the Pedant as his (Tranio-Lucentio's) father, and the match between him and Bianca is agreed on. Biondello is commissioned to "fetch the Scrivener presently;" while Baptista charges "Cambio" to hie home, "and bid Bianca make her ready straight." Tranio, Baptista and the Pedant then adjourn to Lucentio's house. Left alone, Biondello tells "Cambio" that he is going to bid the priest at St Luke's be ready for him, and recommends him to carry off Bianca at once. They depart on their several errands. I have been particular in describing the business of this scene, because there is some little confusion in the Fo. exits and entrances, etc., leading to alterations in our modern text; the most injudicious of which is the change of Cambio to Biondello in line 62-"Cambio, hie you home."

Act IV. sc. v. Katharine has evidently agreed to its being "seven o'clock," as Petruchio insisted in Act IV. sc. iii., for they are now, with Hortensio, on their way to Padua. They meet with

Vincentio, Lucentio's father, and Petruchio tells him—and Hortensio confirms the fact—that his son by this has married Bianca. By his son they mean of course Tranio, the supposed Lucentio. The only ground they can have for this assertion is Baptista's determination, in Act II. sc. i., that Bianca should be married on the Sunday following Katharine's marriage. Petruchio's "by this" would seem to imply that that Sunday afternoon has now arrived. His assertion, however, that she was to be married to Lucentio is mere conjecture, but Hortensio's confirmation of it is in flat contradiction to the knowledge he has that both he and Lucentio [Tranio] in Act IV. sc. ii. vowed to have nothing more to do with Bianca.

Act V. sc. i. This scene is a good illustration of the economy of the old stage. Its locality is supposed to be the same as in Act IV. sc. iv. One door represents Lucentio's house; the other door represents Baptista's, which "bears more toward the market-place." Gremio is waiting about Baptista's door-of course with his back towards it-hoping to see "Cambio" and to hear how his [Gremio's] suit to Bianca is progressing (see lines 145-160, Act I. sc. ii.). "Cambio" and Bianca, accompanied by Biondello, steal out from Baptista's house, unperceived by Gremio, and hurry off to get Then enter Petruchio, Katharine, Vincentio, etc., and married. knock at Lucentio's door, where Tranio and the Pedant are beguiling Baptista with articles about Bianca's dowry. Gremio's attention is at once attracted to the new arrivals, and he takes part in the business which arises on the exposure of the false Vincentio and Lucentio. The arrival of the true Lucentio and his bride sets all things straight, and all the company enter Lucentio's house.

Hortensio is not in this scene; he must have quitted Petruchio immediately on their arrival at Padua, and have hurried off to get married to his widow; for in the next and last scene we find him with her, a married man.

Act. V. sc. ii. The whole company is assembled in Lucentio's house at a banquet after supper. The newly-married men bet on their wives' obedience; Petruchio wins, and it is admitted on all hands that he has tamed the shrew.

In this Play we have six days represented on the stage; or if

Acts I. and II. should be considered as one day, then five days only, with intervals, the length of which it is not easy to determine, but the entire period cannot exceed a fortnight.

Day 1. Act I.

" 2. Act II.

Interval of a day or two. Petruchio proposes to go to Venice to buy apparel.

- ,, 3. Act III. sc. i. Saturday, eve of the wedding.
- ,, 4. Act III. sc. ii., Act IV. sc. i. Sunday, the wedding day.

 Interval [?]
- ,, 5. Act IV. sc. ii.

 Interval [?]
- ,, 6. Act IV. sc. iii., iv., and v., and Act V. [? The second Sunday.]

Time, however, in this Play is a very slippery element, difficult to fix in any completely consistent scheme. In the old Play of the Taming of a Shrew the whole story is knit up in the course of two days. In the first, Ferando = Petruchio, woos Kate and fixes his marriage for next Sunday; "next Sunday" then becomes to-morrow, to-morrow becomes to-day, and to-day ends with the wedding night in Ferando's country house. All the rest of the Play is included in the second day.

ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

FIRST printed in the Folio. Divided into acts only.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Rousillon. Bertram takes leave of his mother and Helena, and proceeds to the French Court with Lafeu and Parolles.

An interval. Bertram's journey to Court.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. At the French Court. The King grants leave to some of his lords to go to the wars in Italy. Bertram arrives and is welcomed by the King.

Act I. sc. iii. At Rousillon. Helena confesses her love for Bertram to the Countess, and obtains leave to go to Paris to try

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to cure the King's malady. Her departure is appointed for the morrow.

This scene may be supposed coincident in time with the previous scene.

An interval. Helena's journey to Court.

Day 3. Act II. sc. i. At Court. The lords for the Florentine war take leave of the King. Helena arrives and offers her services to the King for the cure of his malady, which she hopes to effect

"Ere twice the horses of the sun shall bring
Their fiery torcher his diurnal ring,
Ere twice in murk and occidental damp
Moist Hesperus hath quench'd his sleepy lamp,
Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass."

Her reward to be the hand of any one of his lords whom she may choose for her husband. The "pilot's glass" mentioned in the above lines must be a two-hour glass. See note on glass in The Tempest.

Act II. sc. ii. At Rousillon. The Countess sends the Clown to Court with a letter to Helena.

This scene may be bracketed in point of time with the preceding one.

An interval. In Act II. sc. i. Helena promised to cure the King within two days. An interval of two days, then, may be supposed between Days 3 and 4. In the interim the Clown makes his journey from Rousillon to the Court.

Day 4. Act II. sc. iii., iv., and v. At Court. Helena has succeeded in restoring the King's health. She claims the hand of Bertram as her reward. They are married, and the same night he sends her home to his mother and flies with Parolles to Italy.

In sc. iv. the Clown delivers to Helena the letter from the Countess, Act II. sc. ii.

An interval. Helena's return to Rousillon. Bertram's journey to Florence.

Day 5. Act III. sc. i. At Florence. The Duke welcomes the French lords who took leave of the King in Act II. sc. i.

Act III. sc. ii. Rousillon. Helena and the Clown are at home again; they have but just arrived, for the Clown only now delivers to the Countess a letter from Bertram, telling her of his flight. Helena introduces two gentlemen who met him on his way to Florence, and were charged by him with a letter for her. She resolves to steal away to-night.

Day 6. Act III. sc. iii. At Florence. The Duke welcomes Bertram.

Act III. sc. iv. At Rousillon. The Steward gives the Countess a letter from Helena, received from her the last night past. He says—

"If I had given you this at over-night, She might have been o'erta'en," etc.

It is clear, then, that Days 5 and 6 are consecutive, and that Bertram's journey to Florence can have taken him little more time than Helena's from Paris to Rousillon. I have placed his arrival at Florence in this day in order to give him as long a time as possible for his journey; but, looking to the way in which time and space are dealt with in dramatic composition, it would be quite admissible to lift Act III. sc. iii. into day No. 5, and Act III. sc. i. [the arrival of the first batch of French lords at Florence] from Day 5 to Day 4.

An interval of "some two months." See comment on Act IV. sc. iii.

Day 7. Act III. sc. v. Helena arrives in Florence as a pilgrim; she makes the acquaintance of the Widow, Diana, etc.

This day Bertram achieves a great victory, but a drum is lost, to the grievous vexation of Parolles.

Day 8. Act III. sc. vi. Parolles undertakes the adventure of the drum, and says he will about it this evening.

Act III. sc. vii. Helena engages the Widow and Diana to assist in her plot on Bertram, which they agree to put in practice to-night.

Act IV. sc. i. It is ten o'clock, according to Parolles, and he is

now on his venture. He is seized and carried off by the French lords, who egged him on to the enterprise.

Act IV. sc. ii. While the above practice was in hand, or probably at an earlier hour, Bertram has an interview with Diana, who feigns to yield to his suit, obtains from him his ring, and appoints him to come to her chamber at midnight.

Day 9. Act IV. sc. iii. The time of this scene includes several hours from before midnight to early morning next day. In it we learn that peace is concluded, and that Bertram is about to return to France. When he appears on the scene his meeting with Helena (with Diana, as he supposes) is completed, and the scene ends with the exposure of Parolles.

From the way in which Days 7 and 8 are connected it is clear that they are consecutive days. We learn also in Act IV. sc. iii., from the conversation of first and second lord, that Helena had fled from her home "some two months since." An interval, therefore, of this length must be placed between Days 6 and 7—ample time for Helena's wanderings, and for Bertram to achieve military distinction and lay siege to Diana.

Act IV. sc. iv. This scene may be considered the continuation of the day which dawned in Act IV. sc. iii. In it Helena, the Widow, and Diana resolve to proceed to Marseilles, at which place they expect to find the French King.

An interval. Bertram's return to Rousillon. Helena's journey to Marseilles.

Day 10. Act IV. sc. v. At Rousillon. The Countess, Lafeu, and Clown. Bertram's arrival is announced, and we learn that the King "comes post from Marseilles, and will be here to-morrow."

Act V. sc. i. At Marseilles. Helena arrives and learns that the King removed hence last night on his way to Rousillon. She resolves to follow at once.

Day 11. Act V. sc. ii. Rousillon. Parolles entreats the protection of Lafeu. The trumpets announce the approach of the King.

Act V. sc. iii. ends the play with the reconciliation of Bertram with Helena.

VIII. P. A. DANIEL. TIME-ANALYSIS OF ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL. 173

Time of the Play, eleven days represented on the stage, with intervals.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

Interval. Bertram's journey to Court.

" 2. Act I. sc. ii. and iii.

Interval. Helena's journey to Court.

,, 3. Act II. sc. i. and ii.

Interval—two days. Cure of the King's malady.

,, 4. Act II. sc. iii., iv., and v.

Interval. Helena's return to Rousillon. Bertram's journey to Florence.

- ., 5. Act III. sc. i. and ii.
- ,, 6. Act III. sc. iii. and iv.

 Interval—"some two months"
- ,, 7. Act III. sc. v.
- ,, 8. Act III. sc. vi. and vii., Act IV. sc. i. and ii.
- " 9. Act IV. sc. iii. and iv.

Interval. Bertram's return to Rousillon. Helena's return to Marseilles.

- " 10. Act IV. sc. v., Act V. sc. i.
- ,, 11. Act V. sc. ii. and iii.

 Total time, about three months.

TWELFTH NIGHT.

FIRST printed in the Folio. Divided into acts and scenes.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. introduces us to the Duke Orsino and his love-suit to Olivia. Note that, except in Act I. sc. i., ii., and iv., and Act II. sc. iv., the Duke is always spoken of as *Count*. In the stage directions and prefixes to his speeches his title is invariably *Duke*.

Act I. sc. ii. Viola, who has been quite recently rescued from shipwreck, resolves to enter the Duke's service, disguised as a boy.

Act I. sc. iii. makes us acquainted with Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, and Maria.

These scenes may all be supposed to take place on one and the same day.

An interval of three days.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iv. Viola, as "Cesario," is already in high favour with the Duke. "He hath known you," says Valentine, "but three days, and already you are no stranger."

This speech marks an interval of three days between this and the preceding scenes. "Cesario" is sent by the Duke to plead his love with Olivia.

Act I. sc. v. At Olivia's house. Viola delivers her message. Olivia is smitten with love of the supposed young gentleman, and sends Malvolio after him with a ring, and a request that he will come again to-morrow.

Act II. sc. i. Sebastian, who had been rescued from the shipwreck by Antonio, arrives in Illyria, "bound to the Count Orsino's Court." Antonio resolves to follow him. From his speeches we may judge Sebastian to be still in the first agony of his grief for the loss of his sister.

Act II. sc. ii. Malvolio delivers the ring sent after Viola by Olivia.

Act II. sc. iii. Late at night Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, and the Clown are having a drinking bout. My lady has called up her steward Malvolio to silence their racket. After his departure Maria persuades Sir Toby "to be patient for to-night," for "since the youth of the Count's was to-day with my lady, she is much out of quiet." In revenge for Malvolio's insolence, Maria proposes to gull him by feigned letters, which shall persuade him that the Countess is in love with him.

So ends day No. 2, Sir Toby retiring to burn some sack; for "'tis too late to go to bed now."

Day 3. From this point to the end of the Play all is but matter for one May morning.

Act II. sc. iv. The love-sick Duke wishes to hear again "That old and antique song we heard last night."
He then sends Viola on another embassy to Olivia.

Act II. sc. v. Sir Toby and his companions play their trick of the letter on Malvolio.

Act III. sc. i. Viola delivers her message to Olivia, who in her turn avows her love for "Cesario."

Act III. sc. ii. Sir Andrew, jealous of the "Count's youth," is urged by Sir Toby to challenge him. Maria calls the "competitors" to witness the effect of their plot on Malvolio.

Act III. sc. iii. Antonio rejoins Sebastian in the Duke's capital. They separate: Antonio to go to their lodgings at the Elephant; Sebastian to wander about the city for an hour.

Act III. sc. iv. Continuation of Malvolio's adventure. Olivia, thinking him mad, directs her people to take care of him, and leaves the scene for another interview with "Cesario," whom she has sent for again. Sir Andrew confides his challenge to Sir Toby for delivery. Olivia again with Viola. The duel between Viola and Sir Andrew. Antonio interferes on behalf of Viola, whom he takes for Sebastian; he is seized and carried off by the officers.

Act IV. sc. i. Sebastian in his wanderings is taken for "Cesario," first by the Clown, then by Sir Andrew, who vents his valour on him, and is cuffed for his pains. Sir Toby and Sebastian proceed to fight, when Olivia interferes, and invites the 'supposed "Cesario" into her house.

Act IV. sc. ii. The competitors continue their practice on Malvolio, who is confined in a dark room.

Act IV. sc. iii. Sebastian consents to marriage with Olivia.

Act V. sc. i. ends the Play. The comedy of errors occasioned by Viola's disguise as "Cesario," and her resemblance to her brother Sebastian, is explained, and Viola gains her prize—the hand of the Duke.

The time represented by this Play is three days, with an interval of three days between the first and second.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.—iii.

Interval of three days.

- ,, 2. Act I. sc. iv. and v., Act II. sc. i.—iii.
- ,, 3. Act II. sc. iv. and v., and Acts III., IV., and V.

There remains to notice in Act V. a statement inconsistent with the plot of the Play as revealed in the previous scenes. Viola and Sebastian both suffered the same shipwreck, and when they arrive in Illyria it is evident that but a very few days can have elapsed since their escape. Yet, when Antonio is brought before the Duke in Act V., he asserts that Sebastian has been in his company for three months. It might indeed be said that this inconsistency is merely imaginary, and is founded on too strict an interpretation of the dialogue in Act I. sc. ii. and Act II. sc. i.; but the Duke makes a similar assertion with regard to Viola—

"Three months this youth hath tended upon me."

And this is in absolute contradiction to Valentine's speech on the second day of the action (Act I. sc. iv.), where he says that the Duke "hath known you [Viola] but three days."

While we are thus engaged in ferretting out spots in the sun, attention may also be directed to Fabian's last speech. Speaking of the plot on Malvolio, he says—

"Maria writ
The letter at Sir Toby's great importance;
In recompense whereof he hath married her."

Now Maria writ the letter at the "importance" of her own love of mischief; the plot originated entirely with her, though Sir Toby and the rest eagerly joined in it. And when could Sir Toby have found time for the marriage ceremony on this morning which has been so fully occupied by the plots on Malvolio and Sir Andrew Aguecheek? It could not have been since he last left the stage, for he was then drunk and wounded, and sent off to bed to have his hurts looked to.

However, Biondello tells us, in *The Tuming of the Shrew*, "I knew a wench married in an afternoon as she went to the garden for parsley to stuff a rabbit;" and perhaps Sir Toby snatched a spare moment for an impromptu wedding, and so crammed more matter into this busy May morning.

WINTER'S TALE.

FIRST printed in the Folio. Divided into acts and scenes.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Sicilia. Camillo and Archidamus discuss the friendship which exists between their respective sovereigns.

Act I. sc. ii. Polixenes proposes to return to Bohemia, but yielding to the solicitations of Hermione consents to prolong his stay for another week. Leontes, smitten with jealousy, engages Camillo to poison Polixenes. Camillo reveals the plot to Polixenes, and together they fly from Sicilia that same night.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Leontes orders Hermione to be imprisoned, pending the return of Cleomenes and Dion, whom he has despatched to Delphos to consult the oracle of Apollo as to her guilt.

I am not sure that a separate day should be given to this scene; but, on the whole, the proposed departure of Polixenes and Camillo on the *night* of the first day, and the mission, *since then*, of Cleomenes and Dion to Delphos make this division probable.

An interval of twenty-three days is now to be supposed.

Day 3. Act II. sc. ii. Hermione, in prison, has given birth, "something before her time," to a daughter. Paulina undertakes to present the child to Leontes.

Act II. sc. iii. Leontes is brooding over his supposed wrongs. His baffled revenge on Polixenes, his belief in his wife's guilt, and the mortal sickness of his boy Mamillius, allow him no rest, "nor night nor day." Paulina presents him with the new-born babe. In his belief that the child is none of his, he orders Antigonus to bear it quite out of his dominions, and expose it in some remote and desert place.

A servant now announces that Cleomenes and Dion,

"Being well arrived from Delphos, are both landed, Hasting to Court."

"Twenty-three days," says Leontes, "they have been absent: 'tis good speed," &c.; and he orders a session to be summoned for the arraignment of the queen.

An interval of twenty-three days then occurs between Days 2 and 3.

Act III. sc. i. Cleomenes and Dion on their way to Court.

Day 4. Act III. sc. ii. The trial of the queen. The oracle declares her innocence. A servant announces the death of Mamillius "with mere conceit and fear of the queen's speed. Hermione swoons and is carried out; Paulina announces her death, and Leontes, now too late, laments his jealous cruelty.

An interval of a few days must be allowed for Antigonus's journey between Days 3 and 5, partly filled with Day 4.

Day 5. Act III. sc. iii. Antigonus exposes the child, Perdita, on a desert coast of Bohemia. He is destroyed by a bear, and the ship from which he landed lost at sea. A shepherd and his son find the child and carry it home.

An interval.

Act IV. sc. i. Time, the Chorus, now announces the lapse of sixteen years.

Day 6. Act IV. sc. ii. Bohemia—at the Court of Polixenes. Camillo wishes to return to Sicilia to the penitent king his master; Polixenes dissuades him: he is uneasy as to his son the Prince Florizel, whose frequent resort to the house of a shepherd, who has a daughter of most rare note, has been made known to him. They resolve to visit the Shepherd in disguise. Note that Camillo makes his absence from Sicilia to be fifteen years. This is probably a mere error of the printer or copyist. Besides the sixteen announced by Time, the Chorus, sixteen years is the period again twice mentioned in Act V. sc. iii.—l. 31, "Which let's go by some sixteen years," &c., and l. 50, "Which sixteen winters cannot blow away," &c.

Act IV. sc. iii. Autolycus cheats the Clown [the Shepherd's son] of his purse as he is on his way to buy things for the sheep-shearing festival.

This incident suggests the placing of the festival on the following day.

Day 7. Act IV. sc. iv. The festival at the Shepherd's. Florizel proposes to contract himself with Perdita. Polixenes, who with Camillo is present in disguise, discovers himself, forbids the contract, and threatens death in case of disobedience. Florizel determines to fly with Perdita. Camillo, finding him resolute on this point, counsels him to take refuge at the Court of Leontes. The old Shepherd and his son, to clear themselves with Polixenes, propose to reveal to him the circumstances under which Perdita came into their hands; Autolycus, however, inveigles them on board the prince's ship, and all set sail for Sicilia.

An interval for the journey.

Day 8. Act V. sc. i. Florizel and Perdita arrive in Sicilia and are received by Leontes, who has scarcely welcomed them when the arrival of Polixenes and Camillo in pursuit of the fugitives is announced.

Act V. sc. ii. By means of the old Shepherd the parentage of Perdita is discovered, and the two kings are now as willing for the union of their children as Florizel is eager for it.

Act V. sc. iii. and last. The two kings, Florizel, Perdita, &c., meet at Paulina's house to see the statue of Hermione. The statue proves to be true flesh and blood, and, the oracle being now fulfilled, Leontes's long period of repentance ends in the happiness of all.

The time of this Play comprises eight days represented on the stage, with intervals.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

,, 2. Act II. sc. i.

An interval of twenty-three days.

, 3. Act II. sc. ii. and iii., and Act III. sc. i.

" 4. Act III. sc. ii.

An interval. Antigonus's voyage to Bohemia.

,, 5. Act III. sc. iii. An interval (Act IV. sc. i.) of sixteen years.

,, 6. Act IV. sc. ii. and iii.

" 7. Act IV. sc. iv.

An interval. The journey to Sicilia.

" 8, Act V, sc. i.—iii.

IX. TIME-ANALYSIS OF THE PLOTS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

P. A. DANIEL.

(Read at the 47th Meeting of the Society, December 13, 1878.)

PART II. THE TRAGEDIES.

Note.—No attempt is here made at Chronologica, arrangement: the order taken is that of the First Folio and of the Globe edition: to the latter of which the numbering of Acts, Scenes and lines refers. By one "Day" is to be understood the whole or any portion of the twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight. All intervals are supposed to include, at the least, one clear day from midnight to midnight: a break in the action of the drama from noon one day to noon the next is not here considered an interval.

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

FIRST printed in Quarto. No division of acts and scenes in either Quarto or Folio.

Day 1. Act I. sc. 1. In Troy. Troilus complains to Pandarus of the ill-success of his love-suit to Cressida. Pandarus declares he will have no more to do with the business. Eneas joins Troilus, and together they go off to join the rest of the combatants who are already afield.

Act I. sc. ii. Cressida and Pandarus behold the return of the warriors from the field. Eneas, *Antenor*, Hector, Paris, Helenus, Troilus, Deiphobus, &c., pass over the stage.

Note.—The reader is requested to keep his eye on Antenor; he doesn't speak a word in the Play, but he plays an important part in this time-analysis of it.

An interval of "dull and long-continued truce." See next scene,

Day 2. Act I. sc. iii. In the Grecian camp. Agamemnon, Nestor, Ulysses, Menelaus, &c., discuss the position of affairs. Eneas, from Troy, delivers a challenge from Hector—

"Who in this dull and long-continued truce Is rusty grown" (l. 262-3).

We must then suppose a considerable interval between this and the preceding scenes. The challenge is for the *morrow*, to single combat, between Hector and some one of the Grecian warriors. The commanders, to abate the pride of Achilles, resolve to put forward Ajax as their champion. In the next scene,

Act II. sc. i., in which Ajax, Thersites, Achilles, and Patroclus appear, we learn that the time of the combat is to be "by the fifth hour of the sun" (l. 134).

Act II. sc. ii. In Troy. Priam, Hector, Troilus, Paris, and Helenus discuss the motive of the war with the Grecians. In conclusion Hector tells them of the challenge he has sent to the Grecian camp. This scene may be supposed coincident in point of time with that preceding it.

Act II. sc. iii. In the Grecian camp, before the tent of Achilles. The commanders "rub the vein" of Ajax. Achilles declines to see them, but through Ulysses informs them that he "will not to the field to-morrow" (l. 172). At the end of the scene Ulysses remarks—

"---to-morrow

We must with all our main of power stand fast" (l. 272-3).

These two passages are somewhat ambiguous, for in fact only the single combat between Hector and Ajax is resolved on for the morrow.

Act III. sc. i. We are back again in Troy. Pandarus requests Paris to excuse Troilus to Priam, should "the king call for him at supper" (l. 34). In this scene commences an extraordinary entanglement of the plot of the Play. It is quite clear that from its position it must represent a portion of the day on which Hector sends his challenge to the Greeks: a day on which there could be no encounters between the hostile forces, and which in fact is but one day of a long-continued truce; yet in this scene Pandarus asks

Paris, "Sweet lord, who's afield to-day?" Paris replies, "Hector, Deiphobus, Helenus, Antenor, and all the gallantry of Troy." Paris himself, it seems, nor Troilus, went not. Towards the end of the scene a retreat is sounded, and Paris says—

"They're come from field: let us to Priam's hall To greet the warriors;"

and he begs Helen to come "help unarm our Hector."

Act III. sc. ii. Pandarus brings Troilus and Cressida together, and we understand now why in the preceding scene he wished Paris to excuse Troilus to Priam if the king asked for him at supper.

Act III. sc. iii. In the Grecian camp. The allusions to the combat which is to come off to-morrow between Hector and Ajax are numerous in this scene, so that we are clearly still in the day on which Hector sent his challenge. But the entanglement of the plot which we noticed in Act III. sc. i. becomes here still more involved. Calchas says—

"You have a Trojan prisoner, called Antenor, Yesterday took;"

and he requests that Antenor may be exchanged for his daughter Cressida. The commanders assent, and Diomedes is commissioned to effect the exchange. From this it appears that Antenor, who goes out to fight on this very day (see Act III. sc. i.)—when there is no fighting—was nevertheless taken prisoner the day before, during the long-continued truce.

With this scene ends the day on which Hector sends his challenge to the Greeks.

Day 3. Act IV. sc. i.—iv. In Troy. In the early morning Diomedes arrives with Antenor. The parting of the lovers and the exchange of Antenor for Cressida is effected in these scenes, which close with a summons from Hector's trumpet, calling to the field.

Act IV. sc. v. In the Grecian camp. Ajax is armed. "Tis but early days" when Diomedes arrives with Cressida. Hector then makes his appearance, and the combat with Ajax takes place. The combat ended, Hector and the Trojan lords go to feast with Agamemnon, and afterwards, at night, in

Act V. sc. i., with Achilles.

Act V. sc. ii. Troilus, accompanied by Ulysses, discovers Cressida's infidelity with Diomedes.

Day 4. Morning has arrived, and

"Hector, by this, is arming him in Troy;"

when Eneas finds out Troilus, and returns with him to the city.

Act V. sc. iii. In Troy. Andromache, Cassandra, and Priam in vain urge Hector not to go a-field to-day.

Act V. sc. iv.—x. In the plains before Troy. "Alarums: excursions." Hostilities are resumed. Hector is slain, and the Trojans return to the town, for now

"The dragon wing of night o'erspreads the earth, And, stickler-like, the armies separates."

Pandarus, disgraced by Troilus, ends the Play with a kind of Epilogue.

The duration of the action of this Play is so distinctly marked by Hector's challenge that, notwithstanding the discrepancies pointed out in Act II. sc. iii. and Act III. sc. i. and iii., it is impossible to assign to it more than four days, with an interval between the first and second.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

Interval; the long-continued truce.

- , 2. Act I. sc. iii., Act II., and Act III.
- " 3. Act IV., Act V. sc. i. and first part of sc. ii.
- " 4. Act V. the latter part of sc. ii. and sc. iii.—x.

CORIOLANUS.

FIRST printed in Folio. Divided into Acts only.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. In Rome. The citizens in mutiny. Menenius tells them the fable of the rebellion of the body's members against the belly. News arrives that the Volsces are in arms. Cominius, Titus Lartius, and Marcius are appointed leaders of the Roman army.

An interval—time for news from Rome to reach Corioli.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. In Corioli. Aufidius and the Senate. News has been received of the warlike preparations in Rome. The Senators undertake to defend Corioli, while Aufidius takes command of the army in the field.

An interval—time for news from the Roman army to reach Rome.

Day 3. Act I. sc. iii. In Rome. Volumnia and Virgilia are visited by Valeria, who brings news that Cominius is gone with one part of the Roman power to attack Aufidius in the field; while Titus Lartius and Marcius are set down before Corioli.

Act I. sc. iv. and v. Corioli. After a first repulse the town is taken by the Romans. Titus makes good the city, while Marcius hastens to the assistance of Cominius.

Act I. sc. vi. In the field. Cominius is retiring before the attack of Aufidius. Marcius joins him, and they prepare to renew the fight.

Act I. sc. vii. Corioli. Titus Lartius leaves a Lieutenant in charge of the city and proceeds to the Roman camp.

Act I, sc. viii. and ix. In the field. Aufidius is defeated by Marcius and Cominius. Titus Lartius joins his comrades after pursuing the defeated Volscian army. Marcius is proclaimed by the surname of Coriolanus. Cominius directs that Lartius take charge of Corioli while he and Marcius return to Rome.

Act I. sc. x. Aufidius and the Volscian army in retreat.

The scene in Rome, Act I. sc. iii., and the scenes iv.—x. in Corioli and in the field, may very well be supposed to take place on one and the same day, and I accordingly include them in day No. 3.

An interval—Cominius and Marcius return to Rome.

Day 4. Act II. sc. i. In Rome. Menenius chaffs the tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus. Volumnia, Virgilia, and Valeria enter and inform Menenius that letters have been received from Coriolanus, and that he is on his way home. The trumpets sound, and Coriolanus,

with Cominius, Titus Lartius, 1 etc., enters in triumph. They proceed to the Capitol.

Here it is to be remarked that in this play the Acts only are numbered; the scenes are not otherwise marked than by the entries and exits of the characters. In this particular place the stage directions are—

"Flourish. Cornets.

Exeunt in State, as before."

This ends the page in the Folio ed. The next page begins with—
"Enter Brutus and Sicinius."

In all editions since Theobald's, with which I am acquainted, this last stage direction is altered to—"The Tribunes remain," or "Brutus and Sicinius come forward," and thus the conversation between the Tribunes which follows is made part of sc. i. of Act II.

There seems to me no sufficient reason for setting aside the authority of the Folio in this case, and there is this considerable objection, that by so doing Coriolanus is made to arrive in Rome, to stand for Consul, and to be banished on one and the same day. The scene between the two Tribunes is not necessarily connected with the day of Marcius's entry into Rome, but it is inseparably connected with the day of his Consulship; and that these are two distinct days is to some extent proved by the fact that Titus Lartius is not present

¹ The introduction of Titus Lartius in this scene is an oversight which has hitherto been unnoticed, but which modern editors might take on themselves to correct. The Stage direction of the Folio is—"Enter Cominius the Generall, and Titus Latius (sio): betweene them Coriolanus," etc. Lartius does not speak, nor is he mentioned in the dialogue as being present. In Act II. sc. ix. Cominius places him in charge of Corioli. In Act II. sc. ii. l. 41-2, he is supposed to be still there; for Menenius says—

"Having determined of the Volsces and To send for Titus Lartius," etc.

He does not make his appearance in Rome 'till Act III, sc. i., and there we should understand that he has returned from Corioli without waiting to be recalled. In answer to Coriolanus, who says—

"Tullus Aufidius then had made new head?"

he replies—

"He had, my lord; and that it was which caused Our swifter composition."

A note of mine on this subject, and on the division of Act II. sc. i., was published in the Athenæum, 6th July, 1878.

during the entry, but is present during the Consulship. (See note on Titus Lartius, Act I. sc. i.) I therefore venture to restore the arrangement of the Folio, and mark this as a new scene and the commencement of a separate day. In order, however, to avoid confusion of reference, I continue to the following scenes of this act the numbers given to them by modern editors, marking this as sc. i. a.

An interval. Ambassadors from Corioli have arrived in Rome since the return of Cominius and Coriolanus. See in Act I. sc. ix., Cominius's instructions to Titus Lartius—

"——send us to Rome
The best, with whom we may articulate
For their own good and ours."

Their business has been discussed during this interval, and is settled in Act II. sc. ii. "Having determined of the Volsces," etc. 1. 41.

Day 5. Act II. sc. i. a. "Enter Brutus and Sicinius." The Tribunes determine on a line of policy in the event of Coriolanus being chosen Consul. They are sent for to the Capitol. At the end of the preceding scene, it will be remembered, all proceed to the Capitol, and it is this being sent for to the Capitol now which—as well as I can make out—is the only, and very insufficient, reason for connecting this scene with the preceding one. The tone of the conversation between the Tribunes marks a lapse of time. "I heard him swear," says Brutus, "were he to stand for Consul, never would he appear," etc. When did Brutus hear this vow? certainly not in the preceding scene.

Act II. sc. ii. In the Capitol. Coriolanus is chosen Consul by the Senators.

Act II. sc. iii. He obtains the voices of the people in the market-place. The Tribunes stir up the people against him.

Act III. sc. i. The Tribunes aided by the people seek to arrest Coriolanus; he is rescued by the Patricians. In the end Menenius promises that he shall meet the people in the market-place to answer for his conduct.

Act III. sc. ii. His friends persuade Coriolanus to answer mildly the accusations brought against him.

Act III. sc. iii. He meets the Tribunes and the people; but, again giving the rein to his fury, he is banished by them.

Act IV. sc. i. His mother, wife, and friends, bid him farewell at the gate of the city.

Act IV. sc. ii. Volumnia and Virgilia meet the Tribunes and bestow their curses on them.

An interval—a few days perhaps—including Coriolanus's journey to Antium.

- Day 6. Act IV. sc. iii. Between Rome and Antium. A Volscian spy going towards Rome to obtain news is met by a Roman spy bringing news to the army of the Volscians. From the dialogue it appears that this meeting takes place shortly after the banishment of Coriolanus. This Day 6 may be supposed part of the last marked interval.
- Day 7. Act IV. sc. iv. and v. Antium. Coriolanus seeks out Aufidius and accepts from him half of his commission in a proposed expedition against the Roman state.

An interval.

Day 8. Act IV. sc. vi. Rome. News arrives of the approach of the Volscian army under the command of Aufidius and Coriolanus.

An interval.

Day 9. Act IV. sc. vii. The Volscian camp. Aufidius malcontent at the eclipse he suffers from Coriolanus's superior glory.

An interval.

Day 10. Act V. sc. i. Rome. Cominius having failed to obtain mercy for his country from Coriolanus, Menenius is now persuaded to go on an embassy to him.

Act V. sc. ii. The Volscian camp. Result of Menenius's embassy. Coriolanus declines to hold any communication with him.

Act V. sc. iii. Volumnia, Virgilia, etc., come to the camp to intercede for Rome. Coriolanus gives way before their prayers, and consents to a peace, resolving, however, not to enter Rome, but to go back with Aufidius.

Act V. sc. iv. and v. The ladies bring back to Rome the welcome news of the peace they have effected.

An interval.

Day 11. Act V. sc. vi. Antium. Aufidius and Coriolanus return from the expedition against Rome. Aufidius accuses Coriolanus of treason, and he and his friends slay him.

Time of this play, eleven days represented on the stage; with intervals.

- Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

 Interval.
 - " 2. Act I. sc. ii. Interval.
 - ,, 3. Act I. sc. iii. to x.

 Interval.
 - ,, 4. Act II. sc. i.

 Interval.
- ,, 5. Act II. sc. i. α (end of sc. i. in modern editions) to Act IV. sc. ii.

Interval.

Day 6. Act IV. sc. iii.

- ,, 7. Act IV. sc. iv. and v. Interval.
- , 8. Act IV. sc. vi.
- ,, 9. Act IV. sc. vii.

 Interval.
- ,, 10. Act V. sc. i. to v. Interval.
- " 11. Act V. sc. vi.

The actual Historical time represented by this play "comprehends a period of about four years, commencing with the secession to the Mons Sacer in the year of Rome 262, and ending with the death of Coriolanus, A.U.C. 266."—MALONE.

TITUS ANDRONICUS.

FIRST printed in Quarto, with no division of Acts and Scenes. Divided into Acts only in the Folio. The Folio contains one Scene (Act III. sc. ii.) not found in the Quartos.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Saturninus and Bassianus contend for the crown. Titus arrives in triumph; with Tamora, her sons, Aaron, etc., prisoners. Being chosen umpire he decides in favour of Saturninus.

After much quarrelling, slaughter, etc., Saturninus marries Tamora, and Bassianus, Lavinia. An apparent reconciliation takes place, and Titus invites the whole company to a grand hunting for the morrow.

Act II. sc. i. Demetrius and Chiron quarrel for the love of Lavinia. Aaron reconciles them, and by his counsel they determine to effect their villanous purpose during the solemn hunting which is in hand (1. 112).

As stated above, in the Quartos there is no division of this play into Acts and Scenes, and in the Quartos the stage direction between this and the preceding scene is "Exeunt. Sound trumpets, manet Moore." Johnson is right in saying that "this scene ought to continue the first Act." The fact that in it Chiron and Demetrius are already quarrelling for the love of Lavinia is no sufficient reason for supposing any break in the course of the action: time, throughout the play, is almost annihilated. There is a sequence of events, but no probable time is allowed for between them.

Day 2. Act II. sc. ii. The morning of the hunt. Titus awakes the newly married couples with horns and hounds. They proceed to the chase.

Act II. sc. iii. and iv. The hunt. During these scenes Tamora, Aaron, Demetrius, and Chiron plot and execute the murder of Bassianus, the arrest of Quintus and Martius for the deed, and the rape and mutilation of Lavinia. Marcus meets and conveys his niece back to Rome.

Act III. sc. i. Titus pleads in vain for his sons. Marcus brings Lavinia to him. Under a promise that his sons' lives shall thereby be saved, Titus cuts off one of his hands and sends it to Saturninus; he is rewarded with the heads of his sons and the return of his hand. Lucius, banished for an attempt to rescue his brothers, sets out to raise a power among the Goths for revenge on Rome.

Interval.

Day 3. Act III. sc. ii. In Titus's house. Titus, Marcus, Lavinia, and young Lucius at table.

It is possible to imagine a pause in the action, both before and after this scene, the whole of which, it may be observed, is omitted in the Quarto editions of the Play.

Interval.

Day 4. Act IV. sc. i. Lavinia manages to make known the authors of her rape. Titus resolves to send to them a present of weapons, with a scroll hinting at their guilt.

Act IV. sc. ii. Young Lucius delivers to Demetrius and Chiron the weapons sent by Titus. The Empress is delivered of a blackamoor child, the fruit of her adultery with Aaron. Aaron saves the child's life from Demetrius and Charon, and instructs them how to obtain another child which the Emperor may believe to be his own. To make all sure Aaron kills the nurse, and carries off his child for safety with the Goths.

Act IV. sc. iii. Titus provides arrows with letters addressed to the Gods, calling for justice; his friends shoot the arrows into the Court of Saturnine. He then sends a mocking petition to Saturnine by a clown.

Act IV. sc. iv. Saturninus enraged by the letters found on Titus's arrows. The clown delivers the petition, and is ordered to be hung. News arrives of the approach of Lucius with an army of Goths. Tamora (who has apparently recovered from her confinement) soothes the rage and fear of Saturnine, and it is resolved to send Æmilius on an embassy to Lucius requesting a parley at Titus's house.

Act V. sc. i. In the camp of Lucius. Aaron is brought in with his child in his arms. To save the child's life he reveals the villanies that he, the Queen, and her sons, have plotted and executed against the Andronici. Æmilius arrives on his embassy, to which Lucius assents on hostages being delivered to his father and to his uncle Marcus.

The Embassy of Æmilius and the capture of Aaron connect this scene too closely with the preceding scenes to allow of any break in the course of the action since Act IV. sc. i.

Act V. sc. ii. During the time of the preceding scene, Tamora and her two sons, disguised as Revenge, Rapine, and Murder, solicit

Titus to forward the proposed meeting of Lucius and the Emperor at his house. Titus sends Marcus to his son to bid him come, and Tamora, leaving her sons in his hands, departs to inform Saturninus of the success of her enterprise. Titus causes Demetrius and Chiron to be seized and then cuts their throats, Lavinia holding the basin between her stumps to receive their blood. He then gives orders to have a pasty made of their carcases.

Act V. sc. iii. In Titus's house. Lucius and the Emperor meet. Titus serves up the pasty, of which Tamora partakes. He then sacrifices Lavinia and kills Tamora. Saturninus kills him. Lucius kills Saturninus. Lucius is chosen Emperor, and orders Aaron to be set breast-deep in earth and to be starved to death, while Tamora's body is cast forth to beasts and birds of prey.

The period included in this Play is four days represented on the stage; with, possibly, two intervals.

Day 1. Act I., Act II. sc. i.

- " 2. Act II. sc. ii.—iv., Act III. sc. i.

 Interval.
- " 3. Act III. sc. ii.

 Interval.
- ,, 4. Acts IV. and V.

ROMEO AND JULIET.

First printed in Quarto. No division of Acts and scenes in either Quarto or Folio.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. The quarrel between the servants, joined in by others of the two factions. The Prince separates the combatants; orders Capulet to go along with him, and bids Montague come to him in the afternoon. After the fray Romeo makes his first appearance, and the day is still young—"but new struck nine."

Act I. sc. ii. Capulet has been with the Prince, and knows that Montague is bound as well as himself to keep the peace; we must

therefore suppose this scene to take place in the afternoon, after Montague's interview with the Prince. He invites Paris to a feast this night, and gives a list of the guests, who are also to be invited, to his servant.

The servant applies to Romeo and Benvolio to read the list, and they resolve to go to the feast.

Act I. sc. iii. Lady Capulet, the Nurse and Juliet. Lady Capulet informs Juliet of Paris's love. A servant announces that the guests are come and supper served up.

Act I. sc. iv. Romeo and his friends on their way to the feast.

Act I. sc. v. The festival in Capulet's house. Romeo falls in love with Juliet.

Act II. sc. i. and ii. Late at night, returning from the feast, Romeo gives the slip to his friends and courts Juliet at her window.

Day 2. Act II. sc. iii. Early the next morning Romeo visits Friar Laurence to arrange for his marriage this same day.

Act II. sc. iv. At noon Romeo meets his friends, has an interview with the Nurse, and by her sends a message to Juliet to meet him at the Friar's cell that afternoon to be married.

Act II. sc. v. The Nurse delivers her message to Juliet.

Act II. sc. vi. The lovers meet at Friar Laurence's cell and are married.

Act III. sc. i. Romeo rejoins his friends, and the fatal broil occurs in which Mercutio and Tybalt are slain. The Prince banishes Romeo.

Act III. sc. ii. The Nurse tells Juliet of the tragedy that has happened, and then goes to seek Romeo.

Act III. sc. iii. Romeo in concealment in the Friar's cell. The Nurse comes to arrange with him for his meeting that night with Juliet.

Act III. sc. iv. Very late at night Capulet promises his daughter's hand to Paris, and (this being Monday) he fixes the wedding day for next Thursday.

Day 3. Act III. sc. v. At early dawn the lovers part. Lady

Capulet enters to announce to Juliet her proposed marriage with Paris. The quarrel of the parents with their daughter.

Act IV. sc. i. Juliet seeks counsel of the Friar; and obtains from him the sleeping potion which is to hold her "two and forty hours."

Act IV. sc. ii. Returning home Juliet makes her submission to her father, who, in his joy at her obedience, resolves that the marriage shall be "knit up to-morrow morning" (Wednesday).

Act IV. sc. iii. In her chamber, at night, Juliet takes the sleeping potion.

Act IV. sc. iv. Capulet and his family up all night preparing for the wedding.

Day 4. Act IV. sc. v. Juliet discovered apparently dead on her bed. They prepare to carry her to the grave.

Day 5. Act V. sc. i. At Mantua. Balthazar brings news of Juliet's supposed death. Romeo obtains poison of an Apothecary, and resolves to return to Verona that same night.

Act V. sc. ii. Verona. Friar John returns to Friar Laurence the letter to Romeo which circumstances had prevented him from delivering. Laurence determines to go alone to the tomb, for

"Within this three hours will fair Juliet wake."

If we suppose Juliet to have taken the sleeping-potion at midnight, Tuesday-Wednesday, the "two-and-forty hours" should expire on this day (Thursday) at six p.m., and the time of this scene, therefore, would be three p.m. She does not, however, awake 'till a much later hour.

Act V. sc. iii. In the churchyard, at night. Paris visits the tomb of Juliet; hearing footsteps he retires; Romeo enters and opens the vault. Paris attempts to arrest him and is slain. Romeo enters the tomb, takes the poison, and dies. The Friar comes to take Juliet from her grave; she awakes, and, finding Romeo dead, refuses to leave him. The Friar flies, and Juliet stabs herself. Paris's page enters with the watch, who apprehend the Friar and Balthazar, and send to summon up the Prince, the Capulets, and the Montagues, and all meet at the tomb, to lament the loss of their children and end their enmity, in the early morning of the sixth day.

Day 6. End of Act V. sc. iii. Early morning of the sixth day, Friday.

Time of this Tragedy, six consecutive days, commencing on the morning of the first, and ending early in the morning of the sixth.

- Day 1. (Sunday) Act I., and Act II. sc. i. and ii.
 - ,, 2. (Monday) Act II. sc. iii.—vi., Act III. sc. i.—iv.
 - " 3. (Tuesday) Act III. sc. v., Act IV. sc. i.—iv.
 - " 4. (Wednesday) Act IV. sc. v.
 - " 5. (Thursday) Act-V.
 - " 6. (Friday) End of Act V. sc. iii.

TIMON OF ATHENS.

FIRST printed in the Folio. No division of acts and scenes.

- Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii. Timon in prosperity, giving and receiving presents. Among others, the Lord Lucullus entreats his company to-morrow to hunt with him, and has sent his honour two brace of greyhounds.
- Day 2. Act II. sc. i. and ii. His creditors begin to press Timon for payment. Returning from hunting, he is pestered by their servants, who present their bills. Learning from his steward that his fortune is all spent, he resolves to try his friends, and among others sends to Lucullus: "I hunted with his honour to-day," says he. This hunting seems to fix the time of these scenes as the morrow of Day 1.

Act III. sc. i.—iii. His friends all refuse assistance.

Day 3. Act III. sc. iv. Before nine o'clock, presumably on the following morning, Timon's hall is full of the servants of his creditors clamouring for payment. Having got rid of them, he bids his steward go and invite all his friends again; once more he will feast the rascals.

Act III. sc. v. In the Senate. Alcibiades quarrels with the Senators, and is banished by them.

Act III. sc. vi. In Timon's house. His friends, supposing

Timon still rich, and that his application to them for money was merely a feint to try them, have all assembled for this new feast. The latest news among them is the banishment of Alcibiades. Timon serves up the banquet, all covered dishes, which are found to contain nothing but hot water. This, with the dishes, he throws at his false friends, and beats them out. He then flies from Athens.

Act IV. sc. i. Timon, without the walls of Athens, looks back and curses the town.

Act IV. sc. ii. Timon's servants take leave of each other.

All these scenes, from Act III. sc. iv. to this point, are evidently included in the third day of the action.

An internal.

Day 4. Act IV. sc. iii. We may suppose a considerable interval between this and the preceding scenes. Timon is living in the woods. Digging for roots he finds gold. Alcibiades, having raised an army, is marching to attack Athens; he meets Timon, who gives him gold to forward his enterprise. Alcibiades's discourse with Timon is somewhat singular. At first he does not recognise his friend. Then, without being informed who he is, he declares—

> "I know thee well: But in thy fortunes am unlearned and strange."

A little later he asks-

"How came the noble Timon to this change?"

A few lines further on he says—

"I have heard in some sort of thy miseries."

And again-

"I have heard, and grieved, How cursed Athens, mindless of thy worth, Forgetting thy great deeds," &c.

Alcibiades departs, and shortly after Timon is visited by Apemantus. Timon shows him the gold, and he promises to spread the report of In the course of their conversation Apemantus remarks-"Yonder comes a poet and a painter; the plague of company light on thee!" Apemantus is no sooner gone than certain banditti enter to try to get some of the treasure of which they have heard Timon is possessed. How or when they learned this does not appear. We may, perhaps, suppose these men stragglers from Alcibiades's army, for he has mentioned that his want of money

"doth daily make revolt In my penurious band."

After the banditti, Flavius appears, but Timon, though he will not accept his services, dismisses him with wealth. At the end of this scene the stage direction is "Exit."

Day 5. Act V. sc. i. Now at last "Enter Poet and Painter." They were descried by Apemantus in the preceding scene, but they only now make their appearance. They know of the gold; for "Alcibiades reports it; Phrynia and Timandra had gold of him; he likewise enriched poor straggling soldiers with great quantity: 'tis said he gave unto his steward a mighty sum." All true; but where, when, and how did they hear all this? How could these inhabitants of Athens know that Alcibiades, who was marching against their town, reported this? They could not have been within sight of Timon during his visitations by Apemantus, the brigands, and by Flavius, notwithstanding Apemantus's saying. Their knowledge is only from hearsay, and would suggest that this scene is not a continuation of the previous one, but takes place on a separate day. Timon enters to them from his cave, and after rallying them, drives them out. Stage direction is "Exeunt."

Then "Enter Steward and two Senators." The Senators are deputed by Athens to seek aid from Timon against Alcibiades. Flavius brings them to his cave. "Enter Timon out of his cave." He refuses to have anything to do with them, tells them he has made his grave, and that his epitaph will be seen to-morrow. This interview may possibly take place on the same day as that with the Poet and Painter; but it should be numbered as a separate scene.

Act V. sc. ii. In Athens. The Senators receive news of the approach of Alcibiades. The deputies return from Timon, and report that nothing is to be expected from him.

Day 6. Act V. sc. iii. "Enter a Souldier in the woods, seeking

Timon." He reads an inscription importing the death of Timon, and finding on his tomb an epitaph in a character unknown to him, he takes an impression of it in wax for Alcibiades to interpret.

Act V. sc. iv. Alcibiades before Athens. The town surrenders to him. The soldier brings to him the waxen impression of the epitaph on Timon's tomb.

These scenes, iii. and iv., may perhaps be supposed on one day.

The time, then, of the Play may be taken as six days represented on the stage, with one considerable interval.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

- ,, 2. Act II. sc. i. and ii., Act III. sc. i.—iii.
- " 3. Act III. sc. iv.—vi., Act IV. sc. i. and ii.

 Interval.
- .. 4. Act IV. sc. iii.
- " 5. Act V. sc. i. and ii.
- , 6. Act V. sc. iii. and iv.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

FIRST printed in the Folio. Divided into acts only.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. The Tribunes Flavius and Marullus drive the holiday-making commons from the streets, and proceed to "disrobe the images" "hung with Cæsar's trophies."

Act I. sc. ii. Cæsar and his train on their way to the Lupercal; the Soothsayer bids him "beware the ides of March." Brutus and Cassius remain. Cassius sounds Brutus as to his disposition towards Cæsar. Cæsar and his train return from the games and pass over. Casca remains with Brutus and Cassius, and relates how Cæsar had refused the crown offered him by Antony. Cassius agrees to call on Brutus on the morrow to discuss affairs, and resolves to throw in at his window, this night, certain writings purporting to come from several citizens, all glancing at Cæsar's ambition.

An interval of a month—from the ides, the 13th Feby, the Lupercalia, to the ides, the 15th March—should, I think, be allowed N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

nere. History requires it, and though I would not lay much stress on that argument, there are in the drama itself sufficient hints of a lapse of time to justify the separation of the above scenes from those which follow.

Note that when we next meet with Brutus in Act II. sc. i., he has of himself resolved on the death of Cæsar; his speech--

"Since Cassius first did whet me against Cæsar I have not slept.

Between the acting of a dreadful thing And the first motion, all the interim is Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream"—

gives a sound as of a long period of mental agony; and, to come to more definite evidence, his remark on the sealed paper, which his boy Lucius has found thrown in at the window—

"Such instigations have been often dropp'd Where I have took them up"—

is only intelligible on the supposition of a considerable interval between this Act II. sc. i. and Act I. sc. ii. This paper which Lucius now finds must be that which Cassius confides to Cinna (Act I. sc. iii. l. 144), and must not be confounded with those Cassius talks of at the end of Act I. sc. ii. in Day No. 1.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iii. A stormy night. Strange portents are seen in the streets of Rome. Casca and Cicero meet, and we learn that Cæsar intends to be at the Capitol on the morrow. As Cicero goes out Cassius enters, and enlists Casca in the plot. Cinna then arrives, and is employed by Cassius to continue the practice by which he hopes to get Brutus to join them in their conspiracy against Cæsar. It is after midnight when this scene closes, and the conspirators resolve to call on Brutus yet ere day.

Day 3. Act II. sc. i. The ides 1 of March are come; but it is

¹ As these papers relate especially—almost exclusively—to questions of time, it should be noted that in the Folio Brutus asks the boy—

"Is not to-morrow, boy, the first of March?" 1. 40.

And in 1. 59 Lucius, after consulting the almanack, replies-

"Sir, March is wasted fifteen days."

These two obvious errors were corrected by Theobald to the ides and fourteen, at Warburton's suggestion.

yet little past midnight when the conspirators, as agreed in the last scene, call on Brutus, and find him walking restlessly in his orchard. It is finally resolved that the great deed shall be accomplished in the day about to dawn, and at three o'clock they separate to meet again at the eighth hour to accompany Cæsar to the Capitol. Portia now joins her husband. Their discourse is interrupted by the arrival of Ligarius, with whom Brutus departs for the fulfilment of his enterprise.

Act II. sc. ii. Eight o'clock, and Cæsar, moved by Calpurnia's terrors and the warnings of the Augurers, determines that he will not stir out to-day, when Decius and, afterwards, the rest of the conspirators arrive and induce him to alter his resolve and accompany them to the Senate-House.

Act II. sc. iii. Artemidorus takes his stand in the street by which Cæsar must pass, with a paper warning him against the conspirators.

Act II. sc. iv. About the ninth hour Portia, anxious to hear what passes at the Senate-House, sends thither the boy Lucius; she also meets the Soothsayer who is on his way to warn Cæsar of the unknown danger that threatens him.

Act III. sc. i. Cæsar, despite the warnings of Artemidorus and the Soothsayer, enters the Capitol with the conspirators and others. Trebonius draws Mark Antony out of the way, and then the rest of the conspirators slay Cæsar. Antony, on a promise of safety from Brutus, comes to mourn over Cæsar, and receives permission to perform his obsequies, and to speak to the people in the Forum.

Act III. sc. ii. Brutus speaks to the people and satisfies them of the justice of Cæsar's death; he then gives way to Antony, who enters with the body of Cæsar, and who, after the departure of Brutus, stirs up the multitude against the conspirators. At the end of the scene we learn that Octavius has arrived in Rome, and that the conspirators have fled the city.

Act III. sc. iii. The people kill Cinna the poet, believing him to be Cinna the conspirator.

An interval. (Historical time: 15 March, B.C. 44, to 27 November, B.C. 43. The reader, however, had better discard all notions of

historical time in relation to this and the subsequent intervals I have marked in the dramatic action.)

Day 4. Act IV. sc. i. Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus have seized the supreme power; they proscribe their enemies, and prepare to oppose Brutus and Cassius, who we hear are levying powers.

Interval.

Day 5. Act IV. sc. ii. and iii. Brutus and Cassius join their forces near Sardis. Some time has elapsed since their flight from Rome. Their legions are now brim-full, and they resolve early next morning to march towards Philippi, there to encounter Octavius and Mark Antony, who have a mighty power afoot. Late at night the Ghost of Cæsar appears to Brutus in his tent.

Interval—one day at least.

Day 6. Act V. sc. i.—v. The plains of Philippi. The hostile forces meet. The battle rages all day long, and ends with the deaths of Brutus and Cassius.

One clear day, at least, intervenes between this and the preceding Act. Brutus says—

"The Ghost of Cæsar hath appeared to me Two several times by night; at Sardis once, And, this last night, here in Philippi fields." Sc. v. l. 17—19.

Time of the Play, 6 days represented on the stage; with intervals. Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

Interval—one month.

- " 2. Act I. sc. iii.
- ,, 3. Acts II. and III.

 Interval.
- ,, 4. Act IV. sc. i.
- ,, 5. Act IV. sc. ii. and iii.

 Interval—one day at least.
- " 6. Act V.

"The real length of time in Julius Cæsar is as follows: About the middle of February A.U.C. 709, a frantick festival, sacred to Pan, and called Lupercalia, was held in honour of Cæsar, when the regal crown was offered to him by Antony. On the 15 March in the same year, he was slain. November 27, A.U.C. 710, the triumvirs met at a small island, formed by the river Rhenus, near Bononia, and there adjusted their cruel proscription.—A.U.C. 711, Brutus and Cassius were defeated near Philippi."—UPTON,

MACBETH.

First published in Folio, 1623. Divided into acts and scenes. The last scene of the folio, *Scena Septima*, has been variously divided by modern editors. The Globe editors, following Dyce, divide it into two, marking a fresh scene (viii) at Macbeth's last entry—"Why should I play the Roman fool," &c.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. The Witches. They propose to meet with Macbeth after the battle, "upon the heath," "ere the set of sun."

Act I. sc. ii. "Alarum within." We are, then, supposed to be within ear-shot of the battle. Duncan meets a bleeding Captain [Serjeant in the text] who brings news of the fight—Macbeth has defeated the Rebels under Macdonwald, and is now engaged with the king of Norway. Ross and Angus [Mem. Angus does not speak nor is he mentioned in the text, and is struck out of modern editions] now enter. They come from Fife, and Ross announces the victory over Norway and Cawdor. Duncan commissions Ross to pronounce the present death of Cawdor and to greet Macbeth with his title.

Where is this scene laid? Modern editors say, at Forres. I presume because in the next scene Macbeth, who is on his way to the king, asks "How far is't called to Forres?" Forres is, then, within ear-shot of Fife.

Act I. sc. iii. The Witches meet with Macbeth and Banquo upon the "blasted heath." Time near sunset, it is to be presumed, as agreed on in sc. i. Ross and Angus come from the King. Ross describes how the news of Macbeth's success reached the King, by post after post. He appears to have entirely forgotten that he himself was the messenger; he however greets Macbeth with the title

of Cawdor, and Angus informs Macbeth that Cawdor lies under sentence of death for "treasons capital," but whether he was in league with Norway, or with the rebel [Macdonwald], or with both, he knows not. Ross did know when, in the preceding scene, he took the news of the victory to the King; but he also appears to have forgotten it; at any rate he does not betray his knowledge. Macbeth's loss of memory is even more remarkable than Ross's. He doesn't recollect having himself defeated Cawdor but a few short hours—we might say minutes—ago; and the Witches' prophetic greeting of him by that title, and Ross's confirmation of it, fill him with surprise; for, so far as he knows, (or recollects, shall we say?) the thane of Cawdor lives, a prosperous gentleman.

However, Macbeth and the rest now proceed toward the King, and here we must end the first day of the action, at near sunset.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iv. We are now, it is to be presumed, at Forres, and on the following morning. Duncan is here with his sons and with certain Lords. The commissioners charged with the judgment and execution of Cawdor are not yet returned, but news of his death has been received. Ross was charged with this business, and undertook it, but it is evident he can have had no hand in it. He and Angus now make their appearance, with Macbeth and Banquo, who are welcomed by the king.

Duncan determines that he will from hence to Inverness; and Macbeth, undertaking himself to be his harbinger, departs at once. "Let's after him," says Duncan.

Act I. sc. v. The scene changes to Macbeth's castle at Inverness. Lady Macbeth reads a letter from her husband, telling her of his meeting with the Witches' in the day of his success. This letter must have been written and despatched at some time between scenes iii. and iv. A messenger announces the approach of Macbeth, followed by the king. Macbeth himself arrives, and confirms the news that the King comes here to-night.

Act I. sc. vi. The King arrives, and is welcomed by Lady Macbeth. He has coursed Macbeth at the heels, and has had a "day's hard journey" (see sc. vii., 1. 62). The scene is headed with the

stage direction, "Hautboys and torches;" yet Banquo talks of the swallows which have made their nests upon the castle walls, as though it were still day. The stage direction should surely give way before the authority of the text: torches is very generally omitted, but the whole direction was probably caught from the next scene, which is headed with a like direction.

Act I. sc. vii. "Hautboys and torches." The service of the King's supper passes over the stage. Macbeth hesitates at the great crime he and his wife had agreed to commit. She now again confirms him, and they settle the details of the King's murder. The King has almost supp'd when Lady Macbeth comes to her husband.

Day 3. Act II. sc. i. Past midnight. "The moon is down." "And she goes down at twelve." Banquo and Fleance, retiring to rest, meet with Macbeth; they tell him that "The King's a-bed." Banquo mentions that he "dreamt last night of the three weird sisters." This last night must be supposed between scenes iii. and iv. of Act I.: there is no other place where it could come in.

They part, and Macbeth proceeds to commit the murder.

Act II. sc. ii. The same. Lady Macbeth is waiting for the fatal news. Macbeth re-enters with the daggers; he has done the deed. In his horror he dares not return to the King's chamber with the daggers; Lady Macbeth takes them. Knocking is heard within. They retire.

Act II. sc. iii. The same. The knocking has aroused the drunken Porter, who proceeds to open the gate and admit Macduff and Lennox. It is yet early morning, but they have command to call timely on the King. Macbeth makes his appearance, and talks with Lennox while Macduff goes to the King's chamber. Macduff re-enters with the news of the murder. Macbeth and Lennox go to see for themselves, while Macduff raises the house. Lady Macbeth and then Banquo enter. Macbeth and Lennox, with Ross [how came Ross there?] return from the King's chamber. The King's sons, Malcolm and Donalbain, enter, to be informed of their father's murder, and that Macbeth has slain the grooms of his chamber as the culprits. All now retire, to meet again presently in the hall

to discuss matters, save Malcolm and Donalbain, who resolve on flight.

Act II. sc. iv. Later in the day Ross and an old man discuss the events of the past night. Macduff joins them, and we learn that Malcolm and Donalbain have fled, and that Macbeth has been chosen King and has gone to Scone to be invested. Ross determines to go thither, but Macduff will not, he will to Fife.

An interval, the reasons for which are set forth in the comment on the following scenes, must now be supposed.

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. to iv. Macbeth is now established on the throne. In these scenes the murder of Banquo is plotted and effected, and his ghost appears at the banquet. The night is almost at odds with morning when these scenes end, and Macbeth determines that he will to-morrow, and betimes, to the weird sisters.

Act III. sc. v. During the same day Hecate meets the Witches and apprises them of Macbeth's purposed visit.

Between Acts II. and III. the long and dismal period of Macbeth's reign described or referred to in Act III. sc. vi., Act IV. sc. ii. and iii., and elsewhere in the play, must have elapsed. Macbeth himself refers to it where, in Act III. sc. iv., speaking of his Thanes, he says:

"There's not a one of them but in his house I keep a servant fee'd."—

And again—

"I am in blood Stepp'd in so far, that, should I wade no more, Returning were as tedious as go o'er."

Yet, almost in the same breath he says,-

"My strange and self-abuse
Is the initiate fear that wants hard use:
We are yet but young in deed."

And the first words with which Banquo opens this Act—"Thou hast it now," &c.—would lead us to suppose that a few days at the utmost can have passed since the coronation at Scone; in the same scene, however, we learn that Malcolm and Donalbain are bestowed in England and in Ireland: some little time must have elapsed

before this news could have reached Macbeth. Professor Wilson suggests a week or two for this interval. Mr. Paton would allow three weeks.¹

Note in sc. iv., quoted from above, Macbeth's reference to Macduff:

"Mac. How say'st thou, that Macduff denies his person At our great bidding?"

"Lady M. Did you send to him, sir?"
"Mac. I hear it by the way; but I will send."

It is clear then that up to this time Macbeth has not sent to Macduff.

[Act III. sc. vi. It is impossible to fix the time of this scene. In it "Lenox and another Lord" discuss the position of affairs, The murder of Banquo and the flight of Fleance are known to Lenox, and he knows that Macduff lives in disgrace because he was not at the feast, but that is the extent of his knowledge. The other Lord informs him that Macbeth did send to Macduff, and that Macduff has fled to England to join Malcolm. And that thereupon Macbeth "prepares for some attempt of war." All this supposes the lapse, at the very least, of a day or two since the night of Macbeth's banquet; but in the next scene to this we find we have only arrived at the early morning following the banquet, up to which time the murder of Banquo could not have been known; nor had Macbeth sent to Macduff, nor was the flight of the latter known. The scene in fact is an impossibility in any scheme of time, and I am compelled therefore to place it within brackets.—See Professor Wilson's amusing account of this "miraculous" scene in the fifth part of Dies Boreales: reprinted in N. Sh. Soc. Trans. for 1875-6, part ii. p. 351-8.]

Day 5. Act IV. sc. i. We find ourselves in the witches' cave, on the morning following the banquet, and Macbeth fulfilling his purpose, then expressed, of consulting the weird sisters. It seems

¹ I have had the advantage, while writing this article, of consulting an edition of *Macbeth*, published by Mr. A. P. Paton in 1877, to which is appended a scheme of time for the play. My division of time agrees generally with Mr. Paton's: the chief differences being that I place within brackets Act III. sc. vi. while he includes it in Day 4, and that Act V. sc. i. to which he assigns a separate day I include in Day 7.

evident too that he cannot yet have sent to Macduff; for news is now brought him that Macduff has anticipated his purpose and has fled to England. Lenox tells him this news, and Lenox himself apparently has but just received it from the "two or three" horsemen who bring it; yet Lennox was informed of this and more in the preceding scene by the other Lord; he was even informed that Macbeth was preparing for war in consequence of Macduff's flight which he, Macbeth, now in this scene, hears of for the first time.

On hearing of Macduff's flight, the tyrant resolves immediately to surprise his castle, and "give to th' edge of the sword / His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls / That trace him in his line," and accordingly in

Day 6. Act IV. sc. ii. Lady Macduff and her children are savagely murdered. We may possibly suppose for this scene a separate day, as I have marked it. Mr. Paton would allow an interval of two days between this and the preceding scene. Professor Wilson fixes its time at "two days—certainly not more—after the murder of Banquo"; but the general breathless haste of the play is, I think, against any such interval between Macbeth's purpose and its execution; the utmost I can allow is, that it takes place on the day following sc. i. of Act IV.

An interval, for Ross to carry the news of Lady Macduff's murder to her husband in England where, in the next scene,

Day 7. Act IV. sc. iii., we find Malcolm and Macduff. The latter has not long arrived. Ross joins them with the dreadful news. At his departure from Scotland "there ran a rumour / Of many worthy fellows that were out," and he had himself seen "the tyrant's power a-foot." In this scene in particular is to be observed the suggestion of a long period of desolation for Scotland from the coronation of Macbeth to the flight of Macduff; a period, however, which the action of the play rigorously compresses into two or three weeks at the utmost.

Malcolm's power is ready, and they have but to take leave of the English king and start on their expedition.

Act V. sc. i. At Dunsinane. Lady Macbeth walks in her sleep. "Since his majesty went into the field" this has been customary with her; but the Doctor has watched two nights and till now has seen nothing. The time of this scene may be supposed the night of Day 7. The mention of Macbeth's being in the field must refer to his expedition against the rebels; also mentioned by Ross in the preceding scene, where he says that he had seen "the tyrant's power a-foot."

An interval. Malcolm returns to Scotland with the English forces.

Day 8. Act V. sc. ii. The Scotch thanes who have revolted from Macbeth, march to Birnam to join with the English power led by Malcolm, which we learn is now near at hand. We also learn that Macbeth is back in Dunsinane, which "he strongly fortifies;" it is clear, therefore, that a considerable interval must be supposed between sc. i. and ii. of Act V.

Act V. sc. iii. In Dunsinane Macbeth prepares for his opponents. We may fairly allow one day for these two scenes; although no special note of time is to be observed from here to the end of the play: they may be supposed to end the last "interval" and serve as an introduction to

- Day 9 and last. Sc. iv. The Scotch and English forces join, and march to Dunsinane screened with the branches cut in Birnam wood.
- Sc. v. In Dunsinane. The death of the Queen is announced. Birnam wood is seen to move, and Macbeth sallies out to attack his foes.
- Sc. vi. The combined forces under Malcolm arrive before the castle and throw down their leafy screens.

Sc. vii. and viii. (one scene only in Folio). The battle in which Macbeth is slain, and Malcolm restored to his father's throne.

Time of the Play nine days represented on the stage, and intervals.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. to iii.

- " 2. Act I. sc. iv. to vii.
- " 3. Act II. sc. i. to iv.

An interval, say a couple of weeks. A week or two—Professor Wilson; three weeks—Paton.

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. to v.

[Act III. sc. vi., an impossible time.]

" 5. Act IV. sc. i.

[Professor Wilson supposes an interval of certainly not more than two days between Days 5 and 6; Paton marks two days. No interval is required in my opinion.]

., 6. Act IV. sc. ii.

An interval. Ross's journey to England. Paton allows two weeks.

" 7. Act IV. sc. iii., Act V. sc. i.

An interval. Malcolm's return to Scotland. Three weeks—Paton.

- " 8. Act V. sc. ii. and iii.
- " 9. Act V. sc. iv. to viii.

HAMLET.

First printed in Quarto. No division of acts and scenes in Quarto; in the Folio only Act I. and the first three scenes of that act, and Act II. and the second scene of that act are numbered. Both Quarto and Folio contain passages independent of each other.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. On the platform before the castle of Elsinore. Past midnight. Francisco on guard. He is relieved by Bernardo, Marcellus, and Horatio. The Ghost of the late king appears to them. They resolve to impart to Hamlet what they have seen, and Marcellus knows where this morning they may most conveniently meet with him. The morning being come they break up their watch.

Act I. sc. ii. A room of state in the castle. The King despatches Cornelius and Voltimand on an embassy to Norway. He also grants leave to Laertes to return to France. At the entreaties of the King and his mother, Hamlet consents to give up his intention of going back to school in Wittenburg. Left alone, he gives way to the

bitterness of his soul as he reflects that although his father is yet not two months dead, his mother is already married again, and to his uncle, the present King.

Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo, interrupt his reflections, and acquaint him with the vision that has appeared to them. He resolves that he will watch with them this coming night. It would seem that Horatio and his companions were not able to find Hamlet, as they proposed, in the *morning*. When they now meet with him he salutes them with "good even."

It is somewhat singular that Horatio, Hamlet's intimate, who came here to witness the funeral of the late King, should only now for the first time present himself to his friend.

Act I. sc. iii. Laertes takes leave of Ophelia and his father, and embarks for France. From the position of this scene it is clear that it is included in the first day of the action.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iv. and v. On the platform. Past midnight. Hamlet, with Horatio and Marcellus (Bernardo disappears from the play after scene ii.), comes to watch for his father's Ghost. The Ghost appears and beckons him away, and on a more remote part of the platform in sc. v., alone with him, tells him of his foul murder by his brother, the present king. Day beginning to dawn, the Ghost disappears, and Hamlet is rejoined by Horatio and Marcellus whom he swears to secrecy.

An interval; rather more than two months, the reasons for which are manifested in the following scenes, must now be supposed in the action of the play.

Day 3. Act II. sc. i. Polonius despatches Reynaldo with money and letters to his son in France. Ophelia acquaints her father with Hamlet's strange conduct to her; they suppose him to have fallen mad in consequence of his love to her having been repelled, and Polonius resolves to acquaint the King at once with this discovery. That Hamlet's "transformation" is not a thing of yesterday, is clear from what occurs in the next scene.

Act II. sc. ii. The King and Queen welcome Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, whom they have sent for in the hope that they, as the

friends of Hamlet's youth, may induce him to reveal to them the cause of his griefs. Polonius now introduces Voltimand and Cornelius, who have returned from their embassy to Norway, and this business despatched, he tells the King and Queen of his supposed discovery of the cause of Hamlet's madness. Hamlet now entering, Polonius is left alone with him to pursue his discovery; but is treated only with chaff, till Rosencrantz and Guildenstern come to his relief. They however meet with no better success, and the scene ends with the arrival of the Players, whose approach they had announced, and whose services Hamlet resolves to employ in the representation of a play which shall figure forth the murder of his father as revealed to him by the Ghost. This play he will have ready for "to-morrow night."

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. With this scene commences the "morrow" of the past day. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern tell the King and Queen of their failure with Hamlet, and announce the play he has prepared for "this night." Polonius, still hot on his repulsed-love theory, baits a trap for Hamlet with Ophelia, and that failing, he advises the King—who now thinks it will be best to ship Hamlet off to England—to let the Queen first have an interview with him after the play, to make him show his grief.

Act III. sc. ii. Hamlet instructs the Players. He requests Horatio to watch the King's countenance narrowly during the play which is now about to be performed. The King, Queen and court then enter, and the play begins; but is soon broken off by the King starting up conscience-stricken at the scene which so nearly represents his own guilt. All depart save Hamlet and Horatio, who compare notes as to the King's behaviour. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and afterwards, Polonius, re-enter to tell Hamlet that his mother desires to speak with him in her closet ere he go to bed. They leave him, and he then, in "the very witching time of night," proceeds to his mother's chamber.

In these two scenes Ophelia gives us two important notes of time. In sc. i., l. 91, she addresses Hamlet—

"How does your honour for this many a day."

In sc. ii. 1. 135 when Hamlet wildly says, that his "father died

within these two hours," she exclaims—"Nay, 'tis twice two months, my lord." As in Act I. Hamlet's father had then been dead not quite two months, it follows that the interval which I have marked between Acts I. and II. must be a period of rather more than two months. The length of this interval receives additional confirmation from the King's speech in Act IV. sc. vii., l. 82-3, when concerting with Laertes the fencing-match: "Two months since, | Here was a gentleman of Normandy," &c. 1

Act III. sc. iii. The King orders Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to prepare immediately for England, whither he is now quite resolved to send Hamlet. Polonius enters to inform the King that Hamlet is going to his mother's closet. The King left alone kneels in prayer, and Hamlet, in passing over the stage, thinks to kill him then and there; but defers his vengeance for a worser moment, and proceeds on his way.

Act III. sc. iv. The Queen's closet. Polonius informs the Queen that Hamlet will come straight, and then hearing him approach, hides himself behind the arras. The Queen, terrified by Hamlet's manner, cries for help; her cry is taken up by Polonius who is slain by Hamlet. Hamlet then proceeds to reproach his mother with her conduct; the Ghost again appears, but this time is visible and audible to Hamlet only. After advice to his mother, and obtaining a promise from her that she will not reveal the subject of their conference, the following remarkable conversation takes place—

"Ham. I must to England; you know that?"
"Queen. Alack,
I had forgot: 'tis so concluded on."

¹ It must however be noted that the "twice two months" of Ophelia has been questioned by some commentators. Hanmer omits twice, and Dr. Ingleby would substitute for it quite: the reason, no doubt, being that Hamlet in his reply to Ophelia says,—"O heavens! die two months ago, and not forgotten yet!" We have however to consider that Hamlet's is a "mad" speech, and that the interval between Acts I, and II, must be considerable, for during this time the embassy to Norway is completed; Rosencrantz and Guildenstern have been sent for in consequence of Hamlet's unaccountable behaviour; and Polonius is now found despatching money and letters to his son, which he could scarcely be expected to do almost immediately after his departure. At the same time one cannot but wonder what Hamlet has been about during this more than two months interval: he who intended to sweep to his revenge with wings as swift as meditation or the thoughts of love.

"Ham. There's letters sealed: and my two schoolfellows, Whom I will trust as I will adders fang'd, They bear the mandate;" &c.

When, where, or from whom, could they have had this intelligence? The Queen might possibly have known that some such scheme was in contemplation, but could not know that it had been resolved on; and Hamlet himself must have been quite in ignorance of the matter. The *author's* knowledge of the plot seems to have cropped out here prematurely.

Act IV. sc. i. The night still continues. The Queen tells the King of the death of Polonius. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are sent off to find the body, and the King resolves that—

"The sun no sooner shall the mountains touch"

but Hamlet shall be shipped hence.

Act IV. sc. ii. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern meet with Hamlet and pursue him.

Act IV. sc. iii. Hamlet is brought before the King, who tells him of his purpose. Hamlet consenting, the King instructs Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—

"Follow him at foot; tempt him with speed aboard; Delay it not; I'll have him hence to-night:

Away! for everything is sealed and done," etc.

Here follows a scene, the time and place of which is somewhat difficult to determine.

Day 5. Act IV. sc. iv. Young Fortinbras is on the march with his army when Hamlet, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, etc., who are on their way to the ship, meet this power, and Hamlet discourses with one of the captains. The scene is continuous with the action of the preceding scenes; but we must, I suppose, imagine that a new day has now dawned, and mark this scene as day 5. So far as Hamlet and his companions are concerned, this scene is not found in the Folio version of the play.

An interval—a week.

Day 6. Act IV. sc. v. Ophelia since her father's death has

gone mad. Her brother Laertes is in secret come from France, and now, heading a rebellion against the King, breaks in to demand satisfaction. The King succeeds in calming him with promise of revenge on Hamlet.

Act IV. sc. vi. Horatio receives letters from Hamlet telling him that ere he had been two days at sea a pirate had attacked his vessel. In the fight Hamlet boarded the pirate, and the ships separating, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern continued their course for England, Hamlet remaining with the pirates, by some of whom he sends his letters. How long he had remained with them does not appear; but he has now landed, and urges Horatio to join him. In the next scene,

Act IV. sc. vii., we learn from Hamlet's letter to the King, brought by the same messengers, that he will beg leave to-morrow to present himself at court. On this news the King concerts with Laertes the fencing match in which Hamlet is to be slain. The Queen interrupts their discourse with the news of Ophelia's death by drowning.

Day 7. Act V. sc. i. Hamlet and Horatio discourse with the Grave-digger. The funeral of Ophelia takes place, interrupted with the quarrel of Hamlet and Lacrtes. The King calms the latter:—

"Strengthen your patience," says he, "in our last night's speech; We'll put the matter to the present push."

Act V. sc. ii. and last. Hamlet relates to Horatio his sea adventures; Osric brings the challenge for the fencing match. Hamlet accepts, and the King, Queen, and all the Court enter to see it played. It ends with the death of the Queen, the King, Hamlet, and Laertes; young Fortinbras, returning with conquest from Poland, meets the ambassadors from England, bringing the news of the death of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and together they enter to bear out the bodies with a dead march. A separate day may possibly be assigned to this last scene; but I think not.

The materials these scenes, from Act IV. sc. v. to the end, afford for determining the length of the interval between days 5 and 6 are somewhat doubtful. The utmost time that can be imagined for Hamlet's absence from Elsinore can not be more than a week. Two days at sea when attacked by the pirates, and the remainder of the time in their company, journeying back to Denmark. This time seems too long; nevertheless in this supposed week, and apparently some days before it had expired, Laertes must have been back in Elsinore, summoned home by the news of his father's death; and during that week young Fortinbras marched to Poland, fought, and marched back. The reader must decide from these data—if he can—the length of our second interval.

The time of the Play is seven days represented on the stage—or eight if the reader prefers to assign a separate day to the last scene—with two intervals.

- Day 1. Act I. sc. i. to iii.
 - , 2. Act I. sc. iv. and v.

An interval of rather more than two months.

- .. 3. Act II. sc. i. and ii.
- ,, 4. Act III. sc. i. to iv., Act IV. sc. i. to iii.
- ,, 5. Act IV. sc. iv.

An interval—a week?.

- .. 6. Act IV. sc. v. to vii.
- , 7. Act V. sc. i. and ii.

Note.—Since this article was in print my attention has been directed to Mr. F. A. Marshall's *Study of Hamlet*, 1875, to which is appended a scheme of time for the play.

To the end of Act IV. sc. iv. my scheme is substantially in agreement with Mr. Marshall's.

For the interval of one week, which I then allow, Mr. Marshall has two months, which certainly as regards Fortinbras's expedition is not excessive, but which seems to me inconsistent with the movements of the principal personage of the drama. Hamlet's "sudden and more strange return" (IV. vii. 47), and the king's comment thereon—

"——If he be now returned, As checking at his voyage, and that he means No more to undertake it," etc. (IV. vii. 62-4)—

are opposed to the notion of a longer period than the lapse of a few days since his departure. Even the week I have allowed—with some misgiving—seems too long a time, and but for Fortinbras and Laertes could not be accepted.

As regards Act IV. scenes v., vi. and vii., my scheme is again in agreement with Mr. Marshall's; but the interval of two days which he then marks, seems to me inconsistent with the notes of time the play itself presents. See Hamlet's proposal to appear at court tomorrow (IV. vii. 44), and the king's reference to "our last night's speech" (V. i. 317).

To Mr. Marshall's arrangement of scenes i. and ii. of Act V. as separate days, I have no strong objection: I have indeed left it a moot point for the reader's decision. At the same time the king's eagerness to "put the matter to the present push" (V. i. 318), and the fact that in scene ii. Hamlet now, for the first time apparently, gives Horatio an account of his sea-adventures, make me doubt the propriety of allowing two days for Act V.

KING LEAR.

FIRST printed in Quarto, with no division of acts and scenes.

Divided into acts in Folio. The numbering of the scenes imperfect: in Act II., scenes iii. and iv. are not numbered. In Act IV. the Folio omits our present scene iii., which is taken from the Quarto; the Folio scenes iii., iv. and v. are therefore our scenes iv., v. and vi. The Folio numbers no scene vi. Its numbers jump from v. to vii. Sc. vii. of Folio is also sc. vii. of Globe edition.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Lear rejects his daughter, Cordelia, who is taken to wife by France; banishes Kent; divides his kingdom between his daughters Goneril and Regan, and sets out the same night to spend the first month of his retirement with Goneril and her husband Albany.

Editors mark the locality of this scene as Lear's Palace, but it is somewhat doubtful where he holds his court.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. In this scene we are certainly in Gloucester's Castle. Edmund meditates his plot against his father and Edgar. Gloucester enters, exclaiming—

"Kent banish'd thus! and France in choler parted!
And the King gone to-night! subscribed his power!
Confined to exhibition! All this done
Upon the gad!"

This speech would seem to indicate that the time and place of these first two scenes were identical. Perhaps it was intended that they should be; but it must be remembered that the phrase "to-night" is frequently used in these plays in the sense of the night last past, and Edmund, who here promises his father full satisfaction as to Edgar's guilt, "without any further delay than this very evening" (l. 10), could not say this if the night of the day on which he is speaking were already come. On the whole I think we must mark this scene as a separate day, the day following the opening scene.

An interval of something less than a fortnight [see l. 316-17, Act I. sc. iv.—"What, fifty of my followers at a clap! Within a fortnight!"] must now be supposed in the action of the drama.

Day 3. Act I. sc. iii., iv. and v. In the Duke of Albany's Palace. Time about mid-day. [See sc. iii., last line, "Prepare for dinner;" and sc. iv. lines 9-45, "Let me not stay a jot for dinner"—"Dinner, ho, dinner."] In these scenes the banished Kent, under the disguise of Caius, joins his old master, and commences his service by tripping up the heels of the insolent steward. Goneril breaks with her father, who resolves to seek refuge with his daughter Regan. Both despatch letters to Regan, acquainting her with their intentions. Goneril, by her steward Oswald; Lear, by Kent.

Lear, despatching his letters by Kent, says to him (Act I. sc. v. l. 1-7),—

"Lear. Go you before to Gloucester with these letters. . . . If your diligence be not speedy, I shall be there before you.

Kent. I will not sleep, my lord, till I have delivered your letter."

And Lear follows his messenger immediately.

It will be noticed-and of course the fact has not escaped the

commentators, anxious to fix the locality of these scenes—that Lear sends Kent to *Gloucester*, and therefore that Cornwall and Regan must be supposed to keep their court in that *place*; the Earl of Gloucester's residence being elsewhere.

Day 4. Act II. sc. i. In Gloucester's Castle, a solitary residence: "for many miles about / There's scarce a bush" (Act II. sc. iv. l. 304-5). The action of the drama, which ceased a little after noon at the end of the last scene, recommences here towards night of the following day. Curran announces the approach of Cornwall and Regan. Edmund thereupon brings his plot on his father and Edgar to a crisis, and Edgar flies.

If we were not now clearly separated by about a fortnight from the day No. 2 when Edmund commenced his practice, we should suppose this to be the "very evening" of that day; but we are now compelled to believe that Edgar has been in hiding in the same house with his father the whole of that time. And what a fortnight this has been! There are already rumours of "likely wars toward, 'twixt the Dukes of Cornwall and Albany" (l. 11, 12), and within this time—as we shall learn a little later—Cordelia has already landed at Dover with a power from France to redress the wrongs of her old father.

However, as Curran had announced, Cornwall and Regan now make their appearance, and we learn that not wishing to receive Lear at their own residence, they, on the arrival of the two messengers (Kent and Oswald), at once set out to take up their abode with Gloucester, bringing with them the messengers who "from hence attend dispatch" (l. 127). They have travelled by night, and they arrive during the night, and this fact must fix the time of the second scene of this "day,"

Act II. sc. ii., in which the quarrel between Kent and Oswald takes place. Editors generally would fix the time as early (before daylight) on the following morning; because Oswald opens the scene with the somewhat unusual salute of "Good dawning to thee, friend." The time, however, even if we suppose it to be past midnight, is certainly not the dawn: "though it be night," says Kent, "yet the moon shines; I'll make a sop o' the moonshine of you." Nor is it

reasonable to suppose that Oswald, who arrived with the Duke and Regan, would wait till dawn to set up his horses. Moreover, "dawning" is the reading of the Folio only; the Quartos read "euen" [one of them "deuen." Can this corruption have had anything to do with the Folio "dawning"?] which better suits the time of the action. On the other hand, in support of "dawning" must be adduced Cornwall's speech (l. 141), when ordering Kent to be set in the stocks—"There shall he sit till noon," and Regan's exclamation thereat—"Till noon! till night, my lord, and all night too:"—and when Kent is thus disposed of, he gives Gloucester "good morrow" (l. 165). But yet again in the last lines of the scene, he says—

"Approach, thou beacon to this under globe, That by thy comfortable beams I may Peruse this letter!"

Editors differ as to whether by this "beacon" is meant the sun or the moon; but it may be remarked that if the latter is meant, the address was unnecessary, as the moon was already shining, and if the sun is meant it is clear that it has not yet approached; therefore no dawn. In conclusion, as he falls asleep, Kent wishes Fortune "good night."

But be it night or morning, we have yet to determine the time that has elapsed since Kent set out with Lear's letters to Regan. It will be remembered that it was about mid-day in Day 3 that he tripped up the Steward's heels, and shortly afterwards Lear sent him on this errand. When in this scene he again meets Oswald, he says, "Is it two days ago since I tripped up thy heels, and beat thee before the King?" (I. 31-3.) We may suppose, then, that about a day and a-half has been occupied in his journeying to Cornwall's Palace and from thence to Gloucester's Castle, and that this is the second night, or early morning, since he set out with Lear's letters: midnight of Day 4, or 1 or 2 A.M. of Day 5.

Day 5. Act II. sc. iii. Edgar resolves on disguising himself as mad Tom. The time of this scene may be supposed the morning following his flight.

Act II. sc. iv. and Act III. sc. i. to vi. commence on this same

morning and end at night; the scene shifting between Gloucester's Castle and the adjacent country. Lear arrives, and finds Kent still in the stocks. After a little time Cornwall and Regan make their appearance, and to them he bids "Good morrow;" his irritation is carefully nursed by Regan until Goneril arrives, and between them they drive the old King into a fury, in which state he rushes out into the stormy night—for the night has come on during the progress of these scenes: "Tis a wild night," says Cornwall, in the last lines of Act II. sc. iv. Then follow the scenes with Lear, Kent, the Fool, and Edgar as mad Tom, out in the storm, and in the farm house to which Gloucester conducts them for shelter, and from which he presently sends them off for safety to Dover. In his castle in the mean time Edmund betrays to Cornwall his father's correspondence with France.

One scene of this day-or night rather-Act III. sc. i., requires special notice. In it Kent and a gentleman are searching for Lear while he is out in the storm, on the heath. Kent half reveals himself to this gentleman, and-after dropping certain dark hints of division between the Dukes of Albany and Cornwall, and of spies in their households who have kept France informed of "the harsh rein which both of them have borne / Against the old kind king,"-tells him that a power from France is already landed, and begs him to speed to Dover to make "just report / Of how unnatural and bemadding sorrow / The king hath cause to plain. If," he continues, "you shall see Cordelia, - / As fear not but you shall, -show her this ring; / And she will tell you who your fellow is / That yet you do not know." When Kent again meets with this gentleman, in the French camp near Dover (Act IV. sc. iii.), it would seem that, besides this verbal message, he also entrusted him with letters to Cordelia containing special mention of Lear's sufferings in this stormy night outside Gloucester's Castle. Gloucester also has intelligence this night of the landing of the French force :- Act III. sc. iii., "I have received a letter this night: . . . these injuries the king now bears will be revenged home; there's part of a power already footed." From all this it is clear that before Cornwall and Regan can have had an opportunity of manifesting their ingratitude, and-as Goneril's outbreak is yet not more than two days old-before any news at all

of her aged father's troubles can have reached her, Cordelia is already landed in England for his relief; for she is careful to tell us (Act IV. sc. iv.) that that only is the object of her invasion. We must suppose, then, that from the spies, darkly hinted at by Kent, she had gained sufficient knowledge of her sister's *intentions* to convince her that her return to England was urgently required. Kent, it is to be presumed, got his knowledge of her movements from the letter from her which he reads when placed in the stocks. See end of Act II. sc. ii.

Day 6. Act III. sc. vii. Next morning Edmund accompanies Goneril back to Albany to acquaint him with the landing of the French army, and to urge him to make preparations for opposing it. After their departure Cornwall and Regan revenge themselves on Gloucester by putting out his eyes. One of the servants attempting to defend his master is slain, but in the scuffle gives Cornwall his death wound. Gloucester is turned out to wander where he will, and in

Act IV. sc. i. Edgar, the supposed madman, whom he had seen "I' the last night's storm" (l. 34), leads him on his way to Dover.

Day 7. Act IV. sc. ii. Before the Duke of Albany's Palace, Goneril and Edmund arrive; they find that the Steward, Oswald, has already acquainted the Duke with the landing of the French, and he has received that and other news so strangely that Goneril, after something very like a declaration of love, sends Edmund back again. Albany now appears, and a scene of mutual recrimination takes place between him and Goneril, interrupted by a messenger who brings news of Cornwall's death. I mark this scene as a separate day, in consideration of the distance which Goneril and Edmund must have travelled between Gloucester's Castle and Albany's Palace; otherwise it contains no special note of time.

An interval.

Day 8. Act IV. sc. iii. The French camp near Dover. Kent discusses with a gentleman the manner of Cordelia's receiving the letters he had sent her (in Act III. sc. i.). Some short interval between Days 7 and 8 should probably be supposed; as the news now

is that the forces of Albany and Cornwall are afoot (l. 50-1), which was not the case on the former day. Lear is in Dover, and in his sane moments remembers what has happened; but his deep shame keeps him from the presence of Cordelia.

Day 9. Act IV. sc. iv. I am not sure that I am right in making this scene the commencement of a separate day; it may possibly be the continuation of Day No. 8, or it may be separated from that day by an interval of a day or two. Time is not marked except by the succession of events, but on the whole they induce me to suppose this the morrow of Day No. 8. Lear has been met in the fields, crowned with wild flowers, and Cordelia sends out in search of him. The news is that "The British powers are marching hitherward" (1. 21).

[Act IV. sc. v. The scene shifts to Gloucester's Castle, or, as some editors make it, Regan's Palace. Goneril's steward, Oswald, has arrived with a letter from his Mistress for Edmund; but "he is posted hence on serious matter" (l. 8). Albany's troops, it seems, are already in the field, Regan's are to "set forth to-morrow" (l. 16). Regan warns the Steward that she intends to take Edmund for herself, and she offers him preferment if he can cut off old Gloucester. The position of this scene should mark it as occurring on the same day as scenes iv. and vi.; but the news as to the movement of the troops favours the notion that it represents an earlier date; moreover, if it is allowed to retain its present place, we are called on to believe that Oswald, who again makes his appearance in sc. vi., is present with Regan, and is at Dover on one and the same day. Its true place seems to be in the interval I have marked between Days 7 and 8, and Eccles actually transposes it to that position, making it, however, the evening of the day represented in Act IV. sc. ii., my Day 7. On the whole I think it best to enclose it within brackets, as in other cases of scenes which I suppose to be out of the due order of time.—See As You Like it, Antony and Cleopatra, and Cymbeline.]

Act IV. sc. vi. Gloucester and Edgar arrive near Dover. Edgar persuades his father that he has thrown himself without injury from the summit of the cliff. While they are discoursing Lear makes

his appearance, crowned with wild flowers. The people sent out by Cordelia to secure him now enter, and he runs off, pursued by them; one gentleman, however, remaining a little behind, informs Edgar that the English army is "near and on speedy foot; the main descry / Stands on the hourly thought." I do not pretend to understand this gentleman's language, but no doubt his meaning is that the English army is expected hourly to make its appearance; and indeed, at the end of the scene a drum is heard afar off. After the departure of this gentleman the Steward enters and attempts the life of Gloucester, but is himself slain by Edgar.

Day 10. And last. Observe that this must be a separate day if Act IV. sc. v. is properly placed; for Regan's troops which then were to set forth on the morrow are now present, led by Edmund. Indeed, but for the almost lightning-speed of the action, some little interval might be supposed between this and Day 9. The tap of the drum, heard in the last scene, is, however, against such an arrangement of the time.

Act IV. sc. vii. Lear has been found, and after long sleep (l. 18) awakes, with recovered mind, to be reconciled to Cordelia, on this the day of battle (see last line).

Act V. sc. i. to iii. For our purpose of ascertaining the "time" of the plot it is not necessary to trace the course of these scenes, they are all connected with the battle which now takes place, and end with the deaths of Regan, Goneril, Cordelia, and Lear; Gloucester and Edmund: and the "poor Fool" too, as I think, with Sir Joshua Reynolds; though most editors are agreed that this phrase is applied by the dying Lear in affectionate familiarity to Cordelia.

The longest period, including intervals, that can be allowed for this Play is one month; though perhaps little more than three weeks is sufficient. My division of the time, in days, is as follows:—

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

" 2. Act I. sc. ii.

An Interval of something less than a fortnight.

- " 3. Act I. sc. iii., iv. and v.
- " 4. Act II. sc. i. and ii.

Day 5. Act II. sc. iii. and iv., Act III. sc. i.—vi.

- 6. Act III. sc. vii., Act IV. sc. i.
- 7. Act IV. sc. ii.
 Perhaps an *Interval* of a day or two.
- " 8. Act IV. sc. iii.
- ,, 9. Act IV. sc. iv., v. and vi. [But see comment on sc. v.]
- ,, 10. Act IV. sc. vii., Act V. sc. i.—iii.

It is perhaps well to remind the reader that sc. iii. of Act IV., to which I assign a separate day (No. 8), is not represented in the Folio at all. Either version (Quarto and Folio) contains passages not found in the other; but these passages (now combined in our modern texts) need no consideration in determining the time of the action.

I add the scheme of time adopted by my predecessor, Eccles (see note at the end of *Merchant of Venice*).

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

An interval of many months, during which Lear has resided alternately with both his daughters. To get this long interval Eccles is compelled to consider Lear's speech, Act I. sc. iv.—"What, fifty of my followers at a clap! Within a fortnight!"—either as "an unhappy oversight," or as having relation only to the month he is now spending with Goneril. He further severs the connection of Act I. sc. ii. with Act I. sc. i. by consigning to the margin Gloucester's speech—"the king gone to-night," etc.—which I have quoted in Day 2, and transposes the scene bodily to the beginning of Act II. (my Day 4), thereby also getting rid of the difficulty I have noted in sc. i. of that Act,—Edmund's long concealment in his father's castle.

,, 2. Act I. sc. iii., iv. and v.

" 3. Act I. sc. ii., Act II. sc. i. to iv., and Act III. sc. i. to vi.

, 4. Act III. sc. vii., and Act IV. sc. i.

,, 5. Act IV. sc. ii. and sc. v.—See my comment on sc. v.

, 6. Act IV. sc. iii., iv. and vi.

" 7. Act IV. sc. vii.

" 8. Act V.

Mr. Eccles' scheme, however ingenious in some respects, cannot, I think, be reconciled with the notes of time the Play itself contains.

OTHELLO.

First printed in Quarto (many passages omitted); the only divisions marked are Acts II., IV., and V. In the Folio the play is divided into acts and scenes; sc. iii. of Act II. is, however, not numbered.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. to iii. The whole time comprised in this Act is but an hour or two of one night. It is clear that Othello has only this night taken Desdemona from her father's house and married her. He sets out for Cyprus within an hour of the breaking up of the meeting in the Senate house, leaving to Iago to follow him with Desdemona.

An interval; the voyage to Cyprus.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Cyprus. Cassio, who quitted Venice at the same time as Othello, but in another ship, is the first to arrive. Iago, with Desdemona, etc., arrives next, and Cassio remarks of him that—

"—his footing here anticipates our thoughts A se'ennight's speed."

Othello next lands in the Island, with wonder, great as his content, to find his wife here before him. Iago plots with Roderigo the affray to take place at night, by means of which he hopes to displant Cassio.

Act II. sc. ii. This same day a herald proclaims "full liberty of feasting from this present hour of five till the bell have told eleven;" for besides the beneficial news of the perdition of the Turkish fleet, it is the celebration of Othello's nuptial.

Act II. sc. iii. At night the quarrel, concerted by Iago and Roderigo, takes place on the court of guard, and ends in Cassio being dismissed from his office. Councelled by Iago, he resolves to apply to Desdemona the next morning to obtain his pardon, and Iago plots to make this the occasion of poisoning Othello's mind by bringing

"him jump when he may Cassio find / Soliciting his wife." It is morning when Iago ends this scene. Roderigo, who returns to Iago after the affray is over, complains:—"I do follow here in the chase, not like a hound that hunts, but one that fills up the cry. My money is almost spent:" etc. etc. Considering that this is his first night on the island, this speech is somewhat unreasonable and embarrassing.

Day 3. Act III. sc. i. Cassio, who has not been a-bed, appears with musicians before the castle to bid "Good morrow, general." Iago joins him, and sends out Emilia to bring him in to speak with Desdemona.

Act III. sc. ii. Othello gives letters to Iago to be sent off by the Pilot to the Senate with his duty, and bids him then repair to him on the fortifications, which he goes off to inspect.

Act III. sc. iii. Cassio has his interview with Desdemona, who promises to intercede for him. As Iago had plotted, he now with Othello appears on the scene, and Cassio, who dares not yet face his general, abruptly departs, giving Iago occasion to drop a hint at his stealing away so "guilty-like." For the moment, this hint produces little effect, and at Desdemona's intercession. Othello promises her that he will reinstate Cassio, "let him come when he will." On this promise she leaves him with Iago, who at once renews his provocation of Othello's jealousy, and then departs leaving him to chew the bitter cud. Desdemona, re-entering with Emilia, disperses his suspicions; she comes to call him in to the dinner to which he has invited the generous islanders. Othello complaining of a pain in the forehead, she offers him the handkerchief to bind his head. puts it from him and it drops, and they go out together. Emilia. who remains, picks up the handkerchief, which her wayward husband hath a hundred times [when?] woo'd her to steal. Iago re-entering obtains it from her and sends her off; he determines to lose it in Cassio's lodging and let him find it, and by his possession of it afford a proof to the Moor of Desdemona's guilt. While he is thus contriving the course of his villainy, Othello-who but a few minutes before left the scene to feast the generous islandersre-enters, his jealousy revived, and flaming mountains high. Iago artfully adds fuel to the fire; tells him of Cassio's talk in sleep ("I lay with Cassio lately." When? Cassio has not been a-bed since his arrival in Cyprus), of his possession of the handkerchief,—yet on his own person—and works him into a state of blind, murderous rage. He charges Iago with the death of Cassio—

"Within these three days let me hear thee say That Cassio's not alive;"—

and withdraws to furnish himself

"—with some swift means of death For the fair devil,"—Desdemona.

From the commencement of Act II.—the arrival in Cyprus—up to this point, the end of sc. iii. Act III., although the dialogue is full of allusions and statements necessarily supposing and requiring the lapse of a considerable period of time since the arrival, there is yet no loop-hole for escape from the fact that we have yet arrived but to mid-day of the second day in Cyprus, and at this point Desdemona's fate is sealed. Long time between the effect and cause would now be inconsistent with the violence of the Moor's passion, and we shall find that the following scenes only comprise the remainder of this second day in Cyprus, ending at night with the murder of the heroine.

Act III. sc. iv. Desdemona, yet unconscious of her husband's jealousy, sends for Cassio:—"tell him I have moved my Lord on his behalf." Clearly a reference to her intercession at the beginning of Act III. sc. iii.; as also is the dialogue between her and Othello when he appears in the present scene.

"Des. —— Come now, your promise.

Oth. What promise, chuck?

Des. I have sent to bid Cassio come speak with you."

Othello now enters to ascertain for himself whether she has parted with the handkerchief. "Would he have let an hour elapse," as Professor Wilson cogently asks, "before making the enquiry?" The certainty of its loss makes him break away in "strange unquietness," as Emilia mildly puts it. Cassio, with Iago, now enters to renew

his suit; but the time is not propitious, and Desdemona prays him to "walk hereabout" till she can effect something in his behalf. Left alone, Cassio is visited by Bianca, who complains that he has absented himself from her for a week. An attempt has been made to explain this note of time by supposing it to refer to a previous connection of Cassio with Bianca in Venice. It must, however, be confessed that this explanation is not entirely satisfactory. (See note 9, p. 218, Var. ed. 1821, vol. ix.) Cassio, who—as Iago had plotted—has now got the handkerchief, gives it to Bianca to have the work taken out, i. e. copied, before its owner shall demand it from him. She asks him to see her soon at night, and he promises that he will see her soon.

Act IV. sc. i. Iago continues to stir the Moor's jealousy, and works on his passion till he falls into a fit. At this moment Cassio enters, and Iago telling him that "This is his second fit; he had one yesterday" (again an impossible note of long time), bids him retire for a while and return presently, when Othello is gone. The Moor recovers, and Iago places him where he may overhear, unseen, his conversation with Cassio. Cassio re-entering, Iago so manages this conversation that while they really talk of Bianca, Othello is made to believe that Desdemona is referred to. Hereupon Bianca returns with the handkerchief which Cassio had given her even now, in the preceding scene; she accuses him, in her jealousy, of having received it from some other mistress; and flounces out, telling him angrily, "An you'll come to supper to-night you may; an you will not, come when you are next prepared for." Iago sends Cassio off after her, and agrees to meet him at supper with her. Othello now comes forward: the sight of the handkerchief has hardened him against the love and pity yet struggling in his bosom, and he resolves to strangle Desdemona in her bed this night; while Iago undertakes the death of Cassio. A trumpet now announces the arrival of Lodovico. from Venice, with letters from the Duke and Senators to Othello, commanding him home, and deputing Cassio in his government, Desdemona enters with Lodovico. Othello, on her expressing satisfaction at Cassio's promotion, strikes her and drives her in. He invites Lodovico to sup with him this night.

Act IV. sc. ii. Othello questions Emilia as to her mistress's conduct; he then in private with Desdemona directly accuses her of unchastity, and leaves her; Emilia returns, endeavours to console her mistress, and fetches Iago, who offers his hypocritical condolings. The trumpets then "summon to supper. / The Messengers of Venice stay the meat." Exeunt Desdemona and Emilia, and enter Roderigo. Here again Iago makes a cat's-paw of the foolish Roderigo, and engages him to assassinate Cassio this night as he returns from supper with Bianca, between twelve and one. Here again, too, Roderigo embarrasses us mightily with the reproaches with which he assails Iago. Every day, it appears, he has been daffed off with some device or other; he will endure it no longer; he has wasted himself out of his means; the jewels Iago has had from him to deliver to Desdemona would half have corrupted a votarist; etc. etc. And yet this is only the second day of his sojourn in Cyprus.

Act IV. sc. iii. After the supper. "Enter Othello, Lodovico, Desdemona, Emilia, and Attendants." Othello bids his wife to get to bed on the instant, and goes out to walk a little way with his guests. Desdemona, attended by Emilia, prepares for bed. Scene closes.

Act V. sc. i. Iago places Roderigo where he may waylay Cassio on his return from Bianca's. Cassio enters. Roderigo "makes a pass at Cassio;" Cassio "draws and wounds Roderigo." "Iago from behind wounds Cassio in the leg, and exit." Roderigo and Cassio both fall, and Cassio calls for help. Othello enters, and hearing the cries, supposes that Iago is about his work, and so goes out to effect his.

Lodovico and Gratiano enter, attracted by the cries of Cassio and Roderigo; Iago joins them, as though newly risen from bed, and slyly gives Roderigo a finishing stab. Bianca enters, and Iago tries to cast suspicion on her. Emilia also arrives. Iago sends her to the Citadel to "tell my Lord and Lady what hath happ'd," and, with the others, carries off Cassio. It should be remarked that the stage directions here are not in the Quartos or Folios; they, however, give the obvious business of the scene correctly.

Act V. sc. ii. The last. Desdemona asleep in bed. Othello enters.—No need now to dwell on the details of the dreadful tragedy

which ensues. The time is insuperably fixed as the night of the second day in Cyprus.

The time, then, of this tragedy is three days; with one interval.

Day 1. Act I. in Venice.

Interval: the voyage to Cyprus.

2. Act II.

3. Acts III., IV. and V. in Cyprus.

Note.—Professor Wilson (see Tran. N. Sh. Soc. for 1875-6, part ii. p. 358-87) has so ably-and amusingly-discussed the plot of this play, both as regards long and short time, and decides so emphatically that the solution of its mystery is only to be found in the "Tremendous Double-Time at Cyprus," that it may seem rash on my part to hint that he has not quite done justice to a theory of long time at Venice, which would in some degree relieve our perplexity. He sets up and very ably knocks down again a theory of long time at Venice after marriage, and I fully agree with him, that on the night represented in the opening scenes in Venice, Othello then first takes Desdemona from her father's house and marries her. and does not consummate the marriage till they arrive in Cyprus; but he has only a "Pah! Faugh!" to bestow on the theory of long time at Venice before marriage. "I cannot believe," says he, "if Shakespeare intended an infidelity taking precedency of the marriage, that he would not by word or hint have said so." He, however, entirely omits notice of the fact that the very foundation on which Iago builds up Othello's monstrous jealousy is the connection, so repeatedly referred to, of Cassio with Desdemona before the marriage; and of his having been from first to last the confidant of Othello's wooing, going between the lovers very oft. Surely this is a pretty strong hint; and Othello, in Act IV. sc. ii., where he first directly accuses Desdemona of unchastity, gives another, pretty strong too-

> "I cry you mercy, then: I took you for that cunning whore of Venice That married with Othello."

Wilson's argument too as regards Emilia can scarcely be considered satisfactory. He asserts that Othello's request, on going aboard at Venice, to Iago-"I prithee, let thy wife attend on her"-"is N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

conclusive evidence to Emilia's being then first placed about Desdemona's person. It has no sense else; nor is there the slightest ground for supposing a prior acquaintance, at least intimacy. What had an Ensign's wife to do with a Nobleman's daughter?" etc. That he should place this as an argument before his submissive subjects is "conclusive evidence" of the autocratic power of Christopher North; but that he should expect the outside world to receive it as such supposes a belief in human gullibility infinitely amusing. anyone not wholly given up to "double-time," Othello's request might seem reasonable evidence in favour of a prior acquaintance between Emilia and Desdemona; and such a one would have no greater difficulty in believing that an Ensign's wife might have to do with a Nobleman's unmarried daughter than in believing, as he must, that she has to do with her after her marriage. Rightly considered, there is, moreover, good ground for supposing a prior acquaintance, in the very first lines of the Play-

"Tush! never tell me;" says Roderigo, "I take it much unkindly That thou, Iago, who hast had my purse As if the strings were thine, shouldst know of this," etc.

The speech is unintelligible, Roderigo's whole connection with Iago is impossible, except on the supposition that Iago has for some time previous to the commencement of the action been fooling the poor gull on the strength of his acquaintance, and therefore probably of Emilia's acquaintance with Desdemona. It offers the only possible explanation of the reproaches with which Roderigo assails Iago here and in subsequent scenes in Cyprus, Act II. sc. iii., Act IV. sc. ii. The "hundred times" that Iago has woo'd his wife to steal the handkerchief (Act III. sc. iii.); Othello's questioning with Emilia (Act IV. sc. ii.), and numerous incidents of her connection with Desdemona, are only possible on the supposition of this prior

¹ This handkerchief was the Moor's *first* gift to Desdemona (see Act III. se. iii. l. 291 and 436, and Act V. sc. ii. l. 215); a *betrothal* gift, not a *marriage* present: so at least 1 interpret the lines—

[&]quot;And bid me, when my fate would have me wive, To give it her." (Act III. sc. iv. l. 64-5.)

acquaintance, for the belief in which Wilson sees not the slightest ground.¹

But though I think it must be admitted that long time at Venice before marriage is an element worthy of consideration as affording some explanation of many otherwise simply impossible incidents of the play, I am forced to admit that this explanation is far from satisfactory. Incidents such as the recall of Othello by the Senate before it could be known that he had landed in Cyprus are not affected by it in the least. Long time at Cyprus after marriage is absolutely necessary for the probability of the plot; but before I seek refuge in the unexplained and inexplicable mystery of "double time," 2 I should like to be convinced that the author himself did not provide it. I say, with Professor Wilson, that, "with his creative powers, if he was determined to have Two Calendar Months from the First of May to the First of July, and then in One Day distinctly the first suspicion sown and the murder done, nothing could have been easier to him than to have imagined, and indicated, and hurried over, the required gap of time." Long familiarity with Shakespeare's work has convinced me, as it must have convinced most students, that we cannot with certainty affirm that any of his plays have reached us in the state in which they left his hands: in some cases their corruption and mutilation for stage purposes can be proved to demonstration, and it is quite possible that in Othello some scenes may have been struck out and others so run together as to confuse the time-plot originally laid down by the author. The links in the chain of time, the absence of which so startles the reader, would not be, and indeed are not, missed in the visible action on the stage; but we should not therefore rashly jump to the conclusion that they never existed, and therefore that the author deliberately

¹ Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, however, calls attention to the time occupied by the voyage to Cyprus as suggesting a *possible* explanation with reference to Emilia's "hundred times."

² "Talboys. Through that mystery, you alone, sir, are the man to help us through—and you must.

North. Not now-to-morrow. Till then be revolving the subject occasionally in your minds.*

^{*} Professor Wilson never resumed the subject in Blackwood.-ED."

designed an impossible plot. The play was first printed in an abridged form in 1622, six years after the death of its author, and but for the more complete version in the Folio edition of the following year, the abridgment in the Quarto could never have been detected; and the Folio itself is not above suspicion: with reference to one passage of this play, Malone notes—"A careful comparison of the Quartos and Folio incline me to believe that many of the variations, which are found in the later copy, did not come from the pen of Shakspeare" (p. 403, vol. ix. ed. 1821).

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

FIRST printed in the Folio, with no division of acts and scenes.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Alexandria. Messengers arrive with news from Rome for Antony; he will not hear them, and disposes himself for mirth with Cleopatra.

Act I. sc. ii. The same. On the sudden, a Roman thought hath struck Antony, and he sends for the Messengers; their news determines him to depart at once. One item is the death of Fulvia (B.C. 40).

Act I. sc. iii. The same. Antony takes leave of Cleopatra.

Act I. sc. iv. Rome. Octavius and Lepidus comment on the disorders of Antony; they prepare to oppose Pompey and his allies. This scene in Rome may probably be bracketed in point of time with the preceding scenes in Alexandria.

An Interval—some forty days.

Day 2. Act I. sc. v. Alexandria. Alexas brings a message and a present of a pearl to Cleopatra from Antony. On his journey he has met "twenty several messengers" sent by the Queen to Antony, and she says,

"He shall have every day a several greeting."

We may suppose then an interval of some forty days between the departure of Antony from Alexandria and the return to it of Alexas; but this also requires us to suppose that Alexas quitted Antony while yet but half way on the journey to Rome, if, as I suppose, this scene in Alexandria is to be considered coincident with Act II. sc. ii., Antony's arrival in Rome.

Act II. sc. i. Messina. "Enter Pompey, Menecrates, and Menas, in warlike manner." Menas has heard that Cæsar and Lepidus are in the field. This news Pompey declares to be false; he knows they are in Rome looking for Antony. Varrius brings intelligence that Antony has left Egypt, and is hourly expected in Rome.

Act II. sc. ii. Rome (B.C. 40). The Triumvirs meet, and Cæsar and Antony are reconciled; the latter accepting, as a bond of union, Octavia, Cæsar's sister, for his wife. Antony agrees to join with Cæsar and Lepidus in opposing Pompey. The affair requires haste:

"Yet," says he, "ere we put ourselves in arms, dispatch we The business [the marriage] that we talk'd of;"

and Cæsar leads him straight to view his sister. Enobarbus then gives Agrippa his famous description of the meeting of Antony with Cleopatra (B.C. 41—40).

Act II. sc. iii. The same. "Enter Antony, Cæsar, Octavia betweene them." The first lines of this scene must represent the termination of the meeting proposed in the preceding scene. At the end of it Antony bids Octavia and Cæsar good night, and she and Cæsar evidently go out together; though the only stage direction is "Exit." We are, then, clearly in Antony's first day in Rome; yet his conversation with the Soothsayer, who now enters, would suppose the lapse of some time since his arrival: he addresses him-"Now, sirrah, you do wish yourself in Egypt?" and the Soothsayer admits it both for his own sake and Antony's; for he-and Antony himself —has noted that in Cæsar's presence Antony's genius is abashed: at games of hazard, at cock and quail fighting, he still has been worsted. Antony resolves that he will return to Egypt; for

> "-though I make this marriage for my peace, I' the east my pleasure lies."

He also now commissions Ventidius for Parthia as-immediately

before his meeting with Cæsar—he had resolved to do, if things went well (see l. 15, Act II. sc. i.). This commission also gives a note as of time past since his arrival in Rome. The fact is, distant periods of time are brought together in this scene, as in many other places of the drama. In Plutarch the facts dwelt on by the Soothsayer, and Ventidius's mission, follow the meeting with Pompey represented in sc. vi. and vii. of Act II. In "dramatic" time I conceive that all these scenes, in Alexandria, Messina, and Rome, from Act I. sc. v. to Act II. sc. iii., should be included in Day No. 2.

Day 3. Act II. sc. iv. Lepidus sets out on the expedition against Pompey. He prays Mecænas and Agrippa to hasten their generals after. Agrippa replies that—

"——Mark Antony Will e'en but kiss Octavia, and we'll follow."

The morrow of Day 2 may be assigned to this scene, which may also be supposed the day of Antony's marriage (B.C. 40).

An interval. Time for the news of Antony's marriage to reach Alexandria; and for the Triumvirs to meet with Pompey near Misenum.

Day 4. Act II. sc. v. Alexandria. Cleopatra receives the news of Antony's marriage with Octavia.

Act II. sc. vi. and vii. Near Misenum (B.C. 39). The Triumvirs meet with Pompey and come to terms. Pompey feasts them on board his galley. These two scenes may, without much difficulty, be supposed coincident with the preceding sc. v. in Alexandria.

An interval (?); time for the Triumvirs to return to Rome.

Day 5. Act III. sc. i. Syria. Ventidius as it were in triumph; having defeated the Parthians (B.C. 38). He sets out for Athens, whither he hears that Antony purposeth. This Syrian scene and the Roman scene which follows may, I think,—notwithstanding the shuffling of the historic dates—be included in the dramatic Day No. 5.

Act III. sc. ii. Rome (B.C. 39). Antony and Octavia take leave of Cæsar and depart for Athens. Enobarbus commences the scene with—

"They have dispatch'd with Pompey, he is gone;
The other three [the Triumvirs] are sealing. Octavia weeps
To part from Rome; Cæsar is sad; and Lepidus,
Since Pompey's feast, as Menas says, is troubled
With the green sickness."

These lines annihilate time and space. Dramatically Misenum and Rome become one. The treaty with Pompey concluded at Misenum becomes a Roman business; and the interval I have marked between this and the preceding act is of dubious propriety. It becomes still more so if we include in Day 5 the following scene, which certainly cannot be later than the morrow of Act II. sc. v.

[Act III. sc. iii. Alexandria. Cleopatra has again before her the messenger who brought her news of Antony's marriage. She consoles herself with his depreciatory account of Octavia's beauty. Time is so shuffled in these scenes that I find it extremely difficult to make out any consistent scheme; on the whole I incline to transfer this scene to Day 4, and accordingly place it within brackets. It might follow, in stage representation, sc. vi. and vii. of Act II., or, better perhaps, come between them, thus affording variety to the audience and an equal distribution of repose and action to the players.]

An interval—much wanted historically—may now be marked.

Day 6. Act III. sc. iv. Athens (B.C. 37—35). Dissensions have broken out between Antony and Cæsar. Octavia offers to mediate between them, and Antony gives her leave to depart on her embassy.

Act III. sc. v. The same. Enobarbus and Eros. Further details of the dissensions between the Triumvirs. Cæsar, after the new war with Pompey, and the death of the latter (B.C. 35), has deposed and imprisoned Lepidus.

An interval; Octavia's journey from Athens to Rome.

Day 7. Act III. sc. vi. Rome (B.C. 36—32). The news is that Antony, whom we last met in Athens, has returned to Alexandria and Cleopatra, and is preparing for war with Cæsar. Octavia enters to learn this news, which has arrived before her, and to find her embassy hopeless.

An interval.

Day 8. Act III. sc. vii. Antony's camp near Actium. Cæsar with speed beyond belief has arrived with his forces. Antony, led by Cleopatra, and against the advice of his generals, resolves to fight him by sea.

Day 9. Act III. sc. viii. and ix. Alternately in Cæsar's and Antony's camp. Preparations for the sea fight.

Act III. sc. x. The land armies on both sides march over the stage, one one way, one the other. Noise of the sea fight within (B.C. 31). Cleopatra flies, followed by Antony, toward Peloponnessus. Canidius, Antony's land general, resolves, as others have done, to submit to Cæsar. Enobarbus and Scarus follow Antony.

The time of these last four scenes, vii. to x., I have divided between Days 8 and 9; probably the correct "dramatic" time, with which alone we are concerned.

An interval.

Day 10. Act III. sc. ii. "Enter Antony with Attendants." He bids them divide his treasure among them, and fly from him for safety. Cleopatra enters to excuse herself for her flight and to comfort him. Antony it seems has sent his schoolmaster, as Ambassador to Cæsar. "We sent our schoolmaster; / Is he come back?"

Editors place this scene at Alexandria, and it was from that place that he despatched his schoolmaster, Euphronius, as Ambassador. The chief part of the scene, the distribution of his treasure, and first meeting with Cleopatra, after the flight from Actium, took place at Tœnarus, on board Cleopatra's galley. No locality is named in the Folio. Two distinct periods of time are knit together in this scene.

Act III. sc. xii. Cæsar's camp (B.C. 30). Before Alexandria it is to be presumed; though Euphronius, who now appears, was sent to Cæsar in Asia. Cæsar rejects Antony's petition to be allowed to live in Egypt or, failing that, as a private man in Athens. To Cleopatra he promises favor

"——so she From Egypt drive her all-disgraced friend, Or take his life there." Euphronius departing, Cæsar sends Thyreus to win Cleopatra from Antony.

Act III. sc. xiii. Alexandria. Euphronius returns to Antony, who determines to send Cæsar a challenge to single combat. Thyreus arrives on his embassy to Cleopatra. Antony, taking him kissing the Queen's hand, orders him to be whipped, and sends him back. He determines to have one more feast to-night. Enobarbus begins to waver in his loyalty to him.

Act IV. sc. i. Cæsar's camp. Cæsar reads and treats with disdain Antony's challenge. He determines that to-morrow he will fight "the last of many battles."

Act IV. sc. ii. Alexandria. Antony learns the rejection of his challenge by Cæsar. He resolves to fight him to-morrow by sea and land; and then, with Cleopatra and his captains, proceeds to supper, to drown consideration.

Act IV. sc. iii. The same. At night. Soldiers on guard. They refer to the land and sea fight purposed for to-morrow. They hear strange music in the air and under the earth, which they interpret to be the god Hercules, whom Antony loved, now leaving him.

All these scenes-Act III. sc. ii. to Act IV. sc. iii.-may, with dramatic propriety, be supposed to represent the business of one day, No. 10.

Day 11. Act IV. sc. iv. Alexandria. Early morning. Cleopatra helps to arm Antony. His captains come to bring him to the port.

Act IV. sc. v. Antony's camp. He learns the defection of Enobarbus, and sends his treasure after him.

Act IV. sc. vi. Cæsar's eamp. Cæsar orders Agrippa to begin the fight. A soldier informs Enobarbus, who is now with Cæsar's army, of Antony's bounty. In his shame and grief he resolves to seek some ditch wherein to die.

Act IV. sc. vii. The field of battle. Antony beats Cæsar to his camp.

Act IV. sc. viii. Antony returns from the field, resolving to renew the fight to-morrow. He is received into the town by Cleopatra.

Act IV. sc. ix. Cæsar's camp. At night. The sentinels overhear the last words of Enobarbus, who dies of a broken heart. They carry out his body.

Day 12. Act IV. sc. x. and xi. Both Antony and Cæsar prepare for the day's battle.

Act IV. sc. xii. Antony beholds his fleet yielded to the foe, and gives up all for lost. Believing himself to be betrayed by Cleopatra, he resolves to be revenged on her. She flies from him.

Act IV. sc. xiii. Alexandria. Cleopatra takes refuge in the monument, and sends Mardian to Antony to report that she has slain herself.

Act IV. sc. xiv. The same. Antony and Eros: Mardian brings the story of Cleopatra's death. Antony, now convinced of her truth, resolves not to out-live her, and calls on Eros to fulfil his promise and slay him. Eros consents, but turns his sword on his own breast and dies. Antony, thus compelled to be his own executioner, wounds himself, but not effectually. Dercetas, with the guard, come at his call, but refuse to complete his work. Dercetas takes his sword, resolving to carry it to Cæsar. Diomedes comes from Cleopatra, who dreading the effect of the report of her death on Antony, sends to inform him of the truth. He then, with some of the guard, carries off the dying Antony to the monument.

Act IV. sc. xv. The monument. Cleopatra and her maids take up Antony into the monument, where he dies in her arms (B.C. 30). She and her maids bear him out to burial.

Act V. sc. i. Cæsar's camp. Dercetas brings the sword of Antony and the news of his death. An Egyptian comes from Cleopatra to learn what intents Cæsar bears towards her. Cæsar sends Proculeius and Gallus to her.

Act V. sc. ii. Alexandria. Cleopatra parleys with Proculcius and Gallus at the gate of the monument. While Gallus holds her in talk, Proculeius and two of the guard ascend by a ladder, enter the monument and seize her, to prevent her slaying herself. Gallus goes with the news of her capture to Cæsar, who sends Dollabella to take charge of her. From him she learns that Cæsar intends to carry her in triumph to Rome. Cæsar comes to visit her and sooth

her; she, however, has determined to end her life, and after his departure gives certain instructions to Charmian. Dolabella re-enters to inform her that within three days it is Cæsar's intention to send her away. He then bids her adieu. Charmian returns, and is quickly followed by a country fellow bearing a basket of figs. Arrayed in her royal robes, the crown upon her head, Cleopatra and her maids prepare for death: the means, the aspics contained in the basket brought in by the Clown. Iras dies first; then Cleopatra (B.C. 30), and the Guard rush in as Charmian last of all applies an asp and dies. Cæsar enters to view the scene of death, and orders the burial of Cleopatra with her Antony.

Much of the business of this scene—not easily to be gathered from the drama itself—is derived by the Editors from Plutarch's history of Mark Antony, on which the Play is founded. I am in some doubt whether a separate day, the morrow of Day 12, should not be marked for these last two scenes, Act V. sc. i. and ii.; historically of course some time elapsed between the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra; but all these scenes from Act IV. sc. x. to the end of the Play are dramatically so closely connected, that in the absence of any specific note of time which would justify this division, I have deemed it best to include them all in one day, the last.

Time of the Play, twelve days represented on the stage; with intervals.

- Day 1. Act I. sc. i.—iv.

 Interval—40 days?
 - " 2. Act I. sc. v., Act II. sc. i.—iii.
 - ,, 3. Act II. sc. iv.
 - ,, 4. Act II. sc. v.—vii. [Act III. sc. iii.]

 Interval?
 - ,, 5. Act III. sc. i. and ii.

 [Act III. sc. iii. See Day 4.]

 Interval.
 - ,, 6. Act III. sc. iv. and v. Interval.

Day 7. Act III. sc. vi. Interval.

- ., 8. Act III. sc. vii.
- ,, 9. Act III. sc. viii.—x.
- ,, 10. Act III. sc. xi.—xiii., Act IV. sc. i.—iii.
- ,, 11. Act IV. sc. iv.—ix.
- " 12. Act IV. sc. x.—xv., Act V. sc. i. and ii. Historic time, about ten years: B.C. 40 to B.C. 30.

CYMBELINE.

First printed in the Folio. Divided into acts and scenes. In Act I., however, the Folio commences sc. ii. with the entry of the Queen, l. 101: the subsequent scenes of this Act, ii., iii., iv., v. and vi. in Globe edition, are therefore numbered in the Folio iii., iv., v., vi. and vii. In Act II. sc. v. is not numbered in the Folio. In Act III. the Folio makes scene vii. commence after the entry of Imogen into the cave. The scene vii. of the Globe edition is therefore numbered viii. in the Folio.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. The Garden of Cymbeline's Palace. Two Gentlemen, by way of Prologue, discuss the position of affairs. Posthumus has wedded the King's daughter Imogen, for which offence she is imprisoned, he sentenced to banishment. The King himself has lately married a widow, to whose only son, Cloten, he had proposed to marry Imogen. Some twenty years ago the King's two sons, the eldest of them at three years old, the other in swathing-clothes, were stolen from their nursery, and have not been heard of since. The Queen, Posthumus, and Imogen now enter. Posthumus comes to take leave of his wife. The Queen has favoured their meeting with the view of more incensing the King against them, and she now goes out to send him where he may surprise them. They exchange gifts; Imogen gives him a ring, Posthumus places a bracelet on her arm. The King enters and reviles them. Posthumus

departs. The Queen re-entering is charged with the custody of Imogen. Pisanio, Posthumus's servant, comes to offer his services to his mistress; she sends him to see her husband aboard.

Act I. sc. ii. Cloten boasts his valour in an encounter with Posthumus, while the latter was on his way to his ship.

Act I. sc. iii. Pisanio gives an account to Imogen of Posthumus's departure.

An interval. Posthumus's journey to Rome.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iv. Rome. Posthumus arrives at his friend Philario's house. Provoked by Iachimo he wages his ring against ten thousand ducats on his wife's chastity. Iachimo prepares to depart immediately for Britain to put it to the test.

An interval. Iachimo's journey to Britain.

Day 3. Act I. sc. v. In Cymbeline's Palace. The Queen obtains from Dr Cornelius a drug which she believes to be poison, but which he, suspecting her intentions, has taken care shall only be a sleeping potion. She then tries to shake the fidelity of Pisanio to his master, but finding him firm she presents him, as in friendship, with the drug as a most sovereign medicine; hoping that he may take it and perish by it.

Another possible arrangement in time for this sc. v. would be to make it concurrent with Day No. 2; or again, it might have a separate day assigned to it, to be placed in the interval marked for Iachimo's journey to Britain. Eccles supposes it to occur at some time between the arrival of Posthumus in Rome and the arrival of Iachimo in Britain. Its position as the early morning of Day 3, "whiles yet the dew's on ground," is, however, quite consistent with my scheme of time.

Act I. sc. vi. Pisanio presents Iachimo to Imogen. He brings letters to her from Posthumus, and after Pisanio's exit at once proceeds in his attempt on her virtue, and is repulsed. He then satisfies her that his attempt was only a trial of her fidelity, and begs her to take charge, for the one night that he can remain in Britain, of a trunk

supposed to contain valuable presents for the Emperor of Rome. She promises for its safety to have it placed in her bed-chamber.

Act II. sc. i. Cloten chafes at his losses at a game at bowls. He is told of the arrival of Iachimo, and resolves to see him, hoping to win from him at night what he has lost to-day at bowls.

Act II. sc. ii. Imogen's chamber: a trunk in one corner of it. Imogen lies reading in bed. It is almost midnight when she dismisses her attendant, requesting to be called by four o' the clock, and falls asleep.

Day 4 begins. Iachimo issues from the trunk; he observes the furniture and adornments of the room; takes from Imogen's arm her bracelet, and notes as a voucher of his success, stronger than ever law could make, a mole cinque-spotted on her left breast. The clock strikes three as he goes into the trunk. The scene closes.

Act II. sc. iii. An ante-chamber to Imogen's apartment. Early morning. Cloten has been gambling all night and has lost again. With whom has he been playing? Certainly not with Iachimo as he proposed to do in Act II. sc. i. He takes advantage of his being up so late to give his mistress some early morning music; for, in expectation of the divorce the King would force on Imogen, he is now courting her; and music he is advised will penetrate. The King and Queen find him here and commend his diligence. A Messenger now announces the arrival of ambassadors from Rome, one of whom is Caius Lucius. The King bids Cloten, when he has given good morning to his mistress, attend him, as he has need to employ him towards this Roman. Left alone, Cloten knocks at

^{*} Malone remarks on this scene,—"Our author is often careless in his computation of time. Just before Imogen went to sleep, she asked her attendant what hour it was, and was informed by her, it was almost midnight. Iachimo, immediately after she has fallen asleep, comes from the trunk, and the present soliloquy cannot have consumed more than a few minutes:—yet we are now told that it is three o'clock." Surely the many dramatic-time camels Malone must have swallowed should have enabled him to pass this little flie without straining. Stage time is not measured by the glass, and to an expectant audience the awful pause between the falling asleep of Imogen and the stealthy opening of the trunk from which Iachimo issues would be note and mark of time enough. Instances of the night of one day passing into the morning of the next in one unbroken scene are too frequent in these Plays to need more than a general reference.

Imogen's door, and tries to bribe one of her women to favour his suit. Imogen enters and repels his insolent attempts at courtship with scorn; she is troubled by the loss of her bracelet. She thinks she saw it this morning, and is confident last night 'twas on her arm. She leaves Cloten, who goes out vowing vengeance for his repulse.

An interval. Iachimo's return journey to Rome.

Day 5. Act II. sc. iv. Rome. In Philario's house. Philario gives a note of the time by his reference to the Roman embassy to Cymbeline.

"By this, your King Hath heard of great Augustus: Caius Lucius Will do's commission thoroughly:" etc.

Iachimo arrives. His information is that when he was at the Britain court, Caius Lucius was then expected, but not approached. As we have seen above, Caius Lucius arrived there on the day on which we must suppose that Iachimo left Britain. Iachimo now proceeds to the business of his journey, and convinces Posthumus of his wife's frailty. He acknowledges that he has lost the wager and gives Iachimo the ring.

Act II. sc. v. Posthumus soliloquizes on the deceit of womankind.

An interval; time for Posthumus's letters from Rome to arrive in Britain.

[Act III. sc. i. Britain. Cymbeline and his Court receive in state Caius Lucius, the ambassador, who comes to demand the tribute till lately paid to Rome. The tribute is denied, and Lucius denounces in the Emperor's name war against Britain. His office discharged, he is welcomed to the court, and bid "make pastime with us a day or two, or longer." The time of this scene is so evidently that of Day No. 4, that I am compelled to place it here within brackets as has been done in other cases where scenes are out of their due order as regards time. (See As You Like it, and Antony and Cleopatra.) Eccles transfers the scene to follow Act II. sc. iii., making it, as I suppose it to be, part of the day represented in that scene.]

Day 6. Act III. sc. ii. Cymbeline's Palace. Pisanio receives

letters from Posthumus ordering him to put Imogen to death. To enable him to train her forth for this purpose he also sends a letter to Imogen telling her he is in Cambria, and urging her to meet him at Milford-Haven. Imogen arranges with Pisanio to set out on the journey at once.

Act III. sc. iii. In Wales before the cave of Belarius. Enter Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus. Belarius, who now goes by the name of Morgan, lets us into the secret that the two young men, his companions—now called Polydore and Cadwall—are, unknown to themselves, the sons of Cymbeline, whom twenty years ago, when unjustly banished, he stole from their father's court. They all three proceed to hunt the deer.

This scene may be supposed concurrent with the preceding scene ii.

An interval, including one clear day. Imogen and Pisanio journey into Wales.

Day 7. Act III. sc. iv. The country near Milford-Haven. Enter Pisanio and Imogen. He reveals to her the purpose of their journey, and shews her Posthumus's letter commanding her death. Her first burst of horror and despair at the vile accusation made against her over, he persuades her to disguise herself as a page and endeavour to enter the service of the ambassador Lucius, who "comes to Milford-Haven to-morrow," so that dwelling haply near the residence of Posthumus she may find the means of unravelling the web of treachery which has immeshed them both. He provides her with the necessary disguise, and as a parting gift of value, gives her the drug received by him from the Queen in Act I. sc. v. He then hastens back to court.

An interval, including one clear day. Pisanio returns to court.

Day 8. Act III. sc. v. In Cymbeline's Palace. The ambassador Lucius takes his departure, and desires "a conduct over-land to Milford-Haven." Lucius has sojourned in Cymbeline's court since Day No. 4: since then the space between Rome and Britain has

been twice traversed—by Iachimo going to Rome, and by the post bringing letters from Posthumus to Pisanio—and Lucius himself appears to have informed the emperor of the failure of his embassy, and to have received a reply; for he says—

"My emperor hath wrote, I must from hence."

The "day or two, or longer" during which he was invited to rest at Court would hardly suffice for this, unless we are to imagine that Rome is only "behind the scenes, in the green-room." Yet more than a day or two is inconsistent with Cymbeline's remark immediately after Lucius's departure. He misses his daughter—

"She hath not appear'd
Before the Roman, nor to us hath tender'd
The duty of the day:" etc.

And this scene, be it observed, can not be put earlier in time, as with Act III. sc. i. was necessary; for Imogen's absence now is the consequence of those journeyings to and from Rome since Lucius's arrival.

The King sends to seek Imogen, and it then appears that she is really missing. Cloten remarks that he has not seen Pisanio, her old servant, these two days. Exeunt all but Cloten. To him enters Pisanio, who has returned to Court. Cloten bullies him into telling where his mistress has gone, and induces him to provide a suit of Posthumus's garments in which he resolves to set out in pursuit of Imogen.

Act III. sc. vi. Wales. Before the cave of Belarius. Enter Imogen, in boy's clothes. When Pisanio parted from her Milford was within ken, but since then for two nights together she has made the ground her bed, and now on the third evening she arrives faint with hunger and fatigue, before the cave of Belarius. If we suppose, as I think we may, this scene to occur on the same day as the preceding scene, we get—including this day, the day of her departure from Court, and the two intervals suggested by the time she has wandered alone—a period of five days, which may

N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

¹ See Professor Wilson's Time-Analysis of *Othello. N. S. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, part ii. p. 375.

be considered sufficient, dramatically, for the journeyings to and from the vicinity of Milford, and not altogether inconsistent with Cymbeline's remark as to her not having lately paid him the daily duty she was bound to proffer. She may have seen him on the day of her departure (Day 6); on the next three days she is absent from his presence, and on the fourth (this Day No. 8) he notices her absence and discovers that she has fled. Even Cloten's remark of his not having seen Pisanio for these two days need not form any serious objection to this scheme of time: and all we can say to Pisanio's remark on quitting Imogen, that Lucius would be at Milford-Haven on the morrow, is, that his prediction has not been verified.

Imogen goes into the cave in search of food, and Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus, returning from hunting, find her there and welcome her to their rustic hospitality. It is "almost night" when this scene closes.

[Act III. sc. vii. Rome. Enter two Senators and Tribunes. We learn that Lucius is appointed general of the army to be employed in the war in Britain. This army is to consist of the forces "remaining now in Gallia," supplemented with a levy of the gentry of Rome. This scene is evidently out of place. In any time-scheme it must come much earlier in the drama. Eccles, who properly, as I think, transfers sc. i. of Act III. to follow sc. iii. of Act II., also transfers this scene to follow sc. v. of Act II. as part of Day 5: I rather think it may be supposed to occupy part of the interval I have marked as "Time for Posthumus's letters from Rome to arrive in Britain."]

An interval, including one clear day. This interval is marked on the principle of allowing to Cloten for his journey into Wales, about the same time that has been allowed to Imogen and Pisanio.

Day 9. Act IV. sc. i. Wales. Enter Cloten, dressed as Posthumus. He has arrived near the place where he expects to meet with Imogen and her husband, and discourses of the vengeance he means to take on them both.

Act IV. sc. ii. The same. Before the cave of Belarius. Enter Belarius, Guiderius, Arviragus, and Imogen. Imogen is ill; they

pray her to remain with them and rest in the cave while they go a-hunting. She swallows some of the drug given to her by Pisanio and goes into the cave. Cloten enters; he is recognized by Belarius, who fearing an ambush goes out to reconnoitre with Arviragus, leaving Guiderius to deal with him. Cloten attempts to take him prisoner: exeunt fighting. Belarius and Arviragus return: they have found no companies abroad; Guiderius re-enters with the head of Cloten, whom he has killed in fight. He goes out again to throw it in the creek. Belarius determines that they will hunt no more to-day and sends Arviragus into the cave; Guiderius rejoins him, and Arviragus comes out of the cave again to them with Imogen in his arms, as dead. Belarius proposes that Cloten shall be buried with "Fidele," and goes out to fetch the body. They lay them together, strew flowers on them, and exeunt. After a time Imogen awakes from the sleep into which the drug had cast her, and seeing the headless body by her side dressed in her husband's clothes, takes it for Posthumus and casts herself on the body to die. Then, Enter Lucius, Captains, and a Soothsayer. A captain informs Lucius-

> "—the legions garrison'd in Gallia, After your will, have crossed the sea, attending You here at Milford-Haven with your ships: They are in readiness."

He also tells him, that the confiners and gentlemen of Italy, under the conduct of bold Iachimo, are expected to arrive with the next benefit o' the wind.

Lucius finds Imogen lying on the body of Cloten, and after questioning her as to her fortunes, engages her in his service and orders the burial of the body.

An interval—a few days perhaps.

Day 10. Act IV. sc. iii. In Cymbeline's Palace. The news is that the Legions from Gallia are landed,

"——with a supply
Of Roman gentlemen, by the Senate sent."

Cymbeline's forces are in readiness, and he prepares to meet the time;

but he is distracted with domestic afflictions: his Queen is on a desperate bed; her son gone, Imogen gone, no one knows whither. Pisanio does; but he also is in perplexity at not hearing from them. He thinks it strange too that he has not heard from his master since he wrote him Imogen was slain. Decidedly Rome must be behind the scenes, somewhere.

- Day 11. Act IV. sc. iv. Wales. The noise of the war is round about them, and Guiderius and Arviragus determine to fight for their country; Belarius consents at last to accompany them. Eccles supposes a short interval—for preparations for the engagement—between this and the preceding scene, and begins Act V. with this scene as part of the day represented in that act. Its position as a separate day seems to me to satisfy all the requirements of the plot.
- Day 12. Act V. sc. i. The Roman camp. Posthumus, who has been brought here among the Roman gentry, enters with a bloody handkerchief sent him by Pisanio in token of Imogen's death. He determines to disguise himself as a Briton peasant and seek for death fighting on his country's side.

Act V. sc. ii. The field of battle. "Enter Lucius, Iachimo, and the Romane Army at one doore: and the Britaine Army at another: Leonatus Posthumus following like a poore Souldier. They march over, and goe out. Then enter againe in Skirmish Iachimo and Posthumus: he vanquisheth and disarmeth Iachimo, and then leaues him."

Iachimo's conscience is heavy with the thoughts of his treachery to Imogen.

"The Battaile continues, the Britaines fly, Cymbeline is taken: Then enter to his rescue, Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus."

"Enter Posthumus, and seconds the Britaines. They rescue Cymbeline, and Exeunt."

"Then enter Lucius, Iachimo, and Imogen." The Romans are routed.

Act V. sc. iii. Another part of the Field. Posthumus narrates to a British Lord the manner of the fight. He has resumed again the part he came in, and on the entry of "two Captaines, and

Soldiers," he gives himself up as a Roman prisoner. "Enter Cymbeline, Belarius, Guiderius, Arviragus, Pisanio, and Romane Captives. The Captaines present Posthumus to Cymbeline, who delivers him over to a Gaoler." Exeunt omnes.

Act V. sc. iv. Posthumus in prison. He falls asleep, and in a vision his ancestors and Jupiter appear to him. A Messenger arrives to bring him before Cymbeline.

Act V. sc. v. In Cymbeline's tent. In this scene all the surviving characters of the drama are brought together. The death of the Queen is announced, and her villanies perpetrated and purposed are revealed. Imogen, as "Fidele," finds favour with Cymbeline, and makes Iachimo confess his guilt; Posthumus discloses himself; Imogen is made known. Belarius reveals the parentage of Guiderius and Arviragus, and in his joy at the recovery of his children Cymbeline frees his Roman captives, makes peace with the Emperor, and resolves to pay the tribute the refusal of which has caused the war—

"Never was a war did cease, Ere bloody hands were wash'd, with such a peace."

This last line justifies the placing of the whole of the last act, including the battle, Posthumus's imprisonment and the final scene, in one day only.

The time, then, of the drama includes twelve days represented on the stage; with intervals.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.—iii.

An Interval. Posthumus's journey to Rome.

,, 2. Act I. sc. iv.

An Interval. Iachimo's journey to Britain.

- " 3. Act I. sc. v. and vi., Act II. sc. i. and part of sc. ii.
- ,, 4. Act II. sc. ii., in part, and sc. iii. [Act III. sc. i. also belongs to this day.]

An Interval. Iachimo's return journey to Rome.

,, 5. Act II. sc. iv. and v.

An Interval. Time for Posthumus's letters from Rome to arrive in Britain.

[Act III. sc. i. See Day No. 4.]

Day 6. Act III. sc. ii. and iii.

An Interval, including one clear day. Imogen and Pisanio journey to Wales.

" 7. Act III. sc. iv.

An Interval, including one clear day. Pisanio returns to Court.

" 8. Act III. sc. v. and vi.

[Act III. sc. vii. In Rome. Time, between Days 5 and 6.]

An Interval, including one clear day. Cloten journeys to Wales.

" 9. Act IV. sc. i. and ii.

An Interval—a few days perhaps.

- " 10. Act IV. sc. iii.
- ,, 11. Act IV. sc. iv.
- ,, 12. Act V. sc. i.-v.

Note.—This also is one of the plays in which, in the division of its time, I have been preceded by Ambrose Eccles (see notes at the end of *The Merchant of Venice* and *King Lear*).

My scheme of time for this Play is generally in agreement with his, but in one instance we differ widely. He proposes to place an interval between sc. ii. and sc. iii. of Act III. of "some part of a day, a night, and an entire day and night," and to make scenes iii., iv., v. and vi. of that Act all part of one day. By so doing he is compelled to allow no time for Pisanio to get back to Court after leaving Imogen in Wales, and is forced to explain her reference to the two nights she has wandered alone, as being nights passed with him on her journey into Wales. I fancy he must have been misled in this instance by the fact that in Act III. sc. iii. Belarius, Guiderius, and Aviragus go a-hunting, and in Act III. sc. vi. when they find Imogen in their cave they have just returned from hunting. But as hunting was their daily occupation, there is no need to imagine any connection between these two scenes. His scheme of time in this respect is totally at variance with the requirements of the plot.

PERICLES.

FIRST printed in Quarto with no division of acts and scenes. In the Folio (1664) divided into acts only.

Actus Primus, as in modern editions.

Actus Secundus ends with sc. ii. Act III.

Actus Tertius commences with sc. iii. Act III., and ends with sc. iii. Act IV.

Actus Quartus commences with sc. iv. Act IV., and ends with line 240 of sc. i. Act V.

Actus Quintus includes the rest of the Play.

1st Chorus. Act I. Gower introduces the story of Antiochus and his daughter.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Antioch. Pericles, as suitor to the daughter, expounds the dreadful riddle, and, fearing for his life, flies from the Court. Antiochus employs Thaliard to pursue him and put him to death.

An interval: Pericles' journey to Tyre.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. Tyre. Pericles, fearing the vengeance of Antiochus for himself and his people, places Helicanus in the government and sets out for Tarsus.

Act I. sc. iii. Thaliard arrives in Tyre and hears of the departure of Pericles. This and the preceding scene may both be supposed one day.

An interval: Pericles' voyage to Tarsus.

Day 3. Act I. sc. iv. Tarsus. Cleon laments the misery of his people perishing with famine. Pericles arrives with store of corn for their relief.

An interval: time for news from Tyre to reach Tarsus, and for Pericles' voyage to Pentapolis.

2nd Chorus. Act II. Gover, with speech and dumb show, informs the audience how Pericles (warned by letters from Helicanus that it

was no longer safe for him to remain at Tarsus) puts to sea, is shipwrecked and cast on shore.

- Day 4. Act II. sc. i. Pentapolis. Pericles, cast up by the sea, is relieved by fishermen, and sets out for the Court of King Simonides (half a day's journey from where he landed) in order to be present at the tournament to take place on the morrow in honour of the Princess Thaisa's birthday.
- Day 5. Act II. sc. ii. The court of Simonides. The knights' competitors, among them Pericles, present their shields to the Princess Thaisa and proceed to the lists.
- Act II. sc. iii. A banquet after the tournament. Pericles receives the wreath of victory, and finds favour in the eyes of Simonides and the Princess.
- Act II. sc. iv. Tyre. Helicanus has heard of the deaths of Antiochus and his daughter, consumed by fire from heaven. The lords of Tyre in the continued absence of Pericles propose to make Helicanus their sovereign; he persuades them to defer their purpose for a twelvementh and to go in search of Pericles. This scene may be supposed to occur on the same day as the two preceding scenes.
 - Day 6. Act II. sc. v. Pentapolis. Simonides shifts off the other knights, suitors for the hand of Thaisa, on the plea that she will not consent to wed for one twelvementh longer, and then marries her to Pericles.

An interval: some eight or nine months.

- 3rd Chorus. Act III. Gower, with speech and dumb show, informs the audience how Pericles is recalled to Tyre and takes his departure with his wife and the nurse Lychorida; and then introduces him on board ship in a storm.
- Day 7. Act III. sc. i. On a ship at sea, in a storm. Thaisa gives birth to a daughter, and, being supposed dead, Pericles is compelled by the mariners to bury her at sea in a chest prepared as her coffin. He then for the sake of the infant makes for Tarsus, intending there to leave the babe at careful nursing.

Day 8. Act III. sc. ii. Ephesus. In the early morning of the following day the chest containing the body of Thaisa is cast ashore. Lord Cerimon, a wealthy and benevolent physician, opens it, and finding the queen yet alive, takes means for her recovery.

An interval of a few days may here be supposed.

Day 9. Act III. sc. iii. Tarsus. Pericles, leaving his daughter Marina and her nurse Lychorida to the care of Cleon and Dionyza, resumes his voyage to Tyre.

Act III. sc. iv. Ephesus. Thaisa, supposing her husband lost at sea, determines to devote herself to the service of Diana. This and the preceding scene may be supposed one day.

An interval of fourteen years is now supposed to elapse. See Act V. sc. iii. ll. 7—9:

"——She at Tarsus Was nursed with Cleon; who at fourteen years He sought to murder;" etc.

4th Chorus. Act IV. Gower tells how Pericles is established at Tyre; Thaisa at Ephesus; and how Marina, growing up in all perfection, eclipses Dionyza's daughter, to the envy of the mother, who plots her death.

Day 10. Act IV. sc. i. Tarsus. Dionyza engages Leonine to murder Marina. She is saved by Pirates, who carry her off as a captive.

An interval: the voyage from Tarsus to Mytilene.

Day 11. Act IV. sc. ii. Mytilene. Marina is sold by the Pirates to the keepers of the brothel.

Act IV. sc. iii. Tarsus. Cleon reproaches Dionyza with her wickedness. To conceal her crime she has made away with Leonine and has erected a monument to Marina,—now almost finished,—so that when Pericles comes to claim his child he may suppose her to have died a natural death.

This and the preceding scene may be supposed to occur on one and the same day.

An interval of a few days.

5th Chorus. Act IV. sc. iv. [should be V.]. Gower, with speech and dumb show, tells how Pericles sails to Tarsus to see his daughter, is shown her monument, and, believing her dead, again embarks, his course directed by Lady Fortune. The attention of the audience is then again directed to Marina's adventures in Mytilene.¹

Day 12. Act IV. sc. v. and vi. [should be V. i. and ii.]. Mytilene. Marina's virtue converts the frequenters of the brothel and reduces its owners to despair. She persuades Boult to get her honest employment in the city.

An interval of three months is to be supposed since Pericles beheld his daughter's monument in Tarsus. See Act V. sc. i. 1. 24:

"A man who for this three months hath not spoken," etc.

6th Chorus. Act V. [should be VI.]. Gower tells of Marina's success and virtuous life, and of the arrival of Pericles' ship off the coast of Mytilene.

Day 13. Act V. sc. i. [should be VI. i.]. Mytilene. On board Pericles' ship. Lysimachus, the governor of the town, visits the sad king and sends for Marina to divert his sorrow. Pericles discovers in her his daughter. Diana appears to him in a vision and commands him to repair to her temple at Ephesus and relate before her altar his story.

An interval of some few days for the events narrated in the following chorus.

In these papers I have avoided any reference to emendations of the text where time was not concerned; but in this Chorus Steevens's corruption of lines 13—16 has gained such universal acceptance, even in the best editions, that I feel bound once more to protest against it, and to insist on a restoration of the original arrangement of the lines. Properly punctuated they stand thus:—

"Old Helicanus goes along. Behind
Is left to govern it, you bear in mind,
Old Escanes, whom Helicanus late
Advanced in time to great and high estate."

Whether, in the last line, Sidney Walker's conjecture of in Tyre for in time should be adopted I do not pretend to decide; but one minute's study of the original will convince the reader that Steevens's corruption and topsy-turvy arrangement must forthwith be expunged.

7th Chorus. Act V. sc. ii. [should be VII.]. Gower tells of the festivities at Mytilene; of the betrothal of Marina to Lysimachus; of the departure of Pericles with them and his train, and of his arrival at Ephesus.

Day 14. Act V. sc. iii. [should be VII. i.]. Ephesus. In the Temple of Diana. Pericles narrates his story before the altar and is recognized by and recognizes his wife Thaisa, the high priestess. The family thus re-united, Pericles determines to take possession of the kingdom of Pentapolis, now vacant by the death of his father-in-law Simonides, and confers the kingdom of Tyre on Lysimachus and Marina.

8th Chorus. Gower, by way of Epilogue, shortly recapitulates and moralizes the story, and informs the audience of the fate of "wicked Cleon and his wife."

The story of Pericles comprises a period of from fifteen to sixteen years: of which fourteen days are represented on the stage, the chief intervals being accounted for in the choruses.

1st Chorus introducing-

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

An interval. Pericles returns to Tyre.

, 2. Act I. sc. ii. and iii.

An interval. Pericles sails to Tarsus.

" 3. Act I. sc. iv.

2nd Chorus. An interval: Pericles' sojourn at Tarsus, departure therefrom, and arrival at Pentapolis.

Day 4. Act II. sc. i.

, 5. Act II. sc. ii.-iv.

, 6. Act II. sc. v.

3rd Chorus. An interval of some eight or nine months: Pericles' marriage, wedded life, and departure from Pentapolis.

Day 7. Act III. sc. i.

" 8. Act III. sc. ii.

An interval of a few days.

. 9. Act III. sc. iii. and iv.

4th Chorus. An interval of fourteen years: education of Marina in Tarsus.

Day 10. Act IV. sc. i.

An interval: Marina's voyage from Tarsus to Mytilene.

" 11. Act IV. sc. ii. and iii.

5th Chorus. Act IV. sc. iv. [should be V.]. An interval of a few days Pericles arrives in Tarsus, and departs therefrom on learning his daughter's supposed death.

Day 12. Act IV. sc. v. and vi. [should be V. i. and ii.].

6th Chorus. An interval of three months between the departure from Tarsus of Pericles and his arrival at Mytilene.

Day 13. Act V. sc. i. [should be VI. i.,

7th Chorus. Act V. sc. ii. [should be VII.]. An interval: sojourn in Mytilene and voyage to Ephesus.

Day 14. Act V. sc. iii. [should be VII. i.].

8th Chorus: epilogue.

The division of the Play into five acts in the Folio edition has evidently been made quite at random: Malone's division, adopted by all subsequent editors, is no doubt much to be preferred: for the first three acts he follows the chorus-division of the original; but he appears to have been hampered by the superstition that no drama can have more than five acts, and he has accordingly crammed the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th chorus-divisions into Acts IV. and V. Of course in this analysis I have been obliged for the convenience of reference to follow the general usage; but the Play consists of seven acts, distinctly marked by the choruses. The original division of the drama should be restored and the acts and scenes numbered accordingly.

X. TIME-ANALYSIS OF THE PLOTS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY

P. A. DANIEL.

(Read at the 53rd Meeting of the Society, 13th June, 1879.)

PART III. THE HISTORIES.

Note.—No attempt is here made at Chronological arrangement: the order taken is that of the First Folio and of the Globe edition: to the latter of which the numbering of Acts, Scenes, and lines refers. By one "Day" is to be understood the whole or any portion of the twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight. All intervals are supposed to include, at the least, one clear day from midnight to midnight: a break in the action of the drama from noon one day to noon the next is not here considered an interval.

KING JOHN.

FIRST printed in Folio; divided into acts and scenes.

Actus primus consists of Scæna prima = the whole of Act I., and Scæna secunda = the whole of Act II.

Actus secundus contains only the first 74 lines of Act III. sc. i.

Actus tertius, Scæna prima, commencing with line 75 of Act III. sc. i., includes the rest of that scene; Scæna secunda = sc. ii. and iii.; Scæna tertia = sc. iv.

Actus quartus and Actus quintus as in Globe edition, except that Act V. is wrongly headed Actus quartus.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Court of King John. Chatillon, ambassador from France, calls on John to resign the crown in favour of Arthur, and on refusal denounces war. John settles the dispute between Robert Faulconbridge and his bastard brother Philip, recognizing the latter as the son of Richard Cœur-de-lion. Lady Faulconbridge confesses to Philip her fault and his parentage.

An interval. Return of the French ambassador and arrival of John in France.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Before Angiers. France and Austria join their forces and are about to besiege the town in the right of Arthur, when Chatillon arrives and announces the approach of John. Adverse winds had delayed his return from England, and enabled the English army to land as soon as he. John enters with his army, etc., and after a parley between the kings each summons the town. The citizens refuse to admit either till one or the other proves his right. The English and French armies accordingly proceed to fight, and after an undecisive battle heralds from both parties again summon the town. The citizens still refusing, the contending kings agree to join their forces and first destroy the town,

"Then after fight who shall be king of it."

The citizens propose as a medium course an alliance between France and England, to be confirmed by the marriage of John's niece, the lady Blanch, with Lewis the Dauphin. This agreed to, France abandons the championship of Arthur, and the terms of alliance being settled, all enter the town to solemnize the marriage presently at St. Mary's chapel.

Act III. sc. i. The French king's pavilion. Salisbury breaks to Constance and Arthur the news of the alliance. The two kings, with the newly-married couple, enter to persuade Constance that this day's proceedings will be to the advantage of Arthur and herself. She curses the day, and prays to heaven that ere sunset armed discord may be set betwixt the perjured kings. Her prayer is heard: Pandulph, the Pope's legate, comes to demand of John why he keeps Stephen Langton from the see of Canterbury, contrary to the Holy Father's orders. John still refusing obedience, Pandulph excommunicates him, and induces France to break off the alliance and take up arms against him, on this the wedding-day (l. 300.)

Act III. sc. ii. and iii. The battle ensues, ending in the defeat of France and Austria, the death of the latter by the hand of the Bastard, and the capture of Arthur. John sends away the Bastard to levy forced contributions on the monasteries in England; gives Arthur into the custody of Hubert for conveyance to England and death; leaves his mother Elinor regent in France, and then himself departs for Calais.

An interval. See comment on following scene.

Day 3. Act III. sc. iv. In the French king's tent. The King and the Dauphin lament their defeat. Constance sorrows for the loss of her son Arthur. Pandulph consoles the Dauphin, and in anticipation of Arthur's murder urges him to invade England and claim the throne in right of his wife Blanch. Some little time must be supposed to have elapsed since the battle; for the French know that John has fortified the places he has won, and has returned to England; from whence also they have intelligence that the Bastard is ransacking the Church.

An interval. During this interval, the deaths of Constance and Elinor (28th March and 1st April) must take place (see Act IV. sc. ii.).

Day 4. Act IV. sc. i. A room in a castle. Hubert prepares to burn out the eyes of Arthur; but, moved by the entreaties of the young prince, resolves to save him and spread a report of his death.

Act IV. sc. ii. King John's palace. John, being new crowned, gives way to the advice and entreaties of his nobles, and promises the enfranchisement of Arthur, committing his youth to their direction. Hubert enters and announces that "Arthur is deceased to-night" [= last night]. The nobles, believing the King guilty of his death, leave him in indignation. A messenger announces the landing of the French under the command of the Dauphin, and informs the King of the deaths of his mother Elinor, on the 1st April, and of Constance, three days before that date. The Bastard now enters to give an account of his perquisitions among the clergymen: he brings with him in custody Peter of Pomfret, who has prophesied that the King shall deliver up his crown "ere the next Ascension Day at

noon." John directs Hubert to carry the prophet to prison, ordering that he be hang'd on the day when his prediction is to be fulfilled, and bids him return to him when he has placed him in safe custody. The Bastard tells him of the news abroad, and how he has met the nobles "going to seek the grave / Of Arthur, whom they say is kill'd to-night" [= last night]. John urges him to haste after them and try to reduce them to their allegiance. Hubert returns; John reproaches him with his forwardness in executing his commands concerning Arthur; Hubert then tells him he has preserved young Arthur's life, and John bids him also haste after the peers with this good news and bring them to him.

Act IV. sc. iii. Before the castle. Arthur endeavours to escape, jumps from the castle walls, and dies. The nobles enter; they have received—of course during the few minutes that have elapsed since they left the King-letters from Cardinal Pandulph, brought by the Count Melun, and they resolve to meet the Dauphin at St. Edmundsbury to-morrow morning, or rather then set forward; for "'twill be two long days' journey" ere they meet with him. The Bastard joins them, and requests them to return to the King. They find Arthur lying dead under the castle walls, and refuse obedience. Hubert enters from the King to tell them that Arthur lives; they show him the body, and accuse him of the murder; he declares-"'Tis not an hour since I left him well," i. e. not an hour since the end of sc. i. of this Act. The Bastard defends him against the nobles, who depart to join the Dauphin. Hubert again declares his innocence to the Bastard, who bids him

> "Bear away that child, And follow me with speed; I'll to the King: A thousand businesses are brief in hand, And heaven itself doth frown upon the land."

To this point it is quite clear that the action of sc. i., ii., and iii. of Act IV. is on one day, is continuous, and represents little more time than that required for the stage performance.

An interval should, if possible, be here imagined. See comment on following scene.

Day 5. Act V. sc. i. King John's palace. Ascension Day. John yields up his crown to Pandulph, and receives it again from him, as holding of the Pope. Pandulph, whose breath had blown the tempest up, promises now to hush again the storm of war, and departs to make the French lay down their arms. The Bastard enters with the news that

"All Kent hath yielded; nothing there holds out But Dover Castle: London hath received, Like a kind host, the Dauphin and his powers: Your nobles will not hear you, but are gone To offer service to your enemy.

K. John. Would not my lords return to me again, After they heard young Arthur was alive?

Bast. They found him dead.

K. John. That villain Hubert told me he did live.

Bast. So, on my soul, he did, for aught he knew."

The Bastard then persuades the King to be prepared for war, in case the Cardinal should not succeed in making peace. John gives him the command.

The arrival of Ascension Day, the presence of Pandulph, the news of the Dauphin's successes, imperatively demand an interval between this scene and the preceding Act; on the other hand, we find that the Bastard has only now returned from his mission to the nobles, and that the King now hears for the first time of Arthur's actual death: these facts are incompatible with any interval; they connect this scene with the scenes of Act IV., as part of Day 4. The main plot, however, is impossible without a supposed interval, and we must force the Play to allow it.

An interval, including at least Pandulph's return journey to the Dauphin; the Bastard's preparation for defence, and his and King John's journey, with their army, to Edmundsbury.

Day 6. Act V. sc. ii. The Dauphin's camp at St. Edmundsbury. The Dauphin accepts the allegiance of the English nobles. Pandulph enters to persuade the Dauphin to a peace. The Dauphin declines to lay down his arms and withdraw from the kingdom which he has now half conquered. The Bastard comes from the N. S. SOC, TRANS., 1879.

King to learn the result of Pandulph's interference; the English army is in readiness, and both sides prepare for battle.

Act V. sc. iii. The field of battle. Time: the evening, "an hour or two before / The stumbling night did part our weary powers" (sc. v. ll. 17, 18). King John, stricken with fever, leaves the field with Hubert, and retires toward Swinstead. A messenger brings the news that

"the great supply, That was expected by the Dauphin here, Are wrack'd three nights ago on Goodwin sands.

The state of the battle is doubtful,—

"The French fight coldly, and retire themselves."

Act V. sc. iv. The same. The English nobles on the French side prepare to renew the fight. Melun, wounded to death, informs them that if the Dauphin wins the day he has vowed this very night, which now approaches, to put them to death. Thereupon they resolve to return to their allegiance to King John.

Act V. sc. v. The same. After sunset. The two armies separate, the fight yet undecided. News is brought to the Dauphin of the falling off of the English lords, and of the loss on the Goodwins of the supply that he had wished so long. He resolves to renew the fight on the morrow.

So far it seems clear that the action of sc. ii.—v. of Act V. is continuous and on one day. It is also apparent in sc. ii. that the English nobles have not joined the Dauphin many hours: in Act IV. sc. iii. (Day 4) they reckoned their distance from him "two long days' journey." If we calculate the time of the plot from their movements, we can, then, scarcely allow a lapse of more than two clear days between Day 4 and this Day 6; and within this limit of two days the enormous amount of business indicated in Act V. sc. i. (Day 5), in the last interval, and in the scenes (ii.—v.) of this Day 6, must be supposed to have been transacted, and the long time necessary for it must be supposed to be included. How, with this limit placed before us, this is to be imagined I know not.

Day 7. Act V. sc. vi. Near Swinstead Abbey. Hubert, who

apparently but a short time ago has left King John dying, poisoned by a monk, meets with the Bastard, to whom he was hastening with the fatal news. He tells him that "the lords are all come back, / And brought Prince Henry in their company." The Bastard tells him that "half his power this night, / Passing these flats, are taken by the tide; / These Lincoln Washes have devoured them." Together they hasten to the King. The time of this scene is at night, but I suppose we should imagine it to be past midnight, and the commencement of a separate day—the last. Also, notwithstanding distance, and the immense amount of business transacted since the battle in Day 6, I think this must be supposed the morrow of that day.

Act V. se. vii. The orchard in Swinstead Abbey. Time, early morning. King John is brought in in a dying state. The Bastard arrives, and has just time to tell him that "the Dauphin is preparing hitherward," and that "in a night" he himself has lost the best part of his power in the Washes, when the King expires. Salisbury then informs the Bastard that half an hour since Pandulph arrived with offers of peace from the Dauphin, who is already departing from the land, leaving

"his cause and quarrel To the disposing of the Cardinal. With whom yourself, myself, and other lords, If you think meet, this afternoon will post To consummate this business happily."

They then arrange for the funeral of King John at Worcester, and tender allegiance to Prince Henry.

Time of this Play seven days; with intervals, comprising in all not more than three or four months.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

Interval.

,, 2. Act II. sc. i., Act III., sc. i. to iii.

Interval.

,, 3. Act III. sc. iv.

" 4. Act IV. sc. i. to iii.

Interval.

" 5. Act V. sc. i.

Interval.

Day 6. Act V. sc. ii. to v.

" 7. Act V. sc. vi. and vii.

Historical time: A.D. 1199—1216; the whole of King John's reign.

RICHARD II.

First printed in Quarto. First divided into acts and scenes in Folio. This division is followed by Globe edition, except in Actus quintus, where in Folio Scana tertia includes sc. iii. and iv., Scana quarta = sc. v., and Scana quinta = sc. vi.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Windsor [29th April, 1398]. "To make good the boisterous late appeal" [at Shrewsbury, 30th January, 1398], Bolingbroke and Mowbray appear before the King and mutually accuse each other of treason. The King decides that they shall settle their difference by single combat "at Coventry, upon St. Lambert's day" [17th Sept.].

An interval. About four months and a half?—historic time.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. London. Gaunt takes leave of the widowed Duchess of Gloucester previous to his departure to Coventry.

An interval. Gaunt's journey to Coventry.

Day 3. Act I. sc. iii. Coventry [17th Sept., 1398]. The appellants enter the lists and are about to fight, when the King interferes, banishes Mowbray for life and Bolingbroke for ten years, which he afterwards reduces to six. Mowbray departs, and at the end of the scene Bolingbroke also sets out on his way to exile.

An interval: journey from Coventry to London.

Day 4. Act I. sc. iv. London. The King, with Bagot and Green, fresh from observing Bolingbroke's courtship to the common people as he proceeded on his way to exile, is joined by Aumerle, who tells him that he brought the exile but to the next highway and there left him.¹ It is evident that very few hours can have elapsed

¹ It should, however, be noted that after the King's departure in Act I. sc. iii., Aumerle then bade farewell to Bolingbroke. Was this the leave-taking to which he now refers?

since his departure, and not many since the close of the last scene, at Coventry: not more than would suffice for the journey to London, to which place it seems the scene is now transferred. Having got rid of Bolingbroke, the King resolves immediately to set out on his expedition to Ireland, when Bushy enters with the news that "Old John of Gaunt is grievous sick" at Ely House, where he prays the King to visit him. The King assents:

"Come, gentlemen, let's all go visit him: Pray God, we may make haste, and come too late!"

Act II. sc. i. Ely House [3rd Feb., 1399]. The King comes to visit the dying Gaunt, who reproaches him with his ill government; he is carried out, and Northumberland immediately after enters to announce his death. The King determines to seize on his wealth and lands to furnish forth the Irish expedition, on which he proposes to depart on the morrow [he sailed from Milford Haven 31st May 1399]. The nobles are disgusted at the King's injustice, and on Northumberland revealing to them that Bolingbroke is already prepared with a fleet and an army to invade England, and is only delaying his arrival till the King departs for Ireland, they at once agree to post to Ravenspurgh to welcome him.

The connection of this scene with the preceding one is too close to allow of more than one day for the two; and here we have a singular instance of the manner in which the dramatist annihilates time. It is evident that Bolingbroke cannot yet have quitted the English coast, while at the same time we hear that he is already prepared to return to it; and that, too, before he could possibly have heard of his father's death, the ostensible cause of his return. Some slightly greater degree of apparent probability might be given to the plot, in stage performance, by dividing this scene; making a separate scene of the latter half when the King has left the stage. The direction of the Folio, however, is—"Manet North. Willoughby, and Ross." But even with this break in the action we should still have no probable time for the evolution of the story; neither would this arrangement meet the reference to Bolingbroke's sojourn at the French court during his exile contained in York's speech, where he

mentions the ill turn the King has done him in the prevention of his marriage with the Duke of Berri's daughter (Il. 167, 168).

An interval: a day or two.

Day 5. Act II. sc. ii. The palace [Windsor]. The Queen laments the departure of her husband. Bushy and Bagot endeavour to comfort her. Green enters in haste; he hopes the King is not yet shipped for Ireland, for news has come that Bolingbroke has landed at Ravenspurgh [4th July, 1399], and that many of the nobles have fled to him. York busies himself with preparations for opposing Bolingbroke, bids the courtiers muster up their men and meet him presently at Berkeley. Bushy and Green resolve to join the Earl of Wiltshire in Bristol. Bagot determines to go over to Ireland to the King.

It is evident from the nature of the dialogue in this scene that but a very short time can have elapsed since the King's departure, and that the interval between this and the preceding scenes cannot be supposed more than a day or two at the utmost.

An interval.

Day 6. Act II. sc. iii. In Gloucestershire, near Berkeley Castle. Enter Bolingbroke and Northumberland with forces. They have travelled thus far from Ravenspurgh, and are presently joined by Henry Percy and by Ross and Willoughby. Berkeley enters from the castle, charged by the Regent York to demand the cause of their coming; but before Bolingbroke can answer York himself makes his appearance. Bolingbroke protests that his invasion is merely to enforce his rights as Duke of Lancaster, and York, too feeble to oppose him, resolves to remain neuter. He offers them the hospitality of the castle for the night.

An interval.

Day 7. Act II. sc. iv. In Wales [Conway]. A Welsh captain informs Salisbury that after staying ten days, and yet hearing no tidings of the King, his army believes him to be dead, and have accordingly dispersed.

Johnson believes this scene to be misplaced, and that in the

author's draught it was probably the second scene in the ensuing Act III. Its position there would be more conformable to Holinshed; but the "time" generally of these scenes is so indefinite that I doubt if anything would be gained by its transposition. For stage purposes its present position is useful, as affording a pause between the Berkeley and Bristol portions of Bolingbroke's adventures.

Act III. sc. i. Bristol. Bolingbroke consigns Bushy and Green to the block, and then determines to set out

"To fight with Glendower and his complices."

We, however, hear nothing more of this proposed expedition.

Day 8. Act III. sc. ii. The coast of Wales. Barkloughly Castle. Richard, recently returned from his expedition to Ireland [he landed at Milford Haven 5th August, 1399], is joined by Salis bury, who tells him that he comes "one day too late."

"O, call back yesterday, bid time return,
And thou shalt have twelve thousand fighting men:
To-day, to-day, unhappy day, too late,
O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortune, and thy state;
For all the Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,
Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed, and fled."

Scroop then enters to tell him of Bolingbroke's successes; of the deaths of Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire, at Bristol [the last not mentioned in Act III. sc. i.]; and that York has joined with the invader. In alternate fits of hope and despair, Richard disbands his forces and departs with his friends for Flint Castle.

If Salisbury's "yesterday" is to be accepted literally, the time of this scene should be the morrow of Act II. sc. iv. For this reason I bracket Act III. sc. i. with that scene as Day 7, and, setting aside geographical considerations, with which indeed the author does not appear to have concerned himself, we may then with dramatic propriety suppose the journey of Salisbury from North Wales and of Scroop from Bristol to have been simultaneous, bringing them to Richard's presence within a short time of each other.

An interval.

Day 9. Act III. sc. iii. Before Flint Castle [19th August, 1399]. Richard surrenders to Bolingbroke; they set on towards London.

An interval.

Day 10. Act III. sc. iv. In the garden at Langley. The Queen overhears the talk of the gardeners, from which it appears that news has arrived of the deaths of Wiltshire, Bushy, and Green, and that Richard had fallen into the power of Bolingbroke. She resolves to post to London

"To meet at London London's king in woe."

An interval.

Day 11. Act IV. sc. i. Westminster Hall [Sept.—Oct., 1399]. Richard surrenders the crown to Bolingbroke, who fixes next Wednesday for his coronation, and orders the King to be conveyed to the Tower.

At the end of this scene the Abbot of Westminster, left alone with Aumerle and the Bishop of Carlisle, invites them home with him to supper, where he proposes to concert with them in a plot against Bolingbroke.

Act V. sc. i. The Queen meets Richard on his way to the Tower. Northumberland separates them, for Bolingbroke's mind is changed, and he has now orders to convey the King to Pomfret and send away the Queen to France.

An interval.

Day 12. Act V. sc. ii. The Duke of York relates to his wife the manner of Bolingbroke's entry into London with Richard; their son Aumerle joins them. York discovers that his son is engaged in a conspiracy against King Henry. He departs to reveal it to the King. The Duchess urges her son to post to the King and obtain a pardon before his father arrives.

Act V. sc. iii. Aumerle arrives in the King's presence, and sues for pardon. His father, York, enters to denounce him. The Duchess now joins them, and at her entreaties the King pardons Aumerle, but resolves that the other conspirators who had purposed to kill him during certain triumphs to be shortly holden at Oxford shall die the death of traitors.

At the commencement of this scene the King inquires for his unthrifty son, whom he has not seen for three months. Putting

aside all consideration of historical dates—any attempt to reconcile which with the plot of the drama would plunge us into a sea of contradictions and confusion—this three months mentioned by King Henry would suppose the lapse of at least that period since his accession to the throne, that is, between Days 11 and 12; and yet, so long an interval as three months seems quite at variance with the march of the drama, and to be irreconcilable with York's description of the entry into London, with which the first scene of this Day 12 commences. I mark an interval between the two days, but am unable to determine its length.

Act V. sc. iv. Exton resolves to set out for Pomfret to put Richard to death. I include this scene in Day 12, as the King's words, which are his motive, I suppose to have been uttered on the occasion of the discovery of the plot revealed in the two preceding scenes.

An interval.

Day 13. Act V. sc. v. Pomfret Castle. Richard in prison. His murder by Exton.

An interval.

Day 14. Act V. sc. vi. The Court. In this scene we learn the defeat of the rebellion against Henry and the death of the chief conspirators. Exton arrives with the body of Richard. The King repels him, and resolves to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to cleanse himself from the guilt of Richard's death.

Time of this Play, fourteen days represented on the stage; with intervals, the length of which I cannot attempt to determine.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

Interval.

" 2. Act I. sc. ii. Interval.

,, 3. Act I. sc. iii.

" 4. Act I. sc. iv., Act II. sc. i.

 ${\it Interval.}$

" 5. Act II. sc. ii.

Interval.

Day 6. Act II. sc. iii.

Interval.

- ,, 7. Act II. sc. iv., Act III. sc. i.
- " 8. Act III. sc. ii.
- ,, 9. Act III. sc. iii.

 Interval.
- " 10. Act III. sc. iv.

 Interval.
- ,, 11. Act IV. sc. i., Act V. sc. i.

 Interval.
- ,, 12. Act V. sc. ii., iii., and iv. Interval.
- ,, 13. Act V. sc. v.

 Interval.
- " 14. Act V. sc. vi.

Historic time from 29th April, 1398, to the beginning of March, 1400, at which time the body of Richard, or what was declared to be such, was brought to London.

FIRST PART OF HENRY IV.

FIRST printed in Quarto. First divided into acts and scenes in Folio; this division differs from Globe edition in *Actus quintus* only, where *Scana secunda* includes sc. ii. and iii., *Scana tertia* = sc. iv., *Scana quarta* = sc. v.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. The Court. Henry demands of his council what steps were taken yesternight to forward his proposed expedition to the Holy Land determined on a twelvemonth ago (see end of Richard II.), and we learn that this business was broken off by the arrival of news importing the defeat and capture of Mortimer by Glendower, and an engagement at Holmedon, the result of which is yet unknown, between Harry Percy and the Scots under Douglas.

The King then introduces Blunt, "new lighted from his horse," who brings news of Percy's complete victory. The King hears, however, that Percy refuses to give up the prisoners he has taken, and he has accordingly sent for him to answer this contempt of his authority: he decides that the council shall meet again on Wednesday next at Windsor.

An interval: a week [?] See comment on Act I. sc. iii.

[1 Day 1a. Act I. sc. ii. The Prince of Wales meets Falstaff, and they are soon after joined by Poins, who comes to tell them of a proposed highway robbery which is concerted for "to-morrow morning by four o'clock at Gadshill," and that after the affair he has "bespoke supper to-morrow night in Eastcheap." The Prince objects (to Falstaff's great disgust); but Poins undertakes to persuade the Prince, and Falstaff leaves them, telling them they shall find him in Eastcheap. Poins then proposes to the Prince that Falstaff and his companions shall commit the robbery, and that he and the Prince in disguise shall rob the robbers. Hal consents, and in the subsequent scenes it appears that Poins's programme is carried out; but the Prince throws the time into sad confusion by his speech (ll. 215—217) -"Well, I'll go with thee; provide us all things necessary and meet me to-morrow night in Eastcheap; there I'll sup. Farewell." If this speech is otherwise correctly given, Capell's emendation,-tonight—seems necessary; Knight, however, endeavours to overcome the difficulty by re-arrangement: he prints,-"Well, I'll go with thee; provide us all things necessary and meet me.

To-morrow night in Eastcheap, there I'll sup. Farewell."]

Day 2. Act I. sc. iii. The Court. The King has before him Harry Percy, his father Northumberland, and his uncle Worcester. The question of the Scottish prisoners taken by Percy at Holmedon is discussed. The King refuses to ransom Mortimer—the condition required by Percy before surrendering his prisoners—and departs, threatening the Percys that they shall hear from him unless they comply with his demands. Worcester, who in the beginning of the

¹ Such of the Falstaffian scenes as cannot be dovetailed into the general course of the action I have in this, and in the following Play, enclosed in brackets and numbered their days separately.

scene had been dismissed by the King for his presumption in reminding him of his obligations to their family, now re-enters and opens to Northumberland and Percy a plot by which they may depose the King and set up Mortimer, the rightful heir to the throne, in his place. Percy is to free his prisoners without ransom and form an alliance with the Scots; Northumberland is to join with the Archbishop of York. Worcester will direct them by his letters how to proceed, and, says he—

"When time is ripe, which will be suddenly, I'll steal to Glendower, and Lord Mortimer; Where you and Douglas and our powers at once, As I will fashion it, shall happily meet," etc.

The time and place of this scene are somewhat difficult to determine; if we go by Act I. sc. i, we should suppose the place "Windsor," and the time the "Wednesday next" mentioned by the King, and the longest interval we could suppose between sc. i. and iii. of this Act would be a week. This, dramatically considered, may be sufficient as far as Hotspur is concerned, but it supposes uncommon haste as regards Mortimer's adventures; for during this interval he has become the son-in-law of his captor Glendower, and the news of his marriage has reached the King (l. 84). Of course it may be said that as Mortimer was taken prisoner by Glendower 22nd June, 1402, and the engagement at Holmedon was not fought till the 14th of the following September, there was time enough for the marriage, and for the news of it to reach the King; but we are not dealing with history: the poet makes both battles to occur about the same time, and the time-plot of the drama becomes accordingly somewhat confused. Taking the historic date of Holmedon fight, the time of this scene might be supposed towards the end of Sept., 1402.

An interval: some three or four weeks. See comment on Act II. sc. iii.

[Day 2a. Act II. sc. i. Rochester. An inn yard. Carriers preparing to start on their journey. Time, as they reckon, 4 a.m.; though one of them in reply to Gadshill, who now enters, thinks it be only 2 a.m. They depart, and Gadshill has further conference

with the chamberlain, with whom he is in league, as to the movements of the travellers who are to be the victims of the robbery.

Act II. sc. ii. The highway near Gadshill. Time, before day-break. The Prince and Poins, then Falstaff, and subsequently Gadshill, Bardolph, and Peto, enter. As plotted by Poins, he and the Prince retire; the travellers enter and are robbed by Falstaff and his companions, who in their turn are robbed by the Prince and Poins.

Both these scenes are of course on the morrow of Act I. sc. ii., Day 1a.

Day 3. Act II. sc. iii. Hotspur's eastle; at Warkworth, so editors have decided, following Capell. Hotspur solus reading a letter from some faint-hearted friend whom he has moved to join the rebellion against the King. Some of his friends have set forward already, and by the ninth of next month all expect to meet in arms. He determines to set out to-night. Lady Percy joins him, and seeks to know the cause of his pre-occupation, which has made her for this fortnight

"A banish'd woman from her Harry's bed."

He daffs aside her inquiries, but promises-

"Whither I go thither shall you go too; To-day will I set forth, to-morrow you."

The plot of the drama can hardly allow us to suppose the lapse of a longer period than three or four weeks between the time of this scene and Act I. sc. iii., Day 2; yet as Hotspur tells us that the confederates were all to meet on the "ninth of next month," and as the final act of the rebellion takes place at Shrewsbury on the 21st July, 1403, we might be tempted to place the time of this Act II. sc. iii. in June, 1403. As we have supposed the time of Act I. sc. iii., Day 2, to be towards the end of Sept., 1402, this would give us an interval of some eight or nine months between Days 2 and 3; clearly an impossibly long break in the dramatic action. Even if we suppose the "ninth of next month" to refer to the meeting at Bangor, Act III. sc. i., Day 4, we could not materially reduce this long interval; for according to the drama that meeting must be supposed to take place within three or four weeks, at the utmost, of

Shrewsbury fight. We must, in fact, brush history aside, and content ourselves with the indefinite interval of three or four weeks which I have marked between Days 2 and 3.

An interval: about a week. During this interval Worcester must be supposed to steal away from Court to join his friends at Bangor, where, in Day 4, Act III. sc. i., we next meet with him.

[Day 2a, continued. Act II. sc. iv. A tavern in Eastcheap. As this is the first time we are introduced to Dame Quickly's residence, it may as well be stated that the sign of the house, The Boar's Head, is a mere figment of the editors; its locality only is mentioned by Shakespeare: no note of its sign is to be found in any of the old editions of his Plays, either in the text or in the stage-directions. Yet Malone says Shakespeare hung up the sign; Boswell, that he with propriety selected it; Hunter (New Illustrations), that he gave the sign to the tavern; and all editors speak as familiarly of the "Boar's Head" as if there were no more doubt about its being Shakespeare's creation than there is of his having been the creator of its jovial frequenter, Falstaff himself. I know not who first fixed on the Boar's Head as the scene of Falstaff's exploits, but it certainly is a tradition of ancient date. See Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot. By Edmund Gayton, Esq., 1654.

"Sir John of famous memory; not he of the Boares-Head in East-cheap," p. 277. Quoted in Dr. Ingleby's Centurie of Praise, etc.

The time of the commencement of this scene is the night of the day of the robbery at Gadshill (sc. i. and ii. Act II.). The Prince and Poins amuse themselves with bewildering the waiter, Francis, "to drive away the time till Falstaff come." Falstaff arrives at length with the rest of the crew, and gives his account of how he had "ta'en" and lost "a thousand pound this day morning." A messenger from the Court is now announced: Falstaff goes out to question him, and returns with the news that Hotspur, Northumberland, Mortimer, Glendower, and Douglas are all up in arms; that "Worcester is stolen away to-night," and that the Prince "must to

¹ Theobald was the first editor who introduced it in the stage-directions.

the Court in the morning;" and so they practise a play in order that he may be prepared with his reply when he comes to his father's presence "to-morrow." This amusement is interrupted by the arrival of the Sheriff, with a "most most monstrous watch," come to seek for the heroes of Gadshill. They hide, leaving the Prince and Poins to receive the Sheriff, who, on the assurance of the Prince that they shall be forthcoming, departs, wishing him

"Good night, my noble lord.

Prince. I think it is good morrow; is it not?

Sheriff. Indeed, my lord, I think it be two o'clock."

So that

Day 3a may now be said to have fairly commenced. The Prince and Poins find Falstaff asleep behind the arras, and, searching his pockets, find his famous tavern bill. The Prince then announcing that he will to the Court in the morning, and bidding Poins be with him betimes, wishes him good morrow, and they depart.¹]

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. At Bangor. Hotspur, Worcester, Mortimer, and Glendower are met to seal to their tripartite division of the kingdom, and to make their final arrangements for opposing the King. It is agreed that Hotspur, Worcester, and Mortimer shall set out this night to join with Northumberland and the Scottish forces under Douglas, as appointed, at Shrewsbury; within a fortnight Glendower is also to meet them there. Lady Percy, it should be noted, is also in this scene; and from the dialogue it is obvious that all the conspirators have been some days in Bangor. We may suppose perhaps a week's interval between this scene and Act II. sc. iii., when we last met with Hotspur.

Mortimer, as appears from the subsequent scenes, did not leave Glendower: we hear of him, indeed, but see him no more after this scene.

An interval: about a fortnight.

Day 5. Act III. sc. ii. The Court, in London. The Prince,

¹ In the latter part of this scene and in Act III, sc, iii. Peto has by some accident got into the place of Poins in the old copies; similar errors occur with reference to other subordinate characters in these Falstaffian scenes; they are obvious enough, and are corrected in most modern editions.

in pursuance of his intention expressed in Act II. sc. iv., has an interview with his father, promises amendment, and is reconciled with him. Blunt enters to announce that

"Lord Mortimer of Scotland hath sent word, That Douglas and the English rebels met, The eleventh of this month, at Shrewsbury."

The King replies that-

"The Earl of Westmoreland set forth to-day; With him my son, Lord John of Lancaster; For this advertisement is five days old:—
On Wednesday next, Harry, you shall set forward; On Thursday, we ourselves will march: our meeting Is Bridgenorth: and, Harry, you shall march Through Gloucestershire; by which account, Our business valued, some twelve days hence Our general forces at Bridgenorth shall meet."

From the news brought by Blunt—old news, as it appears—it is obvious that a considerable interval, including the *five days* mentioned by the King, must be supposed to separate Days 4 and 5; a fortnight perhaps may be deemed sufficient, dramatically, and I have accordingly set down that time.

In this scene the Prince Hal and Falstaff days merge into the main course of time: this Day 5 is the continuation of the bracketed Day 3a, which commenced in Act II. sc. iv.; it is therefore the morrow of Day 2a, itself the morrow of Day 1a, which opened in Act I. sc. ii., and all these scenes might be brought down in time and supposed to occur during the latter part of the interval marked between Days 4 and 5; but—and this obstacle is insurmountable—Falstaff in Act II. sc. iv. 1. 392 announces that "Worcester is stolen away to-night," i. e. the night of Days 2a-3a, on which he is speaking; or if by to-night we are to understand the night last past—a sense in which to-night is very frequently used in these plays—then the night of Days 1a-2a; but it is obvious that Worcester had joined his friends in Wales some weeks before this Falstaffian night, unless we may suppose it to equal

"a night in Russia When nights are longest there."

In fact, we have in this Play two distinct streams of time, flowing side by side, meeting at last, though in their previous courses presenting irreconcilable elements; on the one hand months of time, on the other a couple of days.

Day 6. Act III. sc. iii. The tavern in Eastcheap. Falstaff banters Bardolph on his red nose, and fixes a quarrel on his hostess with reference to the picking of his pocket when, "the other night," he fell asleep behind the arras. The Prince enters with Poins; he has paid back the money stolen at Gadshill, is reconciled to his father, and has procured Falstaff a charge of foot. He sends off letters to Prince John and to Westmoreland by Bardolph, and then departs with Poins, with whom he has "thirty miles to ride yet ere dinner-time." Falstaff ends the scene by calling for his breakfast. The time of this scene must be supposed tolerably early in the morning of the morrow of Day 5, otherwise Bardolph would have some difficulty in delivering the letters to Prince John and Westmoreland, who must, even at this time, have proceeded a day's journey on their march to Shrewsbury.

An interval: a week.

Day 7. Act IV. sc. i. The rebel camp near Shrewsbury. Hotspur, Worcester, and Douglas. Letters come from Northumberland, stating that sickness prevents him from bringing up his forces. Sir Richard Vernon enters with the further news that Glendower cannot be ready with his power this fourteen days. Vernon also tells the confederates that Westmoreland, with Prince John, is marching hitherwards, and that "The King himself in person is set forth, / Or hitherwards intended speedily;" and that the Prince of Wales and his comrades are all up in arms: he has himself seen "young Harry with his beaver on." It is obvious from Vernon's news that several days at least must have elapsed since the London scenes, Act III. sc. ii. and iii. (Days 5 and 6). I have marked a week, which is perhaps sufficient dramatically.

An interval: a few days.

Day 8. Act IV. sc. ii. Near Coventry. Falstaff with his N. s. soc. TRANS., 1877-9.

ragged regiment. He commissions Bardolph to get him a bottle of sack, and to bid his lieutenant, Peto, meet him at the town's end; for he himself determines that he will not march through Coventry with his troops. He proposes to get to Sutton Co'fil' to-night. Prince Hal and Westmoreland enter. Westmoreland's forces are already at Shrewsbury; the King is encamped there, and looks for them all, and they must away all night; 'tis more than time that they were there. The news contained in this scene justifies the interval of a few days marked between it and the preceding scene.

Day 9. Act IV. sc. iii. The rebel camp near Shrewsbury. Sir Walter Blunt arrives with offers of peace from the King. Hotspur bids him

"Go to the King; and let there be impawn'd Some surety for a safe return again, And in the morning early shall my uncle [Worcester] Bring him our purposes."

Act IV. sc. iv. York. The Archbishop bids Sir Michael haste with letters to his friends, that they may be prepared to resist the King should Hotspur succumb in the great fight which he understands is to take place at Shrewsbury on the morrow.

It is evident that this and the preceding scene must both be supposed on one day, which may be taken to be the morrow of Day 8.

Day 10. Act V. sc. i. The King's camp near Shrewsbury. Worcester and Vernon come to the King, who renews his offers of pardon and friendship to the rebels if they lay down their arms.

Act V. sc. ii. The rebel camp. Worcester determines that it is not for their safety to place any reliance on "the liberal and kind offer of the King," and informs Hotspur that "the King will bid him battle presently." Whereupon Hotspur orders that defiance be sent to him by Westmoreland, who, it seems, was hostage for Worcester's safe return. They prepare for the fight.

Act V. sc. iii. and iv. Various incidents of the battle, ending in the death of Hotspur and the defeat of the rebels.

Act V. sc. v. After the battle. The King disposes of the

prisoners, orders Worcester and Vernon to execution, and then determines that Prince John and Westmoreland shall proceed to York, "to meet Northumberland and the prelate Scroop," while he himself, with his son Harry, marches to Wales,

"To fight with Glendower and the Earl of March."

Time of this Play, ten "historic" days, with three extra Falstaffian days, and intervals. Total dramatic time, three months at the outside.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. London. News of the battle of Holmedon, etc.

Interval: a week [?]. Hotspur comes to Court.

Day 2. Act I. sc. iii. At Court. The Percys quarrel with the King. Their rebellion planned.

Interval: some three or four weeks.

Day 3. Act II. sc. iii. Wark-worth. Hotspur determines to set out to join the confederates at Bangor.

Interval: a week. Hotspur and Worcester both arrive at Bangor.

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. Bangor.
The confederates make the final
arrangements for their outbreak.

Interval: about a fortnight.

Day 5. Act III. sc. ii. At Court.

Prince Hal has an interview with
his father. News of the insurgents
is received. This Day 5 is also a
continuation of Day 3a, which commences in Act II, sc, iv.

Day 6. Act III. sc. iii. Eastcheap. Prince Hal informs Falstaff of his appointment to a charge of foot for the wars. The morrow of Day 5.

Interval: a week.

Act I.sc. ii. London, Falstaff, Prince Hal, and Poins, The robbery at Gadshill planned.

Act II. sc. i. Inn yard at Rochester.
Act II. sc. ii. Gadshill.
The robbery.

Day 2a

Act II. sc. iv. The Bear's Head, Eastcheap. Prince Hal, Falstaff, etc., at night and early morning.

Day 3a.

= Act III. sc. ii. At

Day 7. Act IV. sc. i. Rebel camp near Shrewsbury.

Interval: a few days.

- Day 8. Act IV. sc. ii. Near Coventry. Falstaff with his ragged regiment.
- Day 9. Act IV. sc. iii. The rebel camp. Blunt comes with offers of peace from the King.

 Act IV. sc. iv. York. The Archbishop prepares for the good or ill fortune of the morrow.
- Day 10. Act V. sc. i. to v. The battle of Shrewsbury.

The period of history represented by this Play ranges from the defeat of Mortimer by Glendower, 22nd June, 1402, to the battle of Shrewsbury, 21st July, 1403.

SECOND PART OF HENRY IV.

FIRST printed in Quarto. First divided into acts and scenes in Folio.

The Induction comes under the heading of Actus primus, Scæna prima. Our scenes i., ii., iii. therefore = ii., iii., iv., Folio.

Actus Quartus, Scæna prima includes sc. i., ii., iii. Scæna secunda includes sc. iv. and v.

The action of this Play is supposed to commence within a day or two of the battle of Shrewsbury, with which the first part ends.

INDUCTION. Rumour enters before the castle of old Northumberland, and tells how she has spread a false report of the battle of Shrewsbury, attributing the victory to Hotspur. Accordingly, in

Day 1, Act I. sc. i., Lord Bardolph¹ enters to acquaint Northumberland with these wished-for tidings. He is, however, soon followed by Travers, who brings true news of the defeat of the rebels and death of Hotspur. Morton, who has fled from Shrews-

In the first draught of this scene the part now taken by Lord Bardolph was evidently given to Sir John Umfrevile. See on this subject an interesting paper by Professor Hagena, read at the 42nd meeting of the N. S. Soc., 13th April, 1878, to be printed in Part III. of Transactions, 1877-9.

bury, now enters, confirms this fatal intelligence, and informs Northumberland that the King

"hath sent out
A speedy power to encounter you, my lord,
Under the conduct of young Lancaster¹
And Westmoreland."

He further tells him that

"The gentle Archbishop of York is up With well-appointed powers."

They adjourn to counsel, and to decide on

"The aptest way for safety and revenge."

An interval: time for Lord Bardolph to join the Archbishop at York.

[Day 1a. London. Act I. sc. ii. Falstaff, whom we last saw at Shrewsbury (end of First Part of Henry IV.), is here with his page; Bardolph, it appears, is also with him; though for the moment he has gone into Smithfield to buy his worship a horse. The Lord Chief Justice enters with his servant; Falstaff tries to avoid him, but it will not do, so he brazens it out. The information in this scene as to the movements of the personages of the drama is important, but at the same time very perplexing for one engaged in an analysis of its plot. We need not inquire how it comes about that Falstaff is now in London, we must be satisfied with the fact that he is here. The Lord Chief Justice's servant has heard that he "is now going with some charge to the Lord John of Lancaster." "What, to York?" asks his lordship; so that it is clear that his lordship's information as to Prince John's whereabouts is in agreement with the King's commands at the end of the first part of this Play, and with Morton's intelligence in sc. i. of this second part. His lordship's meaning, however, is not quite so clear later on in this scene; in l. 128 he tells Falstaff, "I hear you are going with Lord John of Lancaster

¹ It may be as well to note here that "young Lancaster" is Prince John, afterwards Duke of Bedford in *Henry V.* and in *First Part of Henry VI*. The dramatist sometimes titles him "Lancaster" and "Duke of Lancaster," a title belonging to the King, and devolving on his eldest son, the Prince of Wales.

against the Archbishop and the Earl of Northumberland;" and as at the end of the scene Falstaff sends out his page with letters to deliver to "my Lord of Lancaster," "to the Prince [of Wales]," "to the Earl of Westmoreland," and "to old Mistress Ursula," it would seem that all these personages are in London, and that the expedition against Northumberland has been for some reason deferred. And the expedition of the King and the Prince of Wales against Glendower? If we are to believe Falstaff, the Prince is back in London, and so also is the King; for he tells us (l. 118), "I hear his majesty is returned with some discomfort from Wales."]

Day 2. Act I. sc. iii. York. The Archbishop's palace. The Archbishop and the Lords Hastings, Mowbray, and Bardolph consider their position and their ability to cope with the King, wanting as they yet do the promised power of Northumberland. They determine that they will on. Their information as to the King's movements is that his force is divided into three parts: one led by "the Duke of Lancaster and Westmoreland" against them; one led by the King himself and the Prince of Wales against the Welsh; and a third division, the commander unknown, against the French.

It will be observed that Lord Bardolph is ignorant, until informed by Hastings, that the force directed against them is lead by Prince John; yet in sc. i. he was present when Morton informed Northumberland of this fact (see Note 1, p. 280).

[Day 2a. Act II. sc. i. London. Mistress Quickly of East-cheap, now a widow, seeks to arrest Falstaff: he owes her money, and she will be undone by his going. The Lord Chief Justice interferes, reproaches Falstaff, tells him he ought by this time to have been well on his way to York, and Falstaff himself desires deliverance from the officers on the plea that he is upon hasty employment in the King's affairs. In the end he pacifies Mrs. Quickly, persuades her to draw her action, cajoles her into pawning her plate and tapestries in order to lend him more money, and promises her to come to supper, when Doll Tearsheet is to be of the company. In the mean time Gower enters with letters for the Chief Justice, from which it appears that the King and Prince Harry are

near at hand; the King lay at Basingstoke last night; all his forces are not come back; "fifteen hundred foot, five hundred horse / Are march'd up to my Lord of Lancaster, / Against Northumberland and the Archbishop." The time of this scene must be supposed before midday, as Falstaff asks Gower to come with him to dinner (l. 194). Mrs. Quickly also, in the beginning of the scene, says that Falstaff "is indited to dinner to the Lubber's-head in Lumbert St., to Master Smooth's the silkman." Yet for a king who was grievous sick the forty-seven odd miles between Basingstoke and London must have been a good morning's journey. So much for the time of the day; for the day itself there is nothing incompatible with its being supposed the continuation of the day represented in Act I. sc. ii.; Falstaff's knowledge there of the movements of the King and Prince Hal closely connect the two scenes; but we shall perhaps satisfy all the exigencies of the plot if we suppose it not later than the morrow of that scene. We must, however, forego all notion of Prince John and Westmoreland having been in London in Act I. sc. ii., and what we are to understand by Falstaff sending letters to them by his page, who has not left London, I know not.

Act II. sc. ii. London. Prince Hal and Poins have just arrived; they meet Bardolph and the Page. Bardolph tells the Prince that Falstaff had "heard of your grace's coming to town: there's a letter for you." The letter, it is to be presumed, confided to the Page yesterday. The Prince learns that Falstaff is to sup in Eastcheap with Mrs. Quickly and Doll Tearsheet, and resolves to steal upon him in disguise, cautioning Bardolph and the Page not to let him know of his arrival.]

Day 2, continued. Act II. sc. iii. Northumberland's castle. Northumberland yields to the solicitations of his wife and daughter-in-law, and resolves to fly to Scotland, there to await the result of the Archbishop's enterprise. This scene may most conveniently be supposed on the same day as Act I. sc. iii.

An interval. Includes the Falstaffian Days 1a and 2a, during which the King and Prince Hal arrive in London.

[Day 2a, continued. Act II. se. iv. The tavern in Eastcheap.

After supper Falstaff takes his fruit and wine with the Hostess and Doll; his Ancient, Pistol, who now makes his first appearance in these scenes, joins the company, but he and Doll are old enemies: a quarrel ensues, and Pistol is soon quoited downstairs. The Prince and Poins, disguised as drawers, then enter, and after a fine scene of humour Peto comes in haste to tell the Prince that his father is at Westminster, and that there are twenty weak and wearied posts come from the north; as he came along he met and overtook a dozen captains inquiring after Sir John Falstaff. The Prince and Poins immediately depart, and shortly after Bardolph enters to tell Falstaff he must away to court presently; a dozen captains stay at door for And so the party breaks up, very late at night (ll. 175, 299). What important duty unfulfilled it was that caused Prince Hal to hurry from this scene the drama sayeth not; it could scarcely be to go a-hunting at Windsor, or to revel it in London "with Poins, and other his continual followers" (see Act IV. sc. iv.), yet that is all we hear of his proceedings till he appears again upon the stage in Act IV. sc. v, after the rebellion in the north is crushed. Poins we see no more.

Day 3. Act III. sc. i. Westminster. The King is sick and sleepless; he bids his page

"Go, call the Earls of Surrey and of Warwick;
But, ere they come, bid them o'er-read these letters,
And well consider them: make good speed."

By the time the earls arrive it is "one o'clock, and past. They discuss the news from the north: the King hears that the Bishop and Northumberland are fifty thousand strong. But this Warwick believes to be the mere exaggeration of rumour, and that the powers the King has sent forth will easily deal with the rebels. He also informs the King that he has received "a certain instance that Glendower is dead."

About the middle of this scene (ll. 57—65) the King gives us a note of time from which we must infer that he has now arrived at the eighth year of his reign, 1407, the fourth after the battle of Shrewsbury. As we hear no more of Glendower, we must suppose Warwick's news of his death to be dramatically true; but in fact

Glendower did not cease from troubling the realm till the 20th Sept., 1415. Now the dramatic time of this scene must, I think, be taken to be the morrow of the preceding scene, Act II. sc. iv. The letters on which the King consults Warwick and Surrey must be those brought by the "twenty weak and wearied posts come from the north," and this scene therefore—history notwithstanding—must be supposed within a few days of the battle of Shrewsbury. What with Falstaffian days and "historic" days, which are utterly subversive of history, the task of the "Time-Analyst" is by no means an easy one.

An interval. Falstaff journeys into Gloucestershire.

Day 4. Act III. sc. ii. In Gloucestershire; before Justice Shallow's house. Falstaff takes up recruits on his way to the army.

An interval. Sufficient time for Falstaff with his recruits to travel from Gloucester to Yorkshire.

Day 5. Act IV. sc. i. Yorkshire, Gaultree Forest. The Archbishop of York, Mowbray, Hastings, with their army. The Archbishop states that he has received "new-dated letters from Northumberland" announcing his retirement to Scotland, and concluding with prayers for their success. A messenger brings news that

"West of this forest, scarcely off a mile, In goodly form comes on the enemy,"

and immediately after Westmoreland enters with offers of peace. After some discussion the confederates entrust Westmoreland with a schedule of their grievances; he departs to submit it to Prince John, and shortly after returns to invite them to meet the Prince at a just distance between the two armies.

Act IV. sc. ii. The proposed meeting takes place. The Prince accepts the conditions of the confederates, promises redress of grievances, and proposes that both sides shall thereupon dismiss their armies. Agreed to; and messengers to both armies go out accordingly. The army of the confederates disperses; the leaders of the Prince's army have, however, received secret orders from him not to disband until he in person shall give the word of command. By this means he is enabled in safety to seize and send to execution the

leaders of the revolt, and pursue and slaughter their scattered forces. The leaders themselves are a little surprised at the cleverness of this proceeding, but the Prince triumphantly explains to them that he had only promised them the redress of their grievances, not the safety of their persons.

Some of the commentators are rather indignant with Shakespeare for not having written one word in condemnation of this hideous piece of treachery; but he makes the Prince swear, by the honour of his blood, and upon his soul, that the grievances of the confederates shall be with speed redressed; he makes him drink and embrace with them in token of restored love and amity; he makes him promise, upon his honour, most Christian care in the performance of the promised redress, and he, moreover, makes him attribute to God the whole glory of his stratagem. Shakespeare could unpack his heart with words, but I think he must have felt that any comment in this case would but tend to weaken the effect produced by his calm but vivid representation of the crime itself in all its naked horror and deformity.

Act IV. sc. iii. The "Alarums and Excursions" of the pursuit. Falstaff arrives on the scene and takes Sir John Colevile of the Dale prisoner. He then presents himself before Prince John, who reproaches him that when everything is ended then he comes. The Prince sends Colevile to York with the other confederates to present execution, and commissions Westmoreland to go before with the news to the King. Falstaff requests permission to return home through Gloucester, where he proposes to visit Master Robert Shallow.

An interval. Time for Westmoreland's journey from Yorkshire to Westminster.

Day 6. Act IV. sc. iv. Westminster. The Jerusalem Chamber. The King again refers to his proposed expedition to the Holy Land, which is only deferred until the rebels now afoot are brought under. He questions his son Thomas of Clarence as to the Prince of Wales, and is told that he dines in London, accompanied with Poins and other his continual followers. Westmoreland arrives with the news of the suppression of the Archbishop's revolt, and is immediately followed by Harcourt who tells of the overthrow of Northumberland

and Lord Bardolph by the Sheriff of York. The King swoons on hearing this good news, and recovering again requests to be carried into another chamber.

Act IV. sc. v. Another chamber. The King lying on a bed: Clarence, Gloucester, Warwick, etc. in attendance. Soft music. The King falls asleep. The Prince of Wales enters, asks if the King has heard the good news, and is told of his illness. He undertakes to watch by his father's bed, and the rest retire. After a time he thinks' the King dead, takes the crown from the pillow, places it on his own head, and goes out. The King awakes, calls for Warwick and the rest, misses the crown, is told that the Prince Henry has been at his bedside, and sends for him. The Prince returns with the crown, is reproached for his eagerness for the succession and for his wild life, expresses his repentance and affection, and receives loving advice from his father. Prince John of Lancaster arrives, and is welcomed by the King, who, feeling his end to be near, requests to be carried into the: lodging where he first did swoon, which he now learns is called Jerusalem; there he will die, in fulfilment of the prophecy that he. should not die but in Jerusalem, which vainly he supposed the Holy Land. Both these scenes must be supposed on one day: the first is certainly a morning scene, the second may be the afternoon. question of Prince Henry whether his father has heard the good. news connects them closely, and the arrivals of Westmoreland in the one scene and Prince John in the next are sufficiently separated to be consistent with the stage-time of the history.

[Day 3a. Act V. sc. i. Gloucestershire. Justice Shallow's house. Shallow welcomes Falstaff and his followers. It is evident that they have but just arrived. Cf. Davy's speech, l. 31: "Doth the man of war stay all night, sir?" Shallow's, l. 60: "Come, come, come, off with your boots;" and Falstaff's, l. 67: "Bardolph, look to our horses."]

Day 7. Act V. sc. ii. Westminster. Immediately after the King's death. Cf. the questions of the Lord Chief Justice. "How doth the King?"...." I hope, not dead." The new King Henry V. enters and consoles and reassures his brothers, the Chief

Justice, etc. by his professions of entire reformation. A morning scene; the greetings are "good morrow:" it can therefore hardly be supposed on the same day as scenes iv. and v. Act IV.; I take it to be the morrow of those scenes at the end of which it seems clear that the King is within a few hours of dissolution.

An interval. Funeral of Henry IV. Preparation for coronation of Henry V.

[Day 3a, continued. Act V. sc. iii. Gloucestershire. Shallow's orchard. After supper Falstaff and his followers with their host and Master Silence take their fruit and wine in an arbour. Pistol arrives with the news of the King's death. Falstaff determines to mount at once and ride all night to greet his new sovereign. This scene is evidently the evening of the day commenced in Act V. sc. i.; both must therefore be supposed to occur some time in the last marked interval.]

- Day 8. Act V. sc. iv. London. Enter Beadles, dragging in Hostess Quickly and Doll Tearsheet. It seems that the man is dead whom they and Pistol beat amongst them, and prison is their destination. One would like to know, if it were not to consider matters too curiously, what had been Pistol's career since he was first introduced to us. Then (Act II. sc. iv.) he was Falstaff's ancient; but he apparently did not go to the wars with him. He must have made it up with Doll and served under her banner, and so got promotion; for when he brought news of the King's death to Falstaff he was then greeted as Lieutenant.
- Day 9. Act V. sc. v. Near Westminster Abbey. Falstaff, Shallow, etc. have arrived, and await the coming forth of the new King from the coronation ceremony. They are repulsed by him, and the Lord Chief Justice, re-entering, orders Sir John and all his company to be carried to the Fleet.

EPILOGUE, spoken by a Dancer, promising a continuation of the story, with Sir John in it, etc.

Time of this Play, nine days represented on the stage, with three extra Falstaffian days, and intervals. The total dramatic time, in-

cluding intervals, is not easily determined; I fancy a couple of months would be a liberal estimate.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Warkworth, Lord Bardolph with Northumberland,

Interval: time for Lord Bardolph to join the Archbishop at York,

Act I. sc. iii. York. Lord
Bardolph with the Archbishop and confederates,
While this scene takes
place at York we may
suppose that in

Day 2.

Act II. sc. iii. Northumberland resolves for Scotland.

Interval, including the Falstaffian Days 1a and 2a, during which the King arrives in London.

Day 3. Act III. sc. i. Westminster, The King receives uncertain news of the rebellion. This scene must be the morrow of Day 2a.

Interval. Falstaff's journey into Gloucestershire.

Day 4. Act III. sc. ii. Falstaff takes up recruits.

Interval. Falstaff's journey into Yorkshire to join the army of Prince John,

Day 5. Act IV. sc. i. to iii. York-shire. Suppression of the rebellion.

Interval. Westmoreland, followed by Prince John, returns to London. Falstaff travels into Gloucestershire.

Day 6. Act IV. sc. iv. and v. Westminster, Westmoreland and Prince John arrive at Court, Mortal sickness of the King. Act I. sc. ii. Falstaff in Day 1a.

Act II. sc. i. Falstaff's arrest. The King and Prince Hal arrive from Wales.

Act II. sc. ii. Prince Hal and Poins.

Day 2a.

Act II. sc. iv. Supper at the Boar's Head.

Day 7. Act V. sc. ii. Westminster. Immediately after the King's death; the morrow, I take it, of Day 6.

Interval. Funeral of the late King; preparations for the coronation of the new. Within this interval must be supposed Falstaff's arrival at Justice Shallow's, Pistol's journey from London with news of the King's death, and the return of Falstaff and company to London.

Day 8. Act V. sc. iv. Mrs.
Quickly and Doll Tearsheet in
custody.

Day 9. Act V. sc. v. London.
Arrival of Falstaff and company.
Coronation of Henry V.

Act V. sc. i. Falstaff arrives at Justice Shallow's.

Day 3a.

Act V. sc. iii. Justice Shallow's. Pistol arrives with news of the King's death.

To this attempt at fixing the duration of the dramatic action I append for the convenience of the reader the dates of the chief historical events dealt with in the Play. Battle of Shrewsbury, 21st July, 1403; suppression of the Archbishop of York's rebellion, 1405; final defeat of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph, 28th Feb., 1408; death of Henry IV., 20th March, 1413; coronation of Henry V., 9th April, 1413; death of Owen Glendower, 20th Sept., 1415.

HENRY V.

FIRST printed in Folio, divided into acts only.

Actus primus includes Acts I. and II.

Actus secundus = Act III.

Actus tertius = Act IV. sc. i. to vi.

Actus quartus = Act IV. sc. vii. and viii.

Actus quintus = Act V.

The imperfect Quarto edition, 1600, has no division of Acts or scenes.

Ist Chorus. Prologue. Important as setting forth the claims of the dramatist on the imagination of the audience, especially in lines 19, 20, and 30, 31.

"Suppose within the girdle of these walls
Are now confined two mighty monarchies."

"Turning the accomplishment of many years Into an hour-glass."

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Ante-chamber in the King's Palace. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely expatiate on the wonderful reformation and high qualities of the King, and the former tells how he has sought to divert his attention from the temporalities of the Church by encouraging his claim to the throne of France. The time is four o'clock, at which hour the French Ambassador is to have audience, and the Bishops go in to be present at it.

Act I. sc. ii. The Presence Chamber. The King consults with his lords, spiritual and temporal, touching his claim to the French crown. The Archbishop sets forth his title, urges him—

"With blood and sword and fire to win his right,"

and promises a mighty sum in aid. The Ambassadors of France are then called in: they bring a message from the Dauphin mocking Henry's claim to France, and offering him in lieu of it a present of tennis balls. The King dismisses them with a declaration of war, and bids his lords prepare immediately for his expedition to France.

An interval.—See following chorus.

2nd Chorus. Tells of the preparations for the war; of the discovery of the conspiracy against the King, who is set from London, and that the scene is now transported to Southampton. The chorus, however, ends with the somewhat dubious lines—

"But till the King come forth, and not till then, Vnto Southampton do we shift our scene."—Folio.

I guess these two lines to have been added in order to introduce the following scene, which certainly is not at Southampton, and which, perhaps, would be better placed, as a separate day, in Act I. Pope, in

fact, placed it there. It may be remarked that the comic scenes of this play, like those of the two parts of *Henry IV*., are in general very loosely connected with the main story, and render any completely satisfactory scheme of time difficult of attainment.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. London. Eastcheap? Certainly near Mrs. Quickly's hostelry. Time, the morning: "Good-morrow, Lieutenant Bardolph," says Corporal Nym on meeting him. Nym has a quarrel with Ancient Pistol, and good cause; for has not the latter married Nell Quickly, to whom he, Nym, was troth-plight, and does he not still owe him, and refuses payment of the eight shillings he won of him at betting? Bardolph reconciles them, and it is agreed that they shall all three be sworn brothers to France. Mrs. Quickly calls them in to comfort poor Sir John Falstaff, who is very ill, and would to bed, heart-broken at the King's unkindness.

An interval—and the fact that any interval at all should be required between chorus No. 2 and the King's appearance at South-ampton is an additional reason for regretting that sc. i. of this Act cannot be transferred to the end of Act I., and this interval absorbed in that which necessarily separates the two Acts—must now be supposed. Less time than one week for poor Sir John's sickness, death, and burial, cannot well be denied, and, but that Kings must not be kept waiting, I should have set down at least a fortnight.

Day 3. Act II. sc. ii. Southampton. The King convicts Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey of treason; sends them to execution, and then sets out for France.

Act II. sc. iii. London. Falstaff is dead, "and we must yearn therefore:" "a' parted even just between twelve and one, even at the turning o' the tide." On what night is not stated: one night during our last interval. Pistol, Nym, Bardolph, and the Boy, take

Crasy [disguised as a doctor]. "Let me see, to-night it will be full moon. And she scape the turning of the next Tyde, I will give her a gentle Vomit in

the morning," &c.

¹ The tide of time: when time was "dead low water," and the "tide of the returning day" commenced to flow.—See the late Howard Staunton's admirable exposition of this passage in The Athenœum, 8th November, 1873. As this is a question of time not generally understood, I may add to the illustrations there given one more, from Brome's City Wit, I. i. p. 310, Pearson's reprint—

leave of the Hostess, and depart to join the army. It is more than time; for "the King will be gone from Southampton." It will be observed that Staines lies on their road, and therefore that the travellers were bound for Southampton. I include this scene in one day with sc. ii.; it cannot well be put later, nor can I suppose it to be so early as the morrow of sc. i.; hence the necessity of the interval between Days 2 and 3.

An interval: time for the arrival of the English army in France, and for the further journey of Exeter to the French Court.

Day 4. Act II. sc. iv. France. The King's Palace. The French King and his Nobles determine on their lines of defence. Exeter, Ambassador from Henry, who is footed in the land already, comes to demand the surrender of the crown, and to convey a message of scorn and defiance to the Dauphin. The French King requires a night's reflection, and promises his answer on the morrow.

An interval: see following chorus.

3rd Chorus. Tells of King Henry's departure from Hampton; his arrival at Harfleur, and of the return of his Ambassador with the offer of the French King's daughter, Katherine, in marriage, dowered with some petty and unprofitable dukedoms, which offer likes not, and the siege of the town is commenced accordingly.

Day 5. Act III. sc. i., ii., and iii. Before Harfleur. Siege of the town—assaults—the town sounds a parley (sc. ii.), and surrenders (sc. iii.); their expectation of succours from the Dauphin having this day an end. Henry establishes Exeter as governor, and the winter coming on, determines to retire to Calais—

"To-night," says he to Exeter, "in Harfleur we will be your guest; To-morrow for the march are we addrest."

Pistol and his companions are present at this siege (sc. ii.), and it appears they did not accompany the King in his direct voyage to Harfleur; for "in Calais" Nym and Bardolph "stole a fire-shovel."

An interval. March of King Henry towards Calais.

[Act III. sc. iv. The French King's Palace. The Princess Katherine takes her first lesson in English; for, says she, "il faut N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9. 20

que j'apprenne à parler." Why? Clearly with a view to the proposed marriage between herself and King Henry, and this scene therefore seems out of place; its time must be supposed within a day or two of Day 4, Act II. sc. iv.; for since that time, as we learn in Chorus 3, the negotiations for this marriage have been broken off. I accordingly enclose this scene in brackets, and refer it to the interval which follows Day 4.]

Day 6. Act III. sc. v. Rouen. The French King and his Nobles have heard that Henry has "pass'd the river Somme," and determine that he shall be fought withal. The King bids them march upon him and bring him prisoner into Rouen, and orders that Mountjoy the herald be sent to him at once to defy him and to know what ransom he will give. He determines that the Dauphin shall remain with him in Rouen.

An interval: a day or two.

Day 7. Act III. sc. vi. Blangy. The English make themselves masters of the bridge, cross the Ternois, and encamp beyond the river, within sight of the French army, near Agincourt. In the course of the scene Mountjoy delivers to Henry the message confided to him by the French King.

In this scene we have a noticeable instance of the method in which time is frequently dealt with in these Plays; the progress of events keeping pace with the dialogue in which they are narrated: Pistol comes to urge Fluellen to intercede with Exeter 1 for Bardolph, who is sentenced to be hanged for stealing a pax of little price. Fluellen declines to interfere, and almost immediately after—without his quitting the stage, and without any break in the action which might assist the spectator in imagining the passage of time—he is able to inform the King, who enters, that Bardolph's "nose is executed, and his fire's out."

Time "draws toward night" when this scene ends.

¹ The plot of the drama would not lead us to expect the presence of Exeter in this and subsequent scenes connected with Agincourt; for in Act III. sc. iii. Henry establishes him as Governor of Harfleur. According to the Chronicles, however, Exeter appointed "Jhon Fastolffe" his lieutenant for that place and accompanied the King on his journey to Calais.

Act III. sc. vii. The French camp near Agincourt; at night. The French lords long for day that they may prove their valour on the English host. At "midnight" (1.97) "Dolphin" goes out to arm himself, and we must suppose, therefore, that

Day 8 begins here. The other lords continue their banter and bragging. A messenger informs them that the Lord Grandpré has measured the ground, and finds that the English lie within 1500 paces of the French tents. Orleans concludes the scene with—

"It is now two o'clock: but, let me see, by ten We shall have each a hundred Englishmen."

4th Chorus now intimates that it is "the third hour of drowsy morning;" describes the different conduct of the two armies, and then, introducing us to the English camp and King Henry, departs.

Act IV. sc. i. The English camp. Henry visits in disguise the several divisions of his army. Meets with Pistol, who boasts to him that he will knock Fluellen's leek about his pate upon St. Davy's Day. Overhears Fluellen's discourse with Gower on the disciplines of the wars. Engages in a discussion with the three soldiers, Bates, Court, and Williams, as morning begins to break (1. 88), and accepts a challenge from the last, in gage of which they exchange gloves. His nobles seek him out and he departs; for the day, his friends and all things stay for him.

Act IV. sc. ii. The French Camp. Morning has come at last; the sun doth gild their armour. The English are embattled, and the French lords mount their horses, eager for the fray. As they haste to the field the Constable exclaims: "The sun is high, and we outwear the day."

Act IV. sc. iii. The English Camp. Henry and his Nobles prepare for the battle. Once more Mountjoy comes to know if he will yield and pay ransom, and is once more dismissed.

¹ Is this "Dolphin" the Dauphin of France, who in Act III. sc. v. was to remain with his father in Rouen, and who, according to the chronicles, did remain there? Or is he intended for the "Great Master of France, the brave Sir Guichard Dolphin" who was slain in the battle? See Act IV. sc. viii. 1. 100. On this point, and others relating to the personages of the drama, see Introduction to Parallel Texts Edition of Henry V., published for the New Shakspere Society, 1877.

Then follow the "Alarms and Excursions," and the scenes iv. to viii., which represent the great day of Agincourt, the details of which it is not necessary for our purpose here to dwell upon. The King ends the Act with the announcement of his intention to proceed to Calais, and from thence to England.

After thus briefly dismissing the high acts and deaths of princes, it may seem inconsistent to make special record of the end of inferiors; but as a matter of interest in connection with the comic portion of the plot, Nym's fate may here be noted. At the end of sc. iv., after Pistol has gone out with his French prisoner, the Boy tells us that Nym has shared the fate of Bardolph. It was but yesterday (Act III. sc. vi.) that the Lieutenant's vital thread was cut with edge of penny cord, and now we learn that a like preparation of the herb Pantagruelion, so celebrated by the learned Alcofribas Nasier, has also stopped the breath of Corporal Nym; though when this fatal event occurred we know not. The Boy himself perishes shortly after—"there's not a boy left alive," says Gower in the beginning of sc. vii.—and Pistol alone of all the crew is left alive to furnish us with one more rich scene of humour in the next Act.

An interval. See following Chorus.

5th Chorus tells of Henry's journey to England and of his reception by his people; then, with excuses for passing over time and history, brings the audience straight back again to France. The historic period thus passed over by the dramatist dates from 25th October, 1415, to Henry's betrothal to Katherine, 20th May, 1420; all representation of the wars which ended in the conquest of France being omitted in the Play.

[Act V. sc. i. Yesterday, it seems, was St. David's Day, and Pistol, in fulfilment of his vow recorded in Act IV. sc. i., had taken advantage of Fluellen's presence in a place where he "could not breed no contention," to insult him about his leek. Fluellen now revenges himself, and cudgels Pistol into eating the leek he loathed. The locality of this scene is France; for in his last speech, Pistol says, "to England will I steal:" its time, dramatically considered, should probably be imagined within a few days of Day 8. Pistol's

braggardism had been pretty thoroughly exposed to the world already, and he could scarcely be expected to maintain the imposture for any longer time. Johnson, it may be observed, would place the scene at the end of Act IV., supposing it to occur before the return of the army to England. At a pinch, perhaps, we might imagine that Pistol, with Fluellen and Gower, had remained in garrison at Calais since the great battle, and, if we go by the Almanack, we might thus lengthen out Pistol's military career by four months and a-half to this 2nd March, the morrow of St. David's Day. This time and place, too, might be taken to agree pretty well with the news that Pistol has received from England that his "Nell is dead i' the spital;" but it seems idle to assign any definite position in our time-plot to this scene, and I enclose it therefore within brackets; referring it to some time in the early part of the interval marked by Chorus 5.]

Day 9. Act V. sc. ii. France. King Henry and his Lords, and the French King and Queen, by the mediation of the Duke of Burgundy, settle terms of peace by which the two kingdoms are united, and the marriage of Henry with Katherine resolved on.

6th Chorus. Epilogue.

The period of history included in this Play commences in the second year of Henry's reign, 1414, and ends with his betrothal to Katherine, 20th May, 1420.

This period is represented on the stage by nine days, with intervals.

1st Chorus. Prologue.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

2nd Chorus. Interval.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i.

Interval.

" 3. Act II. sc. ii. and iii.

Interval.

" 4. Act II. sc. iv.

3rd Chorus. Interval.

Day 5. Act III. sc. i. to iii.

Interval.

[Act III. sc. iv. Some time of the interval succeeding Day 4.]

Day 6. Act III. sc. v.

,, 7. Act III. sc. vi., and first part of sc. vii.

,, 8. Act III. sc. vii., second part. 4th Chorus, and Act IV. sc. i. to viii.

5th Chorus. Interval.

[Act V. sc. i. Some time in the early part of the last interval.]

Day 9. Act V. sc. ii. 6th Chorus. Epilogue.

FIRST PART OF HENRY VI.

FIRST printed in Folio; divided into acts and partly into scenes.

Actus Primus and Actus Secundus, no division of scenes.

Actus Tertius divided as in Globe edition.

In Actus Quartus, Scæna prima comprises the whole of our Act IV.; Scæna secunda = Act V. sc. i.; and Scæna tertia = Act V. sc. ii. to iv.

Actus Quintus = Act V. sc. v.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Westminster Abbey. Funeral of Henry V., attended by his brothers, the Duke of Gloucester, Protector, and the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; the Duke of Exeter, governor of the young King; the Bishop of Winchester (Cardinal Beaufort) and others. While they lament the dead King and

¹ Among the "others" of this scene the stage direction of the Folio includes "Warwicke" and the "Duke of Somerset;" neither has any part in the scene, and it is not perhaps of much importance whether their names be retained or struck out here; but it is important that we should understand whom they were designed to represent by the dramatist, and on this point there can be no doubt that by the "Earl of Warwick," in the three parts of Henry VI, he meant Richard Neville, the 'king-maker,' and by the "Duke of Somerset," in the two first parts, Edmund Beaufort, slain at St. Alban's. It is of course perfectly true that their "dramatic" existence is often utterly irreconcileable with history, but if we are to correct the dramatist at the bid-

quarrel among themselves, three several messengers arrive with news of great disasters in France. Thereupon Bedford goes out to prepare for his return thither; Gloucester goes out to proceed to the Tower, "with all the haste he can," to view the artillery and munition there, and then to proclaim young Henry VI. King; Exeter goes out to take charge of the young King at Eltham; left alone, with no employment, Winchester resolves that he will not long be "Jack out of office."

Act I. sc. ii. France. The French under the command of Charles attack the English army under Salisbury at the siege of

ding of history very little of his work would remain intact; the whole of this scene, for instance, would have to be demolished. In modern editions "Warwick" is allowed to remain in this stage direction, and the reader's historic conscience is soothed with the information that Richard Beauchamp is here meant, and in the modern list of dramatis personæ prefixed to this 1st Part we are told that Somerset is John, Edmund's elder brother, though it is perfectly certain (according to the dramatist) that in the 2nd Part he is Edmund, and that in both 1st and 2nd Parts he is only one individual. History is an indispensable aid in the study of these "Histories;" but her duty is that of a guide, not-except in a few rare cases-that of a corrector. If the dramatist chooses, for instance, to make Richard Neville, who was born in 1420, present at the funeral of Henry V. in 1422, a full-fledged Earl with a title which he only got in 1449, he is in his right; I think he must be quit for that: all historical romancists do the like. Marry, there is another indictment upon him for the which I think he should howl. He has not, I think, any right to announce the loss of Paris in Act I. sc. i., and then in Act IV. to take young Henry there to be crowned King of France; but we have no right to be scandalized at the presence of "Warwicke" and the "Duke of Somerset" in this scene, and if their names are retained in the stage direction, it should be with the understanding that they are Richard Neville and Edmund Beaufort. It may be added that Edmund, then Earl of Mortayn, did actually accompany the corpse of Henry V. on its way to England, and therefore, historically, has a better right to be present in this scene than Warwick. While on this subject it may perhaps be as well to clear up the individuality of the Somerset introduced in the 3rd Part; and here again we find that the dramatist presents us with a composite personage. Henry and Edmund, sons of the above-mentioned Edmund, were successively Dukes of Somerset; the former did for a time abandon Henry VI. (and we find "Somerset" at Edward's court in Act IV. sc. i. 3 Henry VI.); but he afterwards returned to his allegiance and lost his life at Hexham, 1463—a part of history passed over by the dramatist :- Edmund, his brother, who succeeded to the title, was always true to Henry, and lost his life at Tewksbury, 1471. These two form only one individual in 3 Henry VI., but they make up with their father the three Dukes referred to - by Richard in Act V. sc. i. l. 73, and by Edward in Act V. sc. vii. 1. 5-in 3 Henry VI. Whether, after giving us only two Somersets, the dramatist is justified in referring to them as three, I leave to the decision of the reader; but history here certainly explains how it happens that he did so. This discrepancy is also found in The Contention, &c.

Orleans, and are beaten back. The Bastard of Orleans, Dunois, brings Joan la Pucelle to Charles; she promises to raise the siege this night.

Act I. sc. iii. London. Before the Tower. Gloucester, with his men in blue coats, comes "to survey the Tower this day." The Lieutenant, in obedience to Winchester's commands, denies him entrance. Winchester himself, with his men in tawny coats, arrives on the scene. The two parties skirmish and are finally separated by the Lord Mayor.

Act I. sc. iv. On the walls of Orleans. The Master Gunner has planted a piece of ordnance against a tower in the suburbs which the English have won, from which he has heard they are wont to overpeer the city. He leaves his boy in charge to watch for the entrance of the English into this tower. Salisbury, Talbot,² Sir William Glansdale, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and others enter the tower. While they are discoursing and viewing the city the Master Gunner's boy, on the walls, fires off his piece and kills Salisbury and Gargrave. The time "is supper-time in Orleans." News is brought to Talbot that the Dauphin and Joan have gathered head and have come to raise the siege.

Act I. sc. v. Alarums. Skirmishes ending in the relief of the town by the French, and the repulse and retreat of the English under Talbot.

Act I. sc. vi. In Orleans. The French make merry; for "Joan la Pucelle hath performed her word."

Here, with the first Act, I end Day 1. It is quite evident that the scenes in France are all supposed to take place on one day. The English scenes i. and iii.—connected as they are by Gloucester's last speech in sc. i. and his first speech in sc. iii.—must also be supposed on one day; and from the manner in which sc. iii. is dove-tailed into the French scenes, one and the same day may be accepted for both English and French scenes.

² Talbot's captivity was announced by one of the messengers in sc. i.; he appears to have been released before the news of his capture reached London.

¹ It will be observed that Winchester in this scene is a Cardinal. In the next two scenes in which he appears—Act III, sc. i. and Act IV. sc. i.—he is still but a Bishop. It is not 'till Act V. sc. i, that he appears newly-invested in the dignity of Cardinal.

An interval: Time for Bedford to arrive in France; i. e. if time was required for his journey, which is somewhat doubtful. At any rate the interval must be short, for Salisbury has yet to be buried in the following scenes, and possibly our Day 2 should only be supposed the morrow of Day 1.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Before Orleans. At night, probably past midnight, Talbot, who has been joined by Bedford and Burgundy, scales the walls of Orleans and drives out the Dauphin, Joan, and the French.

Act II. sc. ii. In Orleans. As day begins to break, Bedford orders the pursuit of the French to cease. Talbot gives orders for the obsequies of Salisbury. A messenger invites him to visit the Countess of Auvergne. He accepts the invitation, but gives secret instructions to one of his Captains. Exeunt.

Act II. sc. iii. The Countess of Auvergne's Castle. Talbot pays his promised visit. The Countess thinking him in her power declares him her prisoner; he winds his horn, his soldiers break in, and he convinces her "that Talbot is but shadow of himself." It seems to me clear that in the drama this scene is supposed to occur within an hour or two of the preceding one, certainly on the same day. The Countess of Auvergne's castle must therefore be situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Orleans. If it be urged that this is a slighting of geography, I can only reply—So much the worse for geography.

Act II. sc. iv. London. The Temple garden. Enter Somerset, Suffolk (William de la Pole, Earl), Warwick, Richard Plantagenet (afterwards Duke of York), Vernon, and Lawyer. On a disputed case in law between Plantagenet and Somerset, their companions take sides by plucking a white rose for Plantagenet and a red rose for Somerset. Enmity and defiance on both sides is the result. The blot on Plantagenet's House, by the treason and execution of his father, Richard, Earl of Cambridge (see Henry V., Act II. sc. ii.), urged against him by Somerset, Warwick declares "Shall be wiped out in the next parliament / Called for the truce of Winchester and Gloucester" (see Act I. sc. iii.). Time, before noon: Plantagenet adjourns with his friends to dinner.

Act II. sc. v. The Tower. Richard Plantagenet visits the aged and dying Mortimer (the Mortimer of 1 Henry IV.), who tells him of his own right to the throne and of his, Richard's, claim as his nephew and heir. He dies, and Richard hastes to the parliament, where he hopes "to be restored to his blood." The time must be supposed the afternoon of the preceding scene: Richard refers to the dispute between himself and Somerset as having taken place "this day." With Act II. I end Day 2, including both the French and English scenes, which may very well be supposed coincident in point of time.

Day 3. Act III. sc. i. London. The Parliament House. After a great deal of mutual recrimination, and violence on the part of their respective factions, a seeming reconciliation is effected between Gloucester and Winchester. Warwick then presents a bill in favour of Richard Plantagenet, who, as heir to his uncle York, killed at Agincourt, is restored to his inheritance and created Duke of York. Gloucester then proposes that the King shall cross the seas to be crowned in France, and the parliament adjourns for this purpose. In Act II. sc. iv., morning, Warwick talked of the meeting represented in this scene as "the next parliament;" in the next scene, afternoon of same day, Plantagenet talked of hasting to this parlia-From Warwick's speech we might have expected some interval between Acts II. and III.; from Plantagenet's speech we might suppose Act II. sc. v. and Act III. sc. i. to be on the same day; I split the difference, and mark this scene as the commencement of Day 3 and the morrow of Day 2.

An interval, during which we are to imagine that the young King and his Court arrive in Paris.

Day 4. Act III. sc. ii. France. Rouen. By a stratagem La Pucelle, Charles, etc., capture the town and drive out Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, and the English. A battle—during which Sir John Falstaffe runs away—then takes place, the English recapture the town, thus "lost and recover'd in a day again." Bedford, who is sick and dying, looks on at the fight from his chair, and in the moment of victory breathes his last. Talbot then proposes that after seeing

"his exequies fulfilled in Rouen" they shall "depart to Paris to the King, / For there young Henry with his nobles lie."

Day 5. Act III. sc. iii. The plains near Rouen. Charles, La Pucelle, etc., with their forces, fresh from their discomfiture in the preceding scene. Talbot with his forces marches over on his way to Paris. He is followed by Burgundy with his forces. Charles desires a parley with Burgundy, who, yielding to the persuasions of la Pucelle, resolves to abandon the English cause and join with Charles. We may afford a separate day to this scene, and suppose it the morrow of sc. ii.

An interval. Talbot's march to Paris.

Day 6. Act III. sc. iv. Paris. "Enter the King, Gloucester, Winchester, Yorke, Suffolke, Somerset, Warwicke, Exeter;" apparently on their way to the coronation ceremony. "To them, with his Souldiers, Talbot," who comes to pay his duty to his sovereign. The King creates him Earl of Shrewsbury, and bids him take his place in the coronation.

"Senet. Flourish. Exeunt.

Manet. (sic.) Vernon and Basset."

These two take up a former quarrel respecting York and Somerset. Vernon, an adherent of York (see Act II. sc. iv.), strikes Basset, who goes out to crave liberty of combat of the King to venge his wrong. Vernon declares that he will be there as soon as he.

Act IV. sc. i. The Coronation. Sir John Falstaffe enters with a letter to the King from the Duke of Burgundy, delivered to him as he rode from Calais. Talbot tears off Falstaffe's garter, and disgraces him for his cowardice at the battle of Patay.¹ The King confirms Talbot's act and banishes Falstaffe. Burgundy's letter, announcing his defection from the English cause, is then read, and Talbot is commissioned to chastise his treason. Vernon and Basset now enter to crave liberty of combat. Their quarrel revives that of their principals, who, however, yield to the remonstrances of the King and are outwardly reconciled. The King in friendliness adopts

¹ Narrated by one of the messengers in Act I. sc. i. It may be noted here that the name of this warrior is always given in the Folio as "Falstaffe."

the red rose of Somerset, and creates York regent of these parts of France, bidding both unite their forces against the common enemy. He then determines after some respite to return to Calais, and from thence to England. The connection of this scene with the preceding one is too close to allow of our assigning more than one day to the two; and, notwithstanding the "authority" of the Folio, I would suggest that the first (Act III. sc. iv.) would be better placed as the commencement of Act IV.

An interval. Talbot prepares for and sets out on his new expedition. King Henry returns to England.

Day 7. Act IV., sc. ii. to vii., concludes Talbot's career. In sc. ii. Talbot summons the town of Bordeaux to surrender, and is warned by the Governor that he is surrounded by the army of the Dauphin. In scenes iii. and iv., in different parts of the plains, messengers come to York and to Somerset from Talbot, urging them to come to his assistance. Each throws the blame on the other, but their mutual jealousy makes them leave Talbot to his fate. In sc. v. young Talbot joins his father, and resolves to die with him. In sc. vi. follow the incidents of the battle ending in the deaths of Talbot and his son, whose bodies Sir William Lucy is permitted by Charles and La Pucelle to carry from the field. The French then determine to march on Paris.

Act V. sc. i. London. The King receives ambassadors from the Pope, the Emperor, and the Earl of Armagnac, to treat of a peace between England and France, and of the marriage of the King to the Earl of Armagnac's daughter. He promises to send the conditions of peace to France by Winchester (now Cardinal), and sends a jewel to the lady in proof of his affection and intention to make her his Queen.

Act V. sc. ii. France. Charles, La Pucelle, &c., with their forces. They are still in the mind to march to Paris (see end of Act IV. sc. vii.), when a scout enters to inform them that "The English army, that divided was / Into two parties, is now conjoin'd in one, / and means to give you battle presently."

" Exeunt. Alarum. Excursions."

Act V. sc. iii. La Pucelle enters. "The Regent [York] conquers and the Frenchmen fly," and she calls up her attendant spirits to assist her; they abandon her: then enter York, who takes her prisoner. "Exeunt." "Alarum." Suffolk enters with Margaret, his prisoner. Enchanted with her beauty, he proposes to her that she shall become King Henry's Queen. She consents, provided her father be pleased. Suffolk thereupon craves a parley with Regnier, who appears on his castle walls. Regnier consents to this great match for his daughter on condition of his being allowed quiet possession of Anjou and Maine; and Suffolk departs to inflame Henry with an account of the great happiness he has provided for Perhaps it might be well to mark the Suffolk-Margaret portion of this scene as a separate scene. I include all the scenes, French and English, from Act IV. sc. ii. to this Act V. sc. iii., in one day, No. 7; for it seems evident—geographical considerations notwithstanding—that the dramatist intended the action of the French scenes to be continuous.

An interval; during which we may suppose Winchester journey ing to France and Suffolk to England.

Day 8. Act V. sc. iv. York and Warwick with Joan, prisoner. A shepherd, who claims to be her father, is repudiated by her. York and Warwick condemn her to death. Cardinal Beaufort now arrives to inform York of the proposed peace; to confer on which the Dauphin is at hand. Then enter Charles and his train. The conditions are agreed to; Charles swears allegiance to King Henry, and a hollow peace is proclaimed.

Act V. sc. v. London. Henry, seduced by Suffolk's account of Margaret, brushes aside the remonstrances of Gloucester and Exeter with respect to his contract with the Earl of Armagnac's daughter, and commissions Suffolk to procure Margaret for his Queen. These two last scenes may conveniently be supposed on one day.

Time of this play eight days; with intervals.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. to vi. Interval.

" 2. Act II. sc. i. to v.

- Day 3. Act III. sc. i.

 Interval.
 - .. 4. Act III. sc. ii.
 - ,, 5. Act III. sc. iii.

 Interval.
 - ,, 6. Act III. sc. iv., Act IV. sc. i.

 Interval.
 - ,, 7. Act IV. sc. ii. to vii., and Act V. sc. i. to iii.

 Interval.
 - " 8. Act V. sc. iv. and v. Historic period, say from death of Henry V., 31 August, 1422, to the treaty of marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret, end of 1444.

SECOND PART OF HENRY VI.

FIRST printed in Folio: no division of acts and scenes.

"The First part of the Contention," etc., on which this Play is founded, has no division of acts or scenes.

The interval between the *First* and this, the *Second Part of Henry VI.*, is supposed to be occupied by Suffolk's negotiations for the marriage of the King with Margaret of Anjou. In

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. London. The Palace. Suffolk presents Margaret to the King. The terms of the contract—the cession of Anjou and Maine to her father, Regnier—are agreed to. The King rewards Suffolk with the title of Duke; discharges York "from being Regent, / I' the parts of France, till term of eighteen months / Be full expired," and then, with the Queen and Suffolk, retires to provide with all speed for her coronation. Gloucester, Protector, laments the blow given to the English power in France by the King's marriage, and after a few words with the Cardinal, departs. The Cardinal, after urging on the lords the necessity of ousting Gloucester from his post of Protector, next goes out to consult with Suffolk on this business. Somerset and Buckingham follow him,

agreeing to join in procuring the fall of Gloucester, but resolved that they, and not the Cardinal, shall benefit thereby.

The Nevils, Salisbury¹ and his son Warwick, determine to side with Gloucester; and York outwardly agrees with them, but resolves within himself to steer his course solely with the view to his own advancement to the throne.

An interval. Some considerable time. Perhaps eighteen months. In sc. i. York is discharged from his office of Regent in France for that period; in sc. iii. it is a question of re-appointing him.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. Gloucester's house. His wife, Eleanor, endeavours to excite in him her own desire for regal dignity; he checks her for her ambition. A messenger enters to bid him "prepare to ride unto St. Alban's / Where as the king and queen do mean to hawk." The Duchess promises to follow him presently; but in the mean time calls in Sir John Hume, whom she has commissioned to confer with Margery Jourdain and Roger Bolingbroke about raising a spirit that shall reveal the future to her, and she proposes to consult them on her return from St. Alban's. Left alone, Hume lets the audience into the secret that he is in the pay of Suffolk and the Cardinal, whose plot it is to tickle the Duchess's ambition, and by her attainture to cause the fall of her husband.

Act I. sc. iii. The Court. Divers petitioners await the coming forth of the Lord Protector. The Queen and Suffolk enter and take their petitions: one is from an apprentice, Peter, denouncing his master, Thomas Horner, for saying that the Duke of York was rightful heir to the crown. Suffolk orders him in and sends for Horner. The Queen complains to Suffolk that all the nobles have greater power than the King, and she is especially irate at the haughty conduct of Dame Eleanor, the Protector's wife; Suffolk bids her have patience, he will, one by one, get rid of them all, and place the helm in her

¹ Richard Neville, eldest son of the second wife of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland (*Henry IV*. and *Henry V*.); he was created Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife Alice, daughter and heiress of Thomas Montacute, killed at the siege of Orleans, 1428 (1st Part Henry VI., I. iv.). His son, the Earl of Warwick, got his title in right of his wife Anne, sister of Henry Beauchamp, the last Earl and Duke of that family, who died 1445, and heiress of her infant niece Anne, who died 1449.

hands. The King enters with all the Court, and it is a question whether York or Somerset shall be appointed to the regentship of France. After a good deal of quarrelling, Suffolk calls in Horner and his man Peter, and on the charge which the latter makes against his master being heard, Gloucester, as Protector, decides that the regentship shall be conferred on Somerset, and that Peter and Horner shall settle by single combat, to take place on the last day of the next month, their truth or falsehood. In the course of this scene Margaret makes occasion to box Dame Eleanor's ears, and the latter goes out vowing to be revenged. Buckingham follows her to watch her proceedings.

Act I. sc. iv. It is to be presumed that the box on the ear received from the Queen has determined Eleanor not to accompany the Court to St. Alban's, and has hastened her consultation with the magicians; for we now find her with them. They raise a spirit who predicts the fates of the King, York, Suffolk, and Somerset. While they are at their incantations, York and Buckingham (who has "watch'd her well"), with a guard, break in and take them all into custody. Buckingham sets out at once to carry this news to where "the King is now in progress towards St. Alban's;" and York anticipates that it will provide "a sorry breakfast for my lord protector." He then sends to invite Salisbury and Warwick to sup with him to-morrow night. The time of this scene appears to be the night of the day commencing with sc. ii. of this Act; the place is generally given as "Gloucester's garden" (Capell) or "the witch's cave" (Theobald).

Day 3. Act II. sc. i. St. Alban's. The King, Queen, Gloucester, Cardinal, and Suffolk hawking, and of course quarrelling as usual. They are interrupted by the townsmen bringing in Saunder Simcox, who pretends to have been born blind, and to have recovered his sight after offering at the shrine of St. Alban's; but who yet is supposed to be a cripple. Gloucester convicts him of imposture, and cures his pretended lameness by whipping. Then Buckingham arrives with the news of the arrest of Eleanor and her accomplices. The King resolves to repose at St. Alban's this night

and "to-morrow toward London back again / To look into this business thoroughly." The time of this scene, I presume, is not to be supposed later than midday: Gloucester and the Cardinal, who are somewhat restrained by the King's presence, propose to meet in the evening and settle their difference by the sword; it must, therefore, be the morrow of the preceding scene.

Act II. sc. ii. London. The Duke of York's garden. Their "simple supper ended" (see end of Act I. sc. iv.), York exposes to Salisbury and Warwick his title to the crown. They acknowledge him as their sovereign, and resolve to assist him in obtaining his right.

An interval of at least a month must here be supposed.

Day 4. Act II. sc. iii. London. A hall of justice. The King sentences Eleanor to three days open penance and then to banishment in the Isle of Man; her accomplices in witchcraft he condemns to death. He now also assumes sovereign power, and abolishes Gloucester's protectorship.

This day is the day appointed for the combat between Horner and his man Peter, and therefore, at least, a month must have elapsed since Act I. sc. iii.; they enter and fight: Horner is vanquished, confesses his treason, and dies.

An interval; at least two days.

Day 5. Act II. sc. iv. A street. The third day of Eleanor's penance has come, and at ten o'clock Gloucester, with his men in mourning cloaks, meets her and bids her adieu. The Sheriff, her penance done, delivers her to Sir John Stanley, with whom she departs for the Isle of Man. A herald summons Gloucester to a Parliament, "holden at Bury the first of this next month."

The combat between Horner and Peter was appointed for the last day of a month; then followed the three days of Eleanor's penance: therefore—

An interval of about twenty-seven days, to the Parliament on the first of next month, is to be supposed between Days 5 and 6.

Day 6. Act III. sc. i. At Bury St. Edmund's. The Parlia-N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

ment. The Queen, Suffolk, the Cardinal, York, and Buckingham endeavour to persuade the King of the dangerous character of Gloucester. Somerset comes from France and announces that all is lost there. Gloucester enters, is accused of treason and committed to the custody of the Cardinal, the King, though convinced of his innocence, being too weak to preserve him. Exeunt all but Queen, Cardinal, Suffolk, and York. Somerset remains apart. resolve on the death of Gloucester, which the Cardinal promises to effect. A messenger announces a rebellion in Ireland. York, after suggesting that as Somerset has been so lucky in France he should now try his hand in Ireland, himself undertakes the business, and desires that his soldiers may meet him within fourteen days at Bristol, at which port he proposes to embark. Left alone, York determines while he is away, to employ Jack Cade, under the title of Mortimer, to raise commotions in England, whereby he may "perceive the Commons' mind, / How they affect the house and claim of York," and then, returning with his army from Ireland, to take advantage of circumstances as they may favour his ambition.

An interval of perhaps a few days may be allowed here.

Day 7. Act III. sc. ii. Bury St. Edmund's. A room of state. The assassins engaged by Suffolk to murder Gloucester tell him they have done the deed. The King enters with the Queen, the Cardinal, Somerset, &c., and bids Suffolk call Gloucester to his presence for trial. Suffolk goes and returns with the news of the Duke's death. Warwick and Salisbury enter with the Commons in uproar. The body of Gloucester is brought in; Warwick accuses Suffolk of the murder. The Commons insist on his death or banishment, and the King orders him to depart within three days, on pain of death. As Suffolk and the Queen, left alone, take leave of each other, Vaux enters and informs them that he is hastening to the King to tell him that Cardinal Beaufort has been suddenly seized with sickness, and now lies at point of death.

Act III. sc. iii. Death of the Cardinal.

¹ Salisbury and Warwicke are also present, in the stage directions; but they take no part in the scene. In 1st Part of Contention they go out with the King.

An interval. Query—three days? The time allowed for Suffolk's departure? But see comment on the following scene.

- Day 8. Act IV. sc. i. The coast of Kent. Alarum. Fight at sea; then enter Captain of the Pirates, Walter Whitmore and others, with Suffolk and others, prisoners. Suffolk falls to the lot of Whitmore, who, in revenge for having lost an eye in the fight, instead of ransoming him, resolves to put him to death. Suffolk, to save his life, reveals himself, but only thereby rouses the anger of the Pirates, who reproach him with the injuries he has inflicted on the realm, and put him to death. The time of this scene is after sunset; see opening lines. In the course of it we learn that the Nevils "are rising up in arms" in favour of the House of York, and that the Commons of Kent are in rebellion. These facts would suppose a longer interval between Days 7 and 8 than the three days allowed to Suffolk for his departure from England.
- Day 9. Act IV. sc. ii. Blackheath. The rebels who, led by Jack Cade, "have been up these two days," are encountered by Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother with their forces. They prepare for battle.

Act IV. sc. iii. "Alarums to the fight, wherein both the Staffords are slain." Cade and his companions resolve to march towards London.

The time of these two scenes cannot be supposed later than the morrow of Day 8; for then the rebellion was known to the Pirates, and yet it is not more than two days old.

Day 10. Act IV. sc. iv. London; the Court. The King reads a supplication from the Rebels. The Queen mourns over the head of Suffolk. News comes that the rebels are in Southwark; then that they have gotten London Bridge. The King, on the advice of Buckingham, determines to retreat to Kenilworth, and counsels Lord Say, whom the rebels hate, to accompany him. Say, however, resolves to remain in London in secret.

Act IV. sc. v. The Tower. Citizens implore aid of Lord Scales against the rebels, who "have won the bridge." He bids them

gather head in Smithfield, and promises to send Matthew Goffe to them.

Act IV. sc. vi. Cannon Street. Cade and his followers. He strikes his staff on London Stone, and declares himself lord of the city. Dick tells him that there is an army gathered in Smithfield; he resolves to march there and fight them.

Act IV. sc. vii. Smithfield. Alarums. Matthew Goffe is defeated and slain by the rebels. Lord Say is taken and beheaded. His head and that of his son-in-law, Sir James Cromer are borne before Cade on two poles.

Day 11. Act IV. sc. viii. Buckingham and old Clifford come to the rebels and offer them a free pardon. They abandon Cade, who flies. Buckingham bids some follow him, and offers a thousand crowns for his head; the rest he tells to come with him to be reconciled to the King.

The locality of this scene is somewhat doubtful: Cade opens it by shouting, "Up Fish-street! down St. Magnus' Corner," &c.; but a little later he remonstrates with his followers that they should leave him "at the White Hart in Southwark;" so that they seem to be on both sides of the river at one time. Editors decide in favour of Southwark.

Day 12. Act IV. sc. ix. "Sound Trumpets. Enter King, Queene, and Somerset on the Tarras." Buckingham and Clifford bring before the King a multitude of the repentent rebels, with halters round their necks. The King pardons and dismisses them to their homes. A messenger then announces that the Duke of York is newly come from Ireland, and is marching hitherward with a mighty power, his professed object being only to remove from the King the Duke of Somerset. The King proposes to Somerset that he shall be committed to the Tower until York's army is dismissed, and sends Buckingham to the Duke to satisfy him on this point.

In the Folio and in the 1st Part of the Contention, at the end of sc. iv. of this Act, the King proposes to retire to Kenilworth, and on this ground, I presume, the locality of the present scene is given by the editors as Kenilworth. In the 1st Part of the Contention, how-

ever, in Act IV. sc. viii., when the rebels abandon Cade, Clifford tells them that he will lead them "to Windsor Castle whereas the King abides." No indication of any place for this scene ix is given in *The Contention*; but in the *Folio* it is marked as on the "Tarras" = Terrace. Independently therefore of any geographical considerations—and against such considerations the reader of these Plays must carefully guard himself—the weight of "authority" is in favour of marking this scene as on the terrace at Windsor.

I have distributed these scenes (Act IV. sc. iv.—ix.) in three consecutive days (10, 11, 12), rather from a feeling of its desirable-ness, than from any note of time they contain. It is quite possible the dramatist may have meant them to represent one day only; it is more probable that the question of time never engaged his attention at all. York's return *from* Ireland is somewhat embarrassing here; I can't make out, including intervals, much more than ten days between this day No. 12 and day No. 6; yet on that day York calculated that about fourteen days would elapse before his departure to Ireland.

An interval; three or four days.

- Day 13. Act IV. sc. x. Kent. Cade, who has been hiding in the woods "these five days," who has "eat no meat these five days," ventures into Iden's garden in search of food. Meeting Iden he fights with and is killed by him.
- Day 14. Act V. sc. i. "Fields near St. Alban's. Two camps pitch'd, the King's and Duke of York's; on either side one."—(Capell.) Enter York. Buckingham comes to him from the King. On learning that Somerset is committed to the Tower, York professes himself satisfied, bids his army disperse and meet him in St. George's Fields to-morrow. He then goes with Buckingham to the King's tent and makes his submission. Iden enters with the head of Cade and is rewarded with knighthood. The Queen enters with Somerset. Finding Somerset at freedom, York renounces allegiance and openly claims the crown. Either side is joined by its partisans—old Clifford and his son for the King. York's two sons, Edward and Richard, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick for York. Then follows,

Act V. sc. ii., the Battle of St. Alban's, in which old Clifford and Somerset are slain and, the King's side being defeated, the King, Queen, and young Clifford fly to London.

Act V. sc. iii. York, with his partisans, resolves to follow the King to London immediately, or to get there before him if possible.

Out of respect for history, Malone, and most editors after him, marks the locality of the first scene of this Act as in the fields between Dartford and Blackheath. The dramatist, however, makes the battle follow immediately on the defiance, and I accordingly adopt Capell's stage direction as to the locality.

Time of this Play, fourteen days represented on the stage; with intervals, suggesting a period in all of say, at the outside, a couple of years.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.

Interval (?) eighteen months.

- " 2. Act I. sc. ii.—iv.
- ,, 3. Act II. sc. i. and ii.

 Interval; a month at least.
- ,, 4. Act II. sc. iii.

 Interval; at least two days.
- " 5. Act II. sc. iv.

 Interval; about twenty-seven days.
- ,, 6. Act III. sc. i.

 Interval; a few days.
- ,, 7. Act III. sc. ii. and iii.

 Interval; three days or more.
- " 8. Act IV. sc. i.
- ,, 9. Act IV. sc. ii. and iii.
- , 10. Act IV. sc. iv.—vii.
- " 11. Act IV. sc. viii.
- ,, 12. Act IV. sc. ix.

 Interval; three or four days.
- ,, 13. Act IV. sc. x.
- " 14. Act V. sc. i.—iii.

Historic period, 22nd April, 1445, to 23rd May, 1455.

THIRD PART OF HENRY VI.

FIRST printed in Folio, no division of acts and scenes.

"The True Tragedie," &c., on which this play is founded, has no division of acts or scenes.

The interval between The Second Part, and this, The Third Part of Henry VI., is to be supposed no greater than would be required for the flight and pursuit from St. Alban's to London: Richard makes his appearance in sc. i. with the head of Somerset, cut off in the battle.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. London. The Parliament House. York, with his adherents, breaks in and takes possession of the throne. The King, with his followers, enters; remonstrances and menaces being of no avail, he ultimately agrees that on being allowed peaceable possession during his life the inheritance of the crown shall be settled on York and his heirs. The Northern Lords, Northumberland, Clifford, and Westmoreland, disgusted at the King's weakness, leave him. York and his friends then disperse, leaving the King with Exeter. The Queen and the young Prince of Wales enter and reproach the King for the injury he has done himself and them, and, having in the course of the last two or three hours raised a fresh army, they depart to join with the Northern Lords.

An interval: march of the Queen from London to join with her allies and attack the Duke of York in his castle near Wakefield, in Yorkshire.

Day 2. Act I. sc. ii. Sandal Castle. York yields to the solicitations of his sons and Montague 1 and determines to take possession of the throne at once. A messenger announces the approach of the Queen and the Northern Lords. York is joined by his uncles, the Mortimers, and they resolve to issue forth and fight with the Queen's army in the field.

¹ John Neville, brother to Warwick and nephew to York: York being married to Cicely, sister to the Earl of Salisbury. In the Folio York addresses him as brother: in The True Tragedie both York and his sons address him as cousin.

Act I. sc. iii. Field of battle between Sandal Castle and Wake-field. Young Rutland, flying with his Tutor, is seized by Clifford and slain.

Act I. sc. iv. The same. York's party is defeated. York is taken. The Queen and Clifford insult over him, crown him with paper, kill him, and order his head to be placed on York gates.

An interval: rather more than ten days.

Day 3. Act II. sc. i. The marches of Wales. Edward, Richard, and their power," newly escaped, apparently from the battle of Wakefield. They are yet ignorant of their father's fate when a messenger arrives to tell them of his death. "Enter one blowing," is the stage direction of the Folio when this messenger makes his appearance, and we must imagine that he also has but just fled from the battle; yet a few minutes afterwards, when Warwick and Montague join them, we learn that to Warwick the news of York's death is ten days old; and that since then, with King Henry in his custody, he has encountered the Queen at St. Alban's and been defeated—the King escaping to the Queen—and Warwick, with George of York and the Duke of Norfolk, are come in posthaste to the marches, having heard that Edward was "making another head to fight again." George and Norfolk are still some six miles off when a messenger from them brings the news that the Queen is coming with a puissant host. They set forward accordingly.

An interval. The march to York.

Day 4. Act II. sc. ii. Before the town of York; the Duke of York's head over the gate. Enter the King and Queen with their forces. They are met by Edward, his brothers, Warwick, &c., with their army. After mutual defiance they prepare for battle.

Act II. sc. iii. The field of battle. Warwick, Edward, and George, wearied and disheartened at the course of the action, enter one after the other. Richard joins them and infuses fresh spirit into them.

¹ In this scene, in the Folio, Richard tells Warwick that his brother has just been killed; in The True Tragedie he tells him his father, Salisbury, has

Act II. sc. iv. Richard and Clifford meet and fight. Warwick enters. Clifford flies.

Act II. sc. v. The King, childen from the battle by the Queen and Clifford, meditates on the happiness of a shepherd's life. He beholds and grieves over a son who has killed his father, and a father who has killed his son. "Alarums: excursions." The Queen, the young Prince, and Exeter join him; the day is lost and they fly towards Berwick.

Act II. sc. vi. Clifford, wounded to death, enters and falls. Edward, his brothers, Warwick, Montague, &c., enter in triumph. Clifford groans and dies. They mock his dead body, and order York's head to be taken down from York Gate, and Clifford's to be put in its place. They then set out for London where Edward is to be crowned king, and from whence Warwick purposes to cross to France to negotiate a marriage for him with the Lady Bona, sister-in-law of the French king. Edward now creates Richard Duke of Gloucester, and George Duke of Clarence. The battle here dramatized is supposed to represent the decisive battle of Towton, 28th—30th March, 1461.

An interval; during which we are to suppose the flight of Henry and Margaret to Scotland; the departure thence of the latter to France; the coronation of King Edward, and the departure of Warwick on his embassy to France.

Day 5. Act III. sc. i. A forest in the north of England. Two keepers enter, with cross-bows, and take their stand to shoot at the deer. King Henry, who has stolen from Scotland in disguise, enters, is recognized by them and apprehended. In the course of the scene the King tells us that Margaret and the young Prince of Wales are gone to France for aid, and he hears that Warwick also "is thither gone, to crave the French king's sister / To wife for Edward."

An interval. The journey of the captive King Henry to London.

Day 6. Act III. sc. ii. London. The palace. The Lady

fallen. The historical fact is that a bastard son of the Earl of Salisbury was here slain. The Earl was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield and beheaded next day at Pomfret. The dramatist does not notice his fate.

Elizabeth Grey has an interview with King Edward, who, failing in his attempt to make her his mistress, resolves to make her his Queen. A nobleman announces the arrival of King Henry as a prisoner. Gloucester now begins to meditate the achievement of the crown.

An interval. Marriage of King Edward, and journey of his messenger to the French court.

Day 7. Act III. sc. iii. France. The King's palace. Queen Margaret solicits aid of King Lewis. While he considers how he may help her, Warwick enters and proposes a matrimonial alliance between King Edward and the Lady Bona. Lewis assents; but now a post arrives from England-a general post it would seem, for he brings, with strict impartiality, letters from Edward to Lewis, from Montague to his brother Warwick, and from he knows not whom to Queen Margaret. The upshot of them all is the marriage of Edward with the Lady Grey. Enraged with the slight thus put upon him, Warwick allies himself with Margaret, and receiving promise of aid from King Lewis resolves to dethrone Edward and reinstate King Henry. The time between Days 6 and 7 must be supposed long enough for the marriage of Edward and the journey of the impartial post to the French Court; but a difficulty presents itself with regard to the journeys of Margaret and Warwick: they must have set out at some time between Days 4 and 5. Obviously their arrival has been delayed in order that the whole business with King Lewis might be knit up in this one scene.

 $An\ interval$; return of Edward's messenger from the French court.

Day 8. Act IV. sc. i. London. The palace. Clarence and Gloucester speak their mind to Edward with respect to this "new marriage with the Lady Grey." The Post, returned from France, delivers to Edward the messages of defiance from Lewis, Margaret, and Warwick with which he was charged in the preceding scene. Clarence and Somerset leave the King to join with Warwick. Edward charges Pembroke and Stafford to "levy men, and make

¹ Somerset. See note on Act I. sc. i., 1st Pt. Hen. VI., p. 299.

prepare for war;" for he knows—how does not appear—that "they [the Warwick party] are already, or quickly will be, landed." He then, with Gloucester, Montague, and Hastings, proceeds also to make ready for the encounter with Warwick.

An interval; a few "dramatic" days, perhaps.

Day 9. Act IV. sc. ii. Enter Warwick and Oxford, with French soldiers. Clarence and Somerset join them and are welcomed, Warwick promising to bestow his younger daughter on Clarence. They propose to surprise Edward in his camp at night.

Act IV. sc. iii. King Edward's tent, guarded. Warwick and his followers enter and seize the King. Gloucester and Hastings fly. Warwick sends Edward to the custody of the Archbishop of York, and then marches to London "to free King Henry from imprisonment / And see him seated in the regal throne."

An interval: time for news of these events to reach London.

Day 10. Act IV. sc. iv. London. Queen Elizabeth, who is now with child, has heard of the defeat and capture of her husband, and resolves to take sanctuary.

An interval: some weeks probably.

Day 11. Act IV. sc. v. Middleham, Yorkshire. King Edward, while hunting in the Archbishop's park—an exercise he has often indulged in during his captivity—is rescued by his brother Gloucester and others, and flies with them to Lynn, to ship from thence to Flanders.

An interval: time for news of Edward's escape to reach London.

Day 12. Act IV. sc. vi. London. The Bishop's Palace ¹ adjoining St. Paul's. Henry, replaced on the throne, appoints Warwick and Clarence protectors of the realm, and requests that Queen

¹ I place this scene, and sc. viii. and viii.a. Act IV. in the Bishop of London's Palace, because it was there that Warwick established the King's Court when he replaced him on the throne; and it was there that Edward again took him prisoner, according to Hall. That also is the place named by the dramatist. See Act V. sc. i. l. 45. "You left poor Henry at the Bishop's palace," etc.

Margaret and his young son Edward may be sent for from France. Seeing the young Earl of Richmond, he prophesies a regal destiny for him. By this time, according to the stage directions of the Folio, Montague has joined with his brother Warwick. A post now announces the escape of Edward. Somerset, who has charge of the young Earl of Richmond, resolves to send him away to Britanny to be out of danger of the civil broils yet likely to ensue.1

An interval. Return of Edward from Flanders.

Day 13. Act IV. sc. vii. Before the gates of York. Edward, who has obtained aid from Burgundy, has returned to England, and now with Gloucester and others obtains possession of York from the Mayor and Aldermen, on the plea that he only comes for his duke-Sir John Montgomery, with drum and soldiers, comes to offer him service, but refuses his aid unless Edward proclaims himself King, which he thereupon agrees to do. They propose for this night to harbour in York, and to set forward next day to meet with Warwick and his mates.

An interval.

Day 14. Act IV. sc. viii. London. The Bishop's Palace. King Henry, in council with Warwick and other lords, determines of the measures to be taken to oppose Edward, who is now marching amain to London. Warwick is to muster up troops in Warwickshire; Clarence in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Kent; Montague in Buckingham, Northampton, and Leicester; Oxford in Oxfordshire: all are to meet at Coventry; the King remaining in London. Exeunt.

An interval.

Day 15. [sc. viii. a.] London. The Bishop's Palace. King Henry alone with Exeter discusses his position; he thinks that Edward's forces should not be able to encounter his. He is interrupted by shouts of "A Lancaster! A Lancaster!"2 and Edward and Gloucester, with soldiers, break in and seize him, and send him once more to the Tower. Edward then determines to march towards Coventry, "where per-

¹ So much of this scene as is given in The True Tragedie is lumped with the scene corresponding to the Folio scene viii, of Act IV., day 14.

² Qy. "A York! A York!" Johnson conj.

emptory Warwick now remains." Contrary to modern usage, I divide Act IV. sc. viii. into two scenes, assigning a separate day (15) to the latter half (sc. viii.a). My division is, perhaps, justified by the stage directions—such as they are—of the Folio and (Quarto): the "Exeunt" of Folio and "Exeunt omnes" of (Quarto) which follow the departure of Warwick and the rest, may mark the termination of a scene, and though there is no direction marking the re-entry of the King and Exeter, the probability of the plot absolutely requires a separate scene here; otherwise we have Henry talking of his forces which are not yet levied as in existence, and Edward speaking of Warwick, who has only just left the stage, as now remaining at Coventry. I note that the Cambridge Editors, in their reprint of The True Tragedy, etc., the (Quarto), number this scene of the seizure of King Henry as a separate scene. The ill contrivance of the modern sc. viii. has not escaped the notice of the commentators; but perhaps editors are more responsible for it than the dramatist.

The march of Edward from London to Coventry. An interval.

Day 16. Act V. sc. i. Coventry. Warwick on the walls receives messengers who announce the approach of his allies. A drum is heard, and then enter Edward, Gloucester, and forces. They parley with Warwick and exchange defiances. Then enter severally Oxford, Montague, and Somerset, with their forces, and join with Warwick. Last of all comes Clarence, but he, instead of joining his father-in-law, Warwick, turns again and makes his submission to Edward, by whom he is welcomed. Both parties then agree to march to Barnet, there to fight it out.

An interval. The march from Coventry to Barnet.

Day 17. Act V. sc. ii. Near Barnet. The field of battle. Alarum and excursions. Enter Edward, bringing forth Warwick wounded. He leaves him there, and goes out to seek Montague. The dying Warwick is joined by Oxford and Somerset, who tell him that "the Queen [Margaret] from France hath brought a puissant power," and that his brother Montague has been killed. Warwick urges them to fly to the Queen, and dies.

Act V. sc. iii. Another part of the field. Enter King Edward in triumph; with Gloucester, Clarence, etc. Victors at Barnet field, they now resolve to encounter with Queen Margaret, who with her army holds her course towards Tewksbury. Thither they march accordingly.

An interval. The march from Barnet to Tewksbury.

Day 18. Act V. sc. iv. Near Tewksbury. Enter Queen Margaret, Prince Edward, Somerset, Oxford, and soldiers. A messenger announces the approach of King Edward: he enters with his army. Edward and Margaret severally address their followers. "Alarum. Retreat. Excursions."

Act V. sc. v. Another part of the field. Enter Edward, Gloucester, Clarence, etc., with Margaret, Oxford, and Somerset, prisoners. Edward sends Oxford away to Hames Castle straight, and orders Somerset to be beheaded. The young Prince Edward is brought in by soldiers. After mutual revilings, Edward, Gloucester, and Clarence stab the young Prince. Gloucester suddenly departs for London, where, as Clarence supposes, he means "to make a bloody supper in the Tower." Edward orders Margaret to be carried out, and then dismissing his army, marches to London to see his gentle Queen, who by this time he hopes hath a son for him.

An interval. Gloucester's journey from Tewksbury to London.

Day 19. Act V. sc. vi. London. The Tower. Gloucester murders King Henry VI.

Notwithstanding Gloucester's intention to make a bloody supper in the Tower on the night of Tewksbury, I incline to give a separate day to this scene. The dramatist, perhaps, would not have been prevented by the odd 130 miles between the two places from including this and the preceding scene in one day, but he has suggested a certain lapse of time by making Henry acquainted, evidently before the appearance of Gloucester, with the fatal result of Tewksbury fight, and the murder of his young son which followed it. I mark, therefore, a separate day for this scene, and an interval between it and the last.

Having thus disposed of King Henry, Gloucester resolves that Clarence shall next be got rid of; and with this object in view he proposes by false prophecies to make Edward fearful of his life, and then to purge his fear by Clarence's death.

Day 20. Act V. sc. vii. London. Edward is once more seated on the English throne. His Queen has presented him with a son and heir. Margaret's father, Regnier, has sent over her ransom, and Edward orders her away to France. Having, as he believes, his country's peace and brothers' loves, he now proposes to spend the time

"With stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows, Such as befits the pleasure of the Court."

If the reader will be good enough to imagine the business connected with Margaret's ransom to have been transacted by swift messengers during Edward's march from Tewksbury (the last interval and Day 19), there will be no need to suppose any interval between Days 19 and 20. On this Day 20 the dead body of Henry VI. is lying exposed to the public gaze in Paul's, and on the next day (Day 1 of Richard III.) we shall find his daughter-in-law, the Lady Anne, carrying it for burial to Chertsey. It is evident, therefore, that we cannot place any interval between Days 19 and 20 of this Play, if it is to be considered in connection with next (Richard III.).

Time of this Play 20 Days represented on the stage; with intervals: suggesting a period in all of say 12 months.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. Interval.

2. Act I. sc. ii.—iv.

Interval.

,, 3. Act II. sc. i.

Interval.

, 4. Act II. sc. ii.—vi.

Interval.

,, 5. Act III. sc. i.

Interval.

, 6. Act III. sc. ii.

Interval.

Day 7. Act III. sc. iii.

Interval.

,, 8. Act IV. sc. i.

Interval.

,, 9. Act IV. sc. ii. and iii.

,, 10. Act IV. sc. iv.

,, 11. Act IV. sc. v.

Interval.

,, 12. Act IV. sc. vi.

Interval.

,, 13. Act IV. sc. vii.

Interval.

,, 14. Act IV. sc. viii.

Interval.

one scene in modern editions.

,, 15. Act IV. sc. viii.a. ·

,, 16. Act V. sc. i.

Interval.

,, 17. Act V. sc. ii and iii.

,, 18. Act V. sc. iv. and v. Interval.

" 19. Act V. sc. vi.

" 20. Act V. sc. vii.

The historic period here dramatized commences on the day of the battle of St. Alban's, 23rd May, 1455, and ends on the day on which Henry VI.'s body was exposed in St. Paul's, 22nd May, 1471. Queen Margaret, however, was not ransomed and sent to France till 1475.

RICHARD III.

First printed in Quarto. First divided into acts and scenes in Folio. This division differs from that of Globe edition.

In Actus tertius sc. v., vi., and vii. are not numbered.

In Actus quartus Scæna secunda includes sc. ii. and iii. Scæna tertia = sc. iv. Scæna quarta = sc. v.

In Actus quintus sc. iii., iv., and v. not numbered.

The connection of this with the preceding Play, 3rd Part of Henry VI., in point of time is singularly elastic: not a single day intervenes, yet years must be supposed to have elapsed. The murder of Henry VI. is but two days old,—his unburied corse bleeds afresh in the presence of the murderer; yet the battle of Tewksbury took place three months ago; and, stranger still, King Edward's eldest son and only child, an infant in the Nurse's arms in the last scene of the former Play, is now a promising youth, with a forward younger brother, and a marriageable sister older than them both. Time, however, has stood still with the chief dramatis personæ, and they now step forward on the new scene in much the same relative position to each other as when in the last Play the curtain fell between them and their audience.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. London. Richard meditates on the plots he has laid to gain for himself the crown. The false prophecies he has spread abroad (see Act V. sc. vi., 3 Henry VI.) have taken effect, and Clarence, fallen into suspicion with the King, is carried a prisoner to the Tower. Lord Hastings, who this present day has been delivered from this same prison, greets Richard, and reports the King grievously sick. Richard considers with himself that if his plots fail not, "Clarence hath not another day to live;" which done, he prays that God may take King Edward to his mercy, and leave the world for him to bustle in; for then he means to marry Warwick's youngest daughter, the Lady Anne, widow of Prince Edward, the late King Henry's only son.

Act I. sc. ii. On what appears to be the same day Richard meets the Lady Anne with the dead body of the late King, taken N. s. soc. TRANS., 1877-9.

from Paul's to be interred at Chertsey. Its wounds bleed afresh in the presence of the murderer. Richard stays the funeral, and, not waiting, as he purposed in the previous scene, for King Edward's death, at once woos and wins the gentle lady, whose husband "some three months since" he, in his angry mood, stabbed at Tewksbury. She confides the care of the funeral to him, and agrees to meet him at Crosby Place as soon as it is performed.

An interval should perhaps be allowed here for this funeral and the subsequent marriage of Richard with the Lady Anne. The interval, however, must be short. Besides Richard's "Clarence hath not another day to live" of sc. i., note also the reference in Act I. sc. iii. 1. 91 to Hastings' late imprisonment.

Day 2. Act I. se. iii. The Court. Queen Elizabeth, her brother Lord Rivers, her sons Dorset and Grey, the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Stanley, Richard and Lord Hastings, all meet and indulge in mutual recriminations. Queen Margaret, who has come from France, attacks them all, and they in turn all join to abuse her. The King, it seems, is dangerously ill, and has sent to warn them to his presence to reconcile them to each other, and Catesby comes from him to bid them to his chamber. All depart save Richard, who has an interview with two murderers, to whom he gives a warrant for admission to the Tower, whither they are to proceed at once to despatch Clarence, and then to repair to Crosby Place to inform Richard of his death.

Act I. sc. iv. The Tower. Clarence has "passed a miserable night;" he relates his dreams to Brackenbury and falls asleep again. The two murderers enter, and show their commission to Brackenbury, who goes out to acquaint the King, though apparently he never reaches him. The murderers put Clarence to death.

Act II. sc. i. The King's chamber. The King has before him the Queen and the lords of Act I. sc. iii., and achieves his purpose of reconciling them to each other; Richard enters and joins in the universal profession of amity. The Queen then begs that

¹ Lord Stanley in this Play is called indifferently by his name and by the title, Derby, subsequently conferred on him by Henry VII. I name him Stanley throughout.

Clarence may be restored to favour, whereupon Richard startles them all with the news of his death. The King, who had reversed the order for his execution, is stricken down with this intelligence, and is helped to his closet in great tribulation. This scene must, I take it, be the continuation of sc. iii. of Act I., but it raises this dilemma: either the Queen and the lords were a very long time on their way to the King's chamber, or the murderers were uncommonly quick in effecting their business. Richard, too, must have gone home to Crosby Place to await the news of the murder. This, of course, accounts for his arriving in the King's chamber after the others.

Act II. sc. ii. Enter the old Duchess of York, with the two children of Clarence, grieving for his death and for the sickness of the King. The children are in ignorance of their father's death till by their artless prattle they extort the fatal news from her. Queen Elizabeth, followed by Rivers and Dorset, now enters "with her hair about her ears," lamenting the death of King Edward. Richard, Buckingham, Derby, Hastings, and Ratcliff join them, and it is decided that the young Prince of Wales shall be immediately fetched from Ludlow to be crowned King. They adjourn to council to settle this weighty business. Richard and Buckingham, who linger a little behind the others, determine that, whoever goes on this journey, they will be of the party.

It would be possible to assign a separate day to this scene, and suppose it the morrow of the three preceding scenes—later than the morrow it can hardly be;—but the action of this drama is so closely compacted that I have thought it best to include it in Day No. 2.

Day 3. Act II. sc. iii. A street in London. Certain citizens meet and discuss the news, the chief item of which is the King's death; but this is not yet thoroughly spread abroad. As they salute each other with "good morrow" = good morning, we may suppose this scene to take place on the morning after the King's death.

An interval for the journey to Ludlow may now be supposed.

Day 4. Act II. sc. iv. Westminster. Queen Elizabeth with her younger son the Duke of York, the old Duchess of York, and

the Archbishop of York.¹ The Archbishop, referring to the Ludlow expedition, tells us, "Last night, I hear, they lay at Northampton; / At Stony-Stratford will they be to-night: / To-morrow, or next day, they will be here." A messenger arrives, who informs the Queen that Lords Rivers and Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan, have been sent as prisoners to Pomfret by the mighty Dukes Gloucester and Buckingham. Alarmed by this news, the Queen departs to take sanctuary with the young Duke of York.

An interval of one clear day, not more, might be marked between this and the following scene; the Archbishop's "next day" would justify it; but as it is not at all necessary to the plot, I prefer to suppose that the young Prince arrives in town "to-morrow."

Day 5. Act III. sc. i. London. Enter the young Prince of Wales with Richard, Buckingham, the Cardinal, Catesby, and others. The Lord Mayor comes to greet him. Hastings brings news that the Queen has taken sanctuary with the young Duke of York. Buckingham induces the Cardinal to fetch him forth, either by persuasion or force, to meet his brother. The Cardinal and Hastings accordingly go out, and presently return with the young Duke. They then set out to take up their abode in the Tower. Richard, Buckingham, and Catesby remain behind. Catesby, who is in the plot for raising Richard to the throne, is commissioned to sound Hastings on the project, to summon him to-morrow to the Tower to sit about the coronation of the young King, and to tell him that his ancient enemies, Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, "to-morrow are let blood at Pomfret Castle." He promises that they shall hear from him before they sleep, and goes out accordingly. Richard and Buckingham adjourn to sup betimes.

Day 6. Act III. sc. ii. Before Lord Hastings' house. Upon

¹ The prelate of this scene in the Folio is an archbishop; in the Quarto he is a cardinal. The prelate of the next scene is a cardinal in both versions. Editors decide that the first is Archbishop Rotheram of York, and that the second is Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. It may be doubted whether the dramatist intended to present more than one personage. If Holinshed was his authority he certainly did not; for, according to Holinshed, Rotheram was at that time a cardinal and Lord Chancellor; it was he who conducted the Queen to sanctuary, and it was he who afterwards persuaded her to give up the young Duke of York.

the stroke of four in the morning a messenger from Lord Stanley awakens Hastings to tell him that his master has had bad dreams in the night; he has heard that "there are two councils held;" he likes it not, and proposes that they shall fly to the north "to shun the danger that his soul divines." Hastings pooh-poohs his forebodings, and sends back the messenger to bid Stanley come to him, and they will go together to the Tower. Catesby, who we must suppose was unable last night to discharge the commission then entrusted to him, now enters, and finding Hastings unwilling to join in the plot, pretends to agree with him. Hastings is, however, rejoiced to hear of the execution which takes place to-day at Pomfret. Stanley enters, and proceeds with Catesby to the Tower, leaving Hastings lingering on the road to talk first with a pursuivant and then with a priest whom he encounters. Buckingham overtakes him, and they go on their way together to the Tower.

Act III. sc. iii. The scene changes to Pomfret Castle, where we find Sir Richard Ratcliff conducting Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan to present execution.

Act III. sc. iv. The Tower. The council is assembled to determine the day of the young King's coronation. Richard, finding Hastings firm in his loyalty, picks a quarrel with him, and orders him to instant execution, swearing he will not dine till he sees his head. Ratcliff and Lovel are charged with his execution, according to the Folio version; in the Quarto Richard's order is, "Some see it done," and Catesby undertakes the office, and in the next scene brings Hastings' head to Richard. The Quarto, however, is not selfconsistent, for, in this next scene, before he brings in the head he is addressed by Richard as being present. The Folio is consistent in itself as regards the parts taken by Ratcliff, Lovel, and Catesby in Act III. sc. iv. and v.; but as these scenes in the Tower take place on the same day and at about the same time with sc. iii. at Pomfret, it is difficult to imagine Ratcliff as present in both places. Sundry alterations, with a view to overcome this difficulty, have been attempted as regards the parts of Ratcliff and Catesby in sc. iv. and v.; none, however, can be considered satisfactory. A very easy cure might, however, be effected by giving Ratcliff's part in the Pomfret

scene to some other personage; and this change, although the authority of both Quarto and Folio is against it, would involve less alteration of the text than any other that has been proposed. If this is beyond the province of editorial revision, we must be content to suppose that the Tower and Pomfret are only separated from each other by the traverse which divides the stage from the tiring-room: a feat of imagination not unfrequently required of us in these Plays, and one which is indeed expressly enjoined us in the 1st Chorus of Henry V.

Act III. sc. v. The Tower walls. "Enter Richard and Buckingham, in rotten armour, marvellous ill-fauoured;" their object being to persuade the world that they go in fear of their lives. Catesby, who has been sent to fetch the Lord Mayor, now enters with him, and is followed almost immediately by Lovel and Ratcliff, who bring Hastings' head. Richard and Buckingham explain to the Mayor the necessity of this sudden execution. He, good man, is easily satisfied, and promises to acquaint the citizens with their just proceedings. Buckingham goes after him to insinuate with the citizens the desirability of conferring the crown on Richard, and promises to let him know the news from Guildhall and bring the citizens with him towards three or four o'clock at Baynard's Castle, whither Richard proposes to adjourn. To the same place Richard also commissions Lovel and Catesby to fetch Dr. Shaw and Friar Penker, there to meet him within this hour.

Act III. sc. vi. A street. Enter a scrivener with a fairly engrossed copy of the indictment of Lord Hastings to be this day read over in Paul's. He something more than insinuates that the whole business is a "palpable device" and a deliberate conspiracy. The time of this scene, according to the scrivener, is within five hours of Hastings' death.

Act III. sc. vii. Baynard's Castle. Buckingham gives Richard an account of the proceedings at the Guildhall. The Lord Mayor and citizens approaching, Richard retires and appears again aloft between two bishops.¹ Then follows the scene in which the idiot

^{1 &}quot;Two bishops:" so they are styled in the stage direction of both Quarto and Folio; they are not thus dignified in the text, and the author doubtless

mayor and his train, cajoled by Buckingham and Catesby, induce Richard, seemingly much against his will, to accept the crown. *To-morrow* is set down as the coronation day.

Day 7. Act IV. sc. i. Before the Tower. Queen Elizabeth, her son Dorset, and the old Duchess of York meet the Lady Anne, Duchess of Gloucester, leading in her hand the Lady Margaret, Clarence's young daughter. All are on their way to pay a visit to the two young princes; but the Lieutenant of the Tower has strict orders from "the King" not to admit any visitors. The ladies thus learn for the first time of the Lord Protector's assumption of the kingly dignity, and the news is quickly confirmed by Stanley, who comes to bid the Lady Anne go straight with him to Westminster, "there to be crowned Richard's royal queen." Anne, no less than the rest, is surprised and dismayed at this turn of affairs. Dorset, so counselled by his mother and by Stanley, flies to take refuge with Richmond in Brittany; the Queen again goes to sanctuary.

Day 8. Act IV. sc. ii. The palace. "The trumpets sound. Enter Richard crowned, Buckingham, Catesby, with other Nobles."—Qq.

"Sound a Sennet. Enter Richard in pompe, Buckingham, Catesby, Ratcliffe, Louel."—Ff.

Richard mounts the throne. He now hints to Buckingham that to secure his position he would have the young princes put to death, and suddenly. Buckingham asks time to consider the matter, and goes out. Displeased with his lukewarmness, Richard asks a page if he knows any one who might be bribed to do a deed of death. The page suggests Tyrrel, and goes out to seek him. Stanley enters and tells of the flight of Dorset. Richard then instructs Catesby to rumour it abroad that Anne, his wife, is sick and like to die; also to inquire out some mean-born gentleman, to whom he will straight marry Clarence's daughter. To himself he determines to marry

intended them to be Shaw and Penker, mentioned in the preceding scene v. of this Act.

¹ This is the first intimation we have of the marriage of Anne with Richard. In Act I. sc. ii. we witnessed their wooing; the marriage must have taken place during the interval I have marked as following that scene.

Edward's daughter (the Princess Elizabeth, of whose existence we are now first made aware). "Murder her brothers, and then marry her!" The page re-enters with Tyrrel, who accepts the commission to murder the princes without a moment's hesitation; he only requires means to come to them, and Richard delivers him the needful token.

"Tirrel. Tis done my gracious lord.

Richard. Shall we heare from thee, Tirrel, ere we sleepe?

Tirrel. Ye shall, my lord." 1

So in the Quarto. In the Folio in lieu of these three speeches there is but one, by Tyrrel:—"I will dispatch it straight." And so he goes to his work. Buckingham now re-enters; but Richard no longer wants him; will not listen to his demands for the promised reward of his services; he is "not in the vein;" asks him instead, "What's o'clock?" (and we learn that it is on the stroke of ten), and so leaves him. Buckingham, alarmed at the contempt with which he is treated, thinks of Hastings' fate, and resolves to fly to Brecknock while his fearful head is on.

The early hour at which this scene closes ("upon the stroke of ten"), and the fact that it is after the coronation—for Anne is not present, and Stanley's business is to report the flight of Dorset—suggest the commencement of a new day with this scene; but as Dorset's flight could not be long concealed from Richard, we can scarcely imagine the time to be later than the morrow of Act IV. sc. i.

Act IV. sc. iii. The palace. Tyrrel has done his work—smothered the young princes as they lay asleep—and now comes to inform the King, who bids him come to him again soon at after supper, and tell the process of their death. The time of this scene? Well, just before supper-time, about five or six o'clock p.m. On the same day as the preceding scene? It should be if Tyrrel kept his promise to a king not prone to let his purpose cool. Then the young princes were abed early in the afternoon. Not impossible; but the reader must decide for himself on the probabilities of the case. I take it to be the same day, notwithstanding the astounding celerity of the march of events of which we gain intelligence when Tyrrel goes off

¹ Except in the change of the name Catesby to Tirrel, the two last of these speeches are a repetition of ll. 188, 189, Act III. sc. i., found in both Quarto and Folio.

to meditate, between this and after-supper time, how the King may do him good. We learn that between this time and ten in the morning Richard has pent up the son of Clarence close; that he has matched the daughter (a mere child on the morning of yesterday) in a mean marriage; that "Anne, my wife, hath bid the world good night," and that being now free, he is about to go, "a jolly thriving wooer," to young Elizabeth, and so prevent the aims of Breton Richmond in that quarter! And this is not all; for Catesby comes in with the intelligence that Ely has fled to Richmond, and that Buckingham—here at ten this morning—is in the field, back'd with the hardy Welshmen, and still his power increaseth!

Richard ends the scene, determining to make instant preparations to put down Buckingham's rebellion. Does he wait for supper? I think not. If Buckingham can fly from London to Brecknock, levy an army there, and let the news of his proceedings fly back to London all in the course of a few hours, Richard may surely muster up his men in ten minutes. He does so.²

Act IV. sc. iv. Before the palace. Queen Margaret, who has slily lurked in these confines to watch the waning of her adversaries, is now about to return to France, when Queen Elizabeth and the old Duchess of York enter, lamenting the death of the young princes, whose souls they believe to be yet hovering in the air; she joins them, and all three sit upon the ground, uniting in a chorus of execrations and laments. After instructing them how to make their curses tell, Margaret leaves them, and Richard enters with his army. He will not listen to the exclamations of the women, but drowns their voices with his drums and trumpets. His mother curses him and leaves him, and he then cajoles the Queen into promising him the hand of her daughter; whereupon she leaves him too. Then enter, in rapid succession, Ratcliff, Catesby, Stanley, and several messengers

¹ In a straight line 150 miles.

² I need hardly say that it is Tyrrel's business which forces sc. ii. and iii. of Act IV. into one day; if we could throw him over, or suppose him to have taken a week or a month in which to fulfil his murderous engagement, so much time as we allow him might be placed as an *interval* between these two scenes; but the dramatist fixes his time, and in our reckoning I presume we are bound to accept the definite before the indefinite. Scenes ii. and iii. being thus brought together, scenes iv. and v. join them as a matter of course.

with the following items of intelligence: Richmond is on the western coast with a puissant navy; in Devonshire Sir Edward Courtney and his brother, the Bishop of Exeter, are up in arms; the army of the Duke of Buckingham is dispersed by sudden floods, and he himself wandered away alone, no man knows whither; Sir Thomas Lovel and Dorset in Yorkshire are in arms; the Breton navy is dispersed by tempest; Richmond in Dorsetshire had thought to land, but, mistrusting the people there, hoisted sail and made away for Brittany; at last Catesby, who since his first entrance has posted to the Duke of Norfolk to bid him muster up his force, re-enters with the news that Buckingham is taken, but that Richmond is with a mighty power landed at Milford. Richard ends the scene:—

"Away towards Salisbury! while we reason here A royal battle might be won and lost; Some one take order Buckingham be brought To Salisbury; the rest march on with me.

[Flourish. Exeunt."

Act IV. sc. v. Lord Stanley sends letters to his stepson Richmond by Sir Christopher Urswick; he cannot openly revolt to him, for his son George is in the tyrant's power, hostage for his fidelity. He lets him know that the Queen has heartily consented that he shall marry the Princess Elizabeth her daughter. With this scene I end the long-short time included in Act IV. sc. ii.—v., Day 8. It is true that Sir Christopher has intelligence that Richmond is now at Pembroke or Ha'rford-west; 1 but at the rate at which, in the preceding scene, we have seen events progress and news of them arrive, we need not suppose any pause here. Stanley must have accompanied Richard on his expedition, or at least have followed him immediately, and this scene, therefore, may be taken as part of Day 8.

An interval (?). Richard's march to Salisbury.

Day 9. Act V. sc. i. Salisbury. Buckingham is led to execution by the Sheriff; when he enters he asks, "Will not King Richard let me speak with him?" We may therefore suppose Richard to be now in the town.

Pembroke to the south, Ha'rford-west to the north, of Milford.

An interval (?). Richard's march from Salisbury to Leicester.

Day 10. Act V. sc. ii. Near Tamworth. Richmond with his adherents has penetrated thus far into the bowels of the land. He hears that Richard now lies near Leicester, "one day's march" from Tamworth, and thither he proceeds to join battle with him.

Here, as the author gives us two definite points, with the time necessary for traversing the space between them, a little digression may be allowable, with the view of ascertaining the lapse of timeif any-supposed by the plot of the drama between our Days 8 and 10. From Tamworth to Leicester is "one day's march:" the distance on the map, in a straight line, is 24 miles. Calculated at this rate, Richmond has marched from Milford to Tamworth—160 miles = six to seven days. Richard has marched from London to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Leicester-190 miles = seven to eight days. Are we to distribute this time between the two last intervals that I have doubtfully marked, or are we to go to history, where we find that Richmond landed at Milford Haven on the 7th August, 1485, and fought the battle of Bosworth Field on the 22nd of the same month? Or are we to be guided by the instances of the annihilation of time and space which this Play elsewhere affords us? It seems a fruitless inquiry, but it at any rate leads to the conclusion that the author himself actually, if not designedly, put aside all such considerations when constructing the plots of his dramas.

Act V. sc. iii. Bosworth Field. As this place lies about halfway between Tamworth and Leicester, we may suppose this scene to be a continuation of the day commenced in the preceding scene.

Enter Richard with his army. They pitch the King's tent on one side of the stage, and then go out to survey the field for to-morrow's battle.

Enter Richmond with his army. "The weary sun hath made a golden set." They pitch his tent on the other side of the stage, and after giving some orders for the morrow's battle the leaders withdraw into the tent. Richmond desires that the Earl of Pembroke come to him by the second hour of the morning.

In Richard's tent. "It's supper-time," "it's nine o'clock" (six o'clock, Qq.); but the King will not sup to-night; he gives sundry

orders for the morrow, bids Ratcliff come to him about midnight, and then desires to be left alone.

In Richmond's tent. Stanley has a secret interview with his stepson. Richmond is then left to his repose.

Richard and Richmond both sleep.

Then enter, in succession, between the two tents, the ghosts of Prince Edward, of Henry VI., of Clarence, of Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan, of Hastings, of the two young princes, of Lady Anne, and of Buckingham; they address words of hope and comfort to Richmond, and bid Richard despair. The ghosts vanish, and Richard awakes in terror from his dream. "It is now dead midnight," and

Day 11 begins. Ratcliff enters to Richard. "The early village cock hath twice done salutation to the morn;" but "it is not yet near day," and they go out together—Richard to play the eavesdropper under the tents, to see if any mean to shrink from him.

Richmond now awakes, much comforted with his share of the dream. His friends come to him. It is now "upon the stroke of four." He makes an oration to his army, and they march out for the battle.

Richard re-enters with his friends; makes his oration to his army, and they march out to join battle with the enemy.

Act V. sc. iv. and v. Alarums and excursions for the battle. Richard is slain by Richmond, who receives on the field the crown taken from the dead tyrant's head.

Time of this Play 11 days represented on the stage; with intervals. Total dramatic time within one month (?).

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. and ii.

Interval.

- ,, 2. Act I. sc. iii. and iv. Act II. sc. i. and ii.
- " 3. Act II. sc. iii.
 - Interval.
- " 4. Act II. sc. iv.
- " 5. Act III. sc. i.
- " 6. Act III. sc. ii.—vii.

Day 7. Act IV. sc. i.

" 8. Act IV. sc. ii.—v.

Interval.

,, 9. Act V. sc. i.

Interval.

,, 10. Act V. sc. ii. and first half of sc. iii.

,, 11. Act V. second half of sc. iii. and sc. iv. and v.

Historic dates. The dead body of Henry VI. exposed to public view in St. Paul's, 22nd May, 1471. Marriage of Richard with Anne, 1472. Death of Clarence, beginning of 1478. Death of Edward IV., 9th April, 1483. Rivers and Grey arrested, 30th April, 1483. Hastings executed, 13th June, 1483. Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, and Hawes executed, 15th June, 1483. Buckingham harangues the citizens in Guildhall, 24th June, 1483. Lord Mayor and citizens offer Richard the crown, 25th June; he is declared King at Westminster Hall, 26th June; and crowned, 6th July, 1483. Buckingham executed, October, 1483. Death of Queen Anne, 16th March, 1485. Henry VII. lands at Milford Haven, 7th August, 1485. Battle of Bosworth Field, 22nd August, 1485.

HENRY VIII.

First printed in Folio; divided into acts and scenes; and so divided in Globe edition, except that in the Folio.

Actus quintus, Scæna secunda includes sc. ii. and iii. Scæna tertia = sc. iv. Scæna quarta = sc. v.

The Prologue.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i. London. An ante-chamber in the palace. Enter the Duke of Norfolk at one door; at the other the Duke of Buckingham and his son-in-law, Lord Abergavenny. Their conversation informs the audience of the course of affairs, commencing with the glories of the meeting of Henry and Francis I. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; of the league there concluded; of its subsequent breach; of the alliance with the Emperor Charles V., and of his

visit to the English Court: a period ranging from the summer of 1520 to the summer of 1522, but treated as though of yesterday. In all these affairs Buckingham vigorously denounces the intrigues of Cardinal Wolsey, and threatens to expose him to the King. Norfolk advises him to be cautious how he attacks so dangerous an adversary. In the midst of this conversation Wolsey enters, with his train, on his way to the King, and "in his passage fixeth his eye on Buckingham, and Buckingham on him, both full of disdain." As he goes out he has this conversation with his secretary:—

"Wol. The Duke of Buckingham's surveyor, ha? Where's his examination?

Secr. Here, so please you.

Wol. Is he in person ready?

Secr. Ay, please your grace.

Wol. Well, we shall then know more; and Buckingham Shall lessen this big look."

The result is soon apparent in the entry of Brandon with a sergeantat-arms and the guard, and in the arrest for high treason of Buckingham and Abergavenny, and their committal to the Tower.

Act I. sc. ii. The council-chamber. The King thanks Wolsey for the great care he has of his safety, and determines to hear in person the accusations of Buckingham's surveyor against his master. The Queen enters, attended by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; she complains to the King of the grievous taxations inflicted on his subjects by the Cardinal, who excuses himself on the plea that all has been done in due course of law. The King, however, is not satisfied; orders that these extraordinary exactions cease, and that a general pardon be granted to all recalcitrants. Buckingham's discarded servant—who we learned in the preceding scene was "in person ready"—is then introduced, and testifies to the manifold treasons of his late master. The Queen again attempts to mediate; but the Cardinal is here too strong for her, having on his side the King's fears for his own safety. The King ends the scene, ordering that Buckingham be called to present trial.

Act I. sc. iii. The palace. The Lord Chamberlain, Lord Sandys and Sir Thomas Lovell meet. Their talk is of the extravagant French fashions the Court gallants have adopted since "the late

voyage," and the Proclamation that has been issued for their reformation. (The author still insists on our being as it were on the morrow of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold.") All three are about to proceed to a great supper which the Cardinal gives to-night, and at which the Chamberlain with Sir Henry Guildford are to be comptrollers.

Act I. sc. iv. The supper at the Cardinal's. Sir Henry Guildford and the Lord Chamberlain marshal the guests. Wolsey enters, takes his state, and welcomes them. A troop of noble strangers crave admittance; they enter masked and attired like shepherds, and take out the ladies to dance. The King, who is among them, chooses Anne Bullen, one of the guests, for his partner. The Cardinal discovers his royal visitants, and they adjourn with the ladies to another chamber to a banquet. Note, that the King here sees Anne for the first time.

With these two last scenes, though they are in no way connected with the preceding two, we may very well conclude Day 1 and Act I. together.

An interval. It should be short; for at the end of Act I. sc. ii. the King orders the *present* trial of Buckingham; but as in sc. iv. Henry first makes the acquaintance of Anne, the following scenes require it to be long.

Day 2. Act II. sc. i. Westminster. Two gentlemen, who act the part of Chorus, meet, and we learn the details of the trial and condemnation of the Duke of Buckingham, who now enters from his arraignment on his way back to the Tower, and to execution. After his departure the two gentlemen resume their talk, and comment on the rumours heard of late days of the King's intended divorce from Katherine, and of the arrival of Cardinal Campeius in connection with the business.

Act II. sc. ii. An ante-chamber in the palace. The Lord Chamberlain enters; he has evidently but just left the King, when the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk meet him. Their talk is all of the intended divorce, the chief blame of which they lay on Wolsey. The Dukes propose to visit the King, and ask the Chamberlain to

accompany them. He excuses himself, for "the King hath sent me otherwhere," and leaves them. A curtain is drawn, and the Dukes are in the presence; but are roughly received, and contemptuously dismissed as Wolsey and Campeius make their appearance. This is the first interview Campeius has with the King, and therefore must be supposed to take place shortly after his arrival. As in the preceding scene his arrival is generally known, we may suppose both these scenes to be on one day. It would appear that much time must have elapsed since Act I., for all the learned clerks of Christendom have been consulted in the matter of the divorce, and Campeius, now sent by the Pope at the King's invitation, comes as "one general tongue" to decide the matter. He delivers to the King his commission, which joins with him, for the judging of the business, Cardinal Wolsey. The King sends his new secretary, Gardiner, to inform the Queen of the purpose for which Campeius is come.

Act II. sc. iii. An ante-chamber of the Queen's apartments. Enter Anne Bullen and an old lady. The Lord Chamberlain comes to them, and informs Anne that the King has been pleased to create her Marchioness of Pembroke, with an allowance of "a thousand a year." This, I presume, is the business on which the King had sent the Chamberlain (see last scene), and I therefore include this scene in Day 2. The old lady's discourse is full of hints at the approaching elevation of Anne as Queen. Again, therefore, long time since the end of Act I. is suggested to us.

Day 3. Act II. sc. iv. A hall in Blackfriars. The court is assembled to try the case of the divorce. The King answers to his name. The Queen does not answer; but, kneeling to the King, appeals to his pity and sense of justice, and asks delay till she can be advised by her friends in Spain. The cardinals oppose any delay; whereupon she accuses Wolsey of having blown this coal between the King and her, denounces him as her enemy, refuses him as her judge, and, appealing to the higher authority of the Pope for justice, leaves the court. The King fully clears Wolsey of stirring this business, admits that, on the contrary, he has ever wished that it should sleep, and has often hindered the passages made towards it. His own tender conscience—first startled at some doubts cast on the legitimacy

of his daughter Mary, on the occasion of a proposed treaty of marriage between her and the Duke of Orleans ¹—is his only motive for wishing this trial; and he declares that if the court can satisfy him as to the lawfulness of his marriage with Katherine, nothing will give him greater content. Campeius, taking advantage of this profession of love for the Queen, suggests the adjournment of the court, and that an earnest motion be made to the Queen to withdraw her appeal to Rome. The King accordingly orders the court to break up; but he begins to perceive that the cardinals are trifling with him, and in an aside he wishes for the return of Cranmer,² with whose approach he knows his comfort comes along. A separate day must of course be assigned to this scene, which may, with dramatic propriety, be supposed the morrow of Day 2.

Day 4. Act III. sc. i. The Queen's apartment. "Enter Queene and her Women, as at worke." The two cardinals—Wolsey forgetting, like a good man, her late censure both of his truth and him—come to offer their duty and advice to the Queen. She at first repels them, but at last, soothed by their protestations of friendliness, begs them to bestow their counsels on her. Beyond a general desire that she should avoid irritating the King by her obstinacy, and place her trust in them, they do not in this scene propose any definite course to her.

A separate day, the morrow of Day 3, should, I think, be assigned to this scene.

An interval; for reason of which see comment on following scene.

Day 5. Act III. sc. ii. Ante-chamber to the King's apartments. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey, and the Lord Chamberlain are met, big with expectation of Wolsey's overthrow; for it seems his contrary proceedings in the divorce case

¹ April, 1527.

² This is the first time we hear of Cranmer in the Play. He was away in Italy, France, and Germany, working for the King's divorce from the close of 1529 to the beginning of 1533, when he returned to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop of that see, mentioned in the stage direction of this scene, and addressed by the King, would be his predecessor, Warham.

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are all unfolded. His letters to the Pope, praying him to stay judgment, and so prevent the Anne Bullen marriage, are come to the King's eye; but on this point he is too late, for—though this is yet a Court secret—the King already hath married the fair lady, and there's order given for her coronation. Moreover, the King is further incensed by the fact that Cardinal Campeius, as agent to Wolsey in this business, is stolen away to Rome, leaving the King's cause unhandled. Norfolk asks, "When returns Cranmer?" Suffolk replies—

"He is return'd in his opinions; which
Have satisfied the King for his divorce,
Together with all famous colleges
Almost in Christendom: shortly, I believe,
His second marriage shall be publish'd, and
Her coronation."

And they expect that Cranmer will be rewarded with an archbishopric. From the above dialogue we are not to understand that Cranmer is returned in person, but merely, as Tyrwhitt explains,—He is return'd in effect, having sent his opinions, etc. Norfolk could not be supposed ignorant of Cranmer's actual return any more than Wolsey, who now enters with his secretary, Cromwell. The nobles stand apart observing him. Cromwell, it appears, has given to the King a certain packet from the Cardinal, who now, in obedience to command, awaits the coming forth of the King. He is moody; he likes not the Anne Bullen match; determines with himself that Henry shall marry with the French King's sister; he is troubled too with thoughts of the arch-heretic Cranmer, who has crawled into the favour of the King, and so he falls into a brown study. The King enters, "reading of a schedule," and rouses him from his meditations. Beginning smoothly, he reminds him of the supreme favour he has so long enjoyed, and then abruptly giving him two papers, and bidding him "Read o'er this; / and, after, this: and then to breakfast, with / what appetite you have," he goes out frowning upon the Cardinal. "The nobles throng after him, smiling and whispering." Wolsey reads the papers: the account of the immense wealth he has drawn together with which to gain the popedom, and his letter to the Pope about the King's divorce. He sees that his disgrace is irretrievable.

The nobles return, and in the King's name demand of him the great seal; this he refuses to deliver to any but the King himself. They leave him, after acquainting him with the King's further pleasure, triumphing in his overthrow. Cromwell comes to him, amazed at his fall; he tells him that Sir Thomas More is chosen Lord Chancellor in his place; that Cranmer is returned, and installed Archbishop of Canterbury; and that

"The Lady Anne, Whom the King hath in secrecy long married, This day was viewed in open as his queen, Going to chapel; and the voice is now Only about her coronation."

From all which it appears that events which were merely rumoured or in expectation at the beginning of this scene have now before its end become openly known and accomplished: they have, in fact, progressed with the dialogue in which they are narrated. Wolsey ends the scene with friendly advice to Cromwell, and a farewell to all his glory.

An interval.

Day 6. Act IV. sc. i. A street in Westminster. Our two choric gentlemen, who have not met since they beheld the Duke of Buckingham come from his trial, are now again in waiting to behold the Lady Anne pass from her coronation. From them we learn that Cranmer since his instalment has pronounced the nullity of Henry's marriage with Katherine, who now remains sick at Kimbolton. The coronation procession then passes over the stage, and the Chorus is joined by a third gentleman, who gives some account of the ceremony as he beheld it in the Abbey. We also learn that Gardiner has been promoted to the see of Winchester, and is no lover of Cranmer, who, however, has a staunch friend in Cromwell, a man now much in esteem with the King.

Act IV. sc. ii. Kimbolton. "Enter Katherine, Dowager, sick; led between Griffith, her gentleman usher, and Patience, her woman." News of the death of Wolsey has reached them; they discuss his character. The Queen then falls asleep, and has a vision of angels presenting to her an immortal garland. Awaking, she receives a visit

from Capucius, ambassador from her nephew the Emperor, who brings to her a message of comfort from the King; to him she confides a letter to Henry, praying him to be good to her dependants. She then bids farewell to Griffith, and is helped to her bed by Patience, anticipating a speedy end.

Both scenes of this act may, I presume, be supposed on one day. Interval.

Day 7. Act V. sc. i. London. A gallery in the palace. night. Enter Gardiner, a page with a torch before him, met by Sir Thomas Lovell. One o'clock has struck as Gardiner comes from the King, whom he has left at primero with the Duke of Suffolk. Lovell is going to the King with news from Queen Anne, who is in labour, and whose life is feared. They agree between them that they would not be sorry if she and Cranmer and Cromwell were in their graves, and Gardiner informs Lovell that he and the Council have moved the King as to Cranmer, who is to appear before the Board to-morrow morning (i. e. the morning of the twenty-four hours now begun) to answer for himself. Gardiner departs, and the King enters with Suffolk from their play. Lovell delivers his message. The King, telling Suffolk, "'Tis midnight, Charles" (past one at the beginning of the scene), bids him get to bed, and remember the Queen in his prayers. Suffolk departs, and Sir Anthony Denny brings Cranmer to the King in accordance with his commands. Lovell guesses that this must be about the business which Gardiner had confided to him, and would fain listen to it; but the King orders every one out of the gallery but Cranmer. Him he tells of the complaints that are made against him, and that he must appear before the Council in the morning. Finding him firm in his innocence, he gives him his signet, and tells him if the Council insist on committing him to the Tower to show it to them and make his appeal to him. As Cranmer departs an old lady forces her way in to tell the King of Anne's happy deliverance of a daughter, and that she prays him to visit her.

Act V. sc. ii. Before the Council-chamber. Morning is come, and Cranmer is kept waiting at the door; he is seen there by Dr. Butts, who hastens to inform the King; and presently the King and Butts appear at a window above to view this strange sight.

Act V. sc. iii. The Council-chamber. The members are set, and after a little time Cranmer is admitted. Gardiner, who takes the lead in the business, proposes his committal to the Tower, and all assent, Cromwell alone daring to speak in his favour. Finding them obdurate, Cranmer, to their dismay, produces the King's signet, and takes his cause out of their hands; to their still greater dismay, the King himself now makes his appearance, frowning on them. He rates them soundly for their behaviour to Cranmer, and insists on their reconcilement. To mark his own friendship to Cranmer, he asks him to be godfather to the young maid, who yet wants baptism, and apparently they all go out at once to the christening.

"Come, lords, we trifle time away; I long To have this young one made a Christian."

Act V. sc. iv. The palace yard. The porters have great difficulty in keeping out the crowd assembled to witness the return of the christening procession.

Act V. sc. v. The procession enters with the young Princess Elizabeth from the christening, and is met by the King. Cranmer predicts the future greatness of the child, and the blessings England is to enjoy under her rule and that of the King who is to succeed her.

Epilogue.

The time of this Play is seven days represented on the stage, with intervals, the length of which it is, perhaps, impossible to determine: see how dates are shuffled in the list below.

Day 1. Act I. sc. i.—iv.

Interval.

- ., 2. Act II. sc. i.—iii.
- " 3. Act II. sc. iv.
- " 4. Act III. sc. i.

 Interval.
- " 5. Act III. sc. ii.

 Interval.
- ,, 6. Act IV. sc. i. and ii.

 Interval.
- " 7. Act V. sc. i.—v.

HISTORIC DATES, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF THE PLAY.

- 1520. June. Field of the Cloth of Gold.
- 1522. March. War declared with France.
- .. May-July. Visit of the Emperor to the English Court.
- 1521. April 16th. Buckingham brought to the Tower.
- 1527. Henry becomes acquainted with Anne Bullen.
- 1521. May. Arraignment of Buckingham. May 17th, his execution.
- 1527. August. Commencement of proceedings for the divorce.
- 1528. October. Cardinal Campeius arrives in London.
- 1532. September. Anne Bullen created Marchioness of Pembroke.
- 1529. May. Assembly of the Court at Blackfriars to try the case of the divorce.
- 1529, 1533. Cranmer abroad working for the divorce.
- 1529. Return of Cardinal Campeius to Rome.
- 1533. January. Marriage of Henry with Anne Bullen.
- 1529. October. Wolsey deprived of the great seal.
 - " 25th. Sir Thomas More chosen Lord Chancellor.
- 1533. March 30th. Cranmer consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.
 - " May 23rd. Nullity of the marriage with Katherine declared.
- 1530. November 29th. Death of Cardinal Wolsey.
- 1533. June 1st. Coronation of Anne.
- 1536. January 8th. Death of Queen Katherine.
- 1533. September 7th. Birth of Elizabeth.
- 1544. Cranmer called before the Council.
- 1533. September. Christening of Elizabeth.

Parlacolaros. Seres 1. Roj

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XI.

SOME REMARKS ON THE INTRODUCTORY SCENE OF THE SECOND PART OF SHAKSPERE'S HENRY IV.

BY

PROF. HAGENA.

WITH A COMMENTARY BY P. A. DANIEL, ESQ.

(Read at the 42nd Meeting of the Society, April 13, 1878.)

The following words by me were printed in the "Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen," edited by L. Herrig, Vol. 44, 1869:

"Whenever I read the introductory scene of the 2nd part of Shakspere's Henry IV., I have been struck by the exceeding beauty of it. The poet seemed to me to have felt his powers growing under the great and general applause which had accompanied his triumphant First Part. But I never could understand how it was that none of the commentators, at least as far as I know, had pointed out an incongruity which in this nearly perfect scene (2 Henry IV., I. i.) disturbs the attentive reader. Lord Bardolph communicates to the Earl of Northumberland joyful tidings of his son's victory at Shrewsbury. When Northumberland asks how he came to know of this victory, whether he himself had been at Shrewsbury (ll. 23-4), Lord Bardolph says that he has this news only at second-hand. Northumberland sees his own servant Travers coming, whom he had sent to inquire, and hints that some more exact information may be given by him. But Lord Bardolph answers, 'Your servant has his news from me:

I overrode him on the way;
And he is furnish'd with no certainties,
More than he haply may retail from me' (ll. 30-2).

N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

"At once Travers appears, and says that he has got from Sir John Umfrevile those very news of which, according to the preceding speech, Lord Bardolph was the bearer. How is this to be explained? Did Travers mistake Lord Bardolph for Sir John Umfrevile. If so, it ought to have been explained, but it is never mentioned afterwards. Now the supposition lies at hand that the representation of the play had been facilitated by uniting the two parts of Sir John Umfrevile and Lord Bardolph into the one of Lord Bardolph, who also appears in another scene (I. iii.), and that the writer neglected to correct the contradiction in this first scene. Perhaps the actor who had to take one of the two parts fell ill shortly before the representation. In the second speech of Sir John Umfrevile it was indeed very easy to change

'Tell thou the earl Sir John Umfrévile doth attend him here' (I. i. 2, 3)

into the text as it now stands-

'Tell thou the earl
That the Lord Bardolph doth attend him here,
and in the first speech of Northumberland—

'What news, Umfrévile?' (I. i. 7)—

into the present

'What news, Lord Bardolph?'

"But in the first words of Travers-

'My lord, Sir John Umfrévile turn'd me back' (I. i. 34)-

it was not so easy to change 'Sir John Umfrevile' into 'Lord Bardolph' without spoiling the verse.¹ But here Umfrevile does not speak himself, nor is he addressed; he is only spoken of in the third person, and it might be relied on that this incongruity would not be remarked in the representation. But when the play had once appeared on the stage in this form, it was not changed afterwards, for Shakspere had not written for readers.

^{1 &}quot;Your guest, Lord Bardolph," or "Your friend, Lord Bardolph," would make the verse right.—F. J. F.

"As I said, this supposition lay very near at hand; but the most ingenious critic could not without help have found out that the last words attributed to Travers in our present editions (l. 161)—

'This strained passion doth you wrong, my lord'-

do not belong to him, but to Sir John Umfrevile. But fortunately before this line the Quarto has *Umf*. The Folio editions have not the line, and the editions of later times have reinserted it from the Quarto. Indeed, the boldest critic would not have taken these words from Travers and given them to Umfrevile; but by comparing the two verses—

'This strained passion doth you wrong, my lord' (l. 161),

and

'Sweet earl, divorce not wisdom from your honour' (l. 162)-

it must strike us that in their parallelism they will much better suit two persons of nearly equal rank, than that the first verse should have been spoken by a servant, and that Lord Bardolph should only repeat what the servant has said; and we shall thank our good fortune that just here an outward hint has been given for the reconstruction of the text as originally given by the *poet*.

"At the same time we see that the Quarto edition—which was very likely a furtive one, like all Quarto editions—was not taken from notes written down during the representation, but from the manuscripts having been copied out by some one, and then corrupted perhaps by the bookseller. I think this must have been the origin of all Quarto editions, as shorthand writing was not to be thought of, stenography being unknown in Shakspere's time." [A mistake: see p. 353.]

The rest of my remarks of the year 1869 are now antiquated. I gave to Sir John Umfrevile the words which I thought he must have said, and left the remainder to Lord Bardolph. But after some time a friend, who had found my observations concerning the first scene correct, called my attention to the fact that, according to the contents of the third scene of the first act, Lord Bardolph could not have been present at all in the first scene according to the

original intention of the *poet*. If he had been present at the first scene, he would have heard from Morton—

'The sum of all
Is, that the king has won; and has sent out
A speedy power to encounter you, my lord,
Under the conduct of young Lancaster
And Westmoreland: this is the news at full' (ll. 131-5).

In the third scene Lord Bardolph knows nothing of this, but asks (l. 81)—

'Who, is it like, shall lead his forces hither?' and is answered by Hastings—

'The duke of Lancaster, and Westmoreland.'

Thus the case is much simpler. We need not inquire what words Lord Bardolph might retain in the first scene. According to Shakspere's original poetical intention, Lord Bardolph was not present at all in the first scene, but instead of him Sir John Umfrevile.

'This strained passion doth you wrong, my lord' (I. i.), must of course be transferred from Travers to Sir John Umfrevile, as we also read in the Quarto. But whether the following line—

'Sweet earl, divorce not wisdom from your honour' also belongs to Sir John Umfrevile, or is the beginning of Morton's speech, I leave to English critics to decide, who can compare the sources. This point is not clear to me.

Another thing is to be considered. In my remarks of the year 1869 I left to Lord Bardolph everything attributed to him in our present editions after Travers has made his appearance. But in the first of these speeches he says (I. i. 51-3)—

'If my young lord your son have not the day, Upon my honour, for a silken point I'll give my barony: never talk of it.'

As, according to the third scene, Lord Bardolph was not present in the first scene, Sir John Umfrevile has to say these words, and he is no baron. He very likely said 'my knighthood,' and this could as easily be changed into 'my barony' without spoiling the verse as the changes at the beginning of the first scene mentioned in my former remarks. Perhaps Shakspere left these changes to be made by the actor who had to represent the part of Lord Bardolph, not considering that also in Travers's part the verse

'My lord, Sir John Umfrévile turn'd me back,' ought to be changed.

We must also consider that in the third scene, in the council of war held by the Archbishop of York, Lord Bardolph is the cautious one, and chiefly on account of the uncertainty of the Earl of Northumberland's taking part in the enterprise. But in the first scene it is evident that Northumberland is preparing for war.

Whether the words 'my young lord your son' evince that they are spoken by some one belonging to Northumberland's vassals I leave for those to decide who are better acquainted than I with the English manner of speaking.

6, Gray's Inn Square, W.C., 22 March, 1878. [Revised 12 Feby., 1879.]

DEAR FURNIVALL,

PROF. HAGENA has undoubtedly hit a blot. The Lord Bardolph of 2nd Pt. Henry IV. has 'got mixed,' and no English commentator that I know of has disentangled him. Capell appears to have been the only one who endeavoured to account for the prefix 'Umfr.' to the Qo. line (l. 161)—

'This strained passion doth you wrong, my lord.'

Referring to Travers's speech—'My lord, Sir John Umfrevile turn'd me back,' etc. (l. 34)—he asserts or supposes [the obscurity of his language is so great that I cannot speak with certainty of his intention] that Sir John Umfrevile was titled Lord Bardolph; that the two names, in fact, express one and the same person. He nevertheless, somewhat inconsistently, assigned the line 161 to *Travers*. He is wrong too in supposing that the two names express one person:

¹ But isn't, or wasn't, "barony" an estate that could be parted with at wifl, and "knighthood" an honour that couldn't?—F.

the Lord Bardolph of this play was Thomas Bardolph, the last of the family in the male line. Steevens, who notes that 'Umfrevile is spoken of in this very scene [l. 34] as absent,'—when it is quite clear, as Prof. Hagena has pointed out, that he is spoken of as being present,—also suggested, as his own conjecture, that the line 161 should be given to *Travers*, and Malone adopting his suggestion, it has remained to Travers ever since.

The families of the Percies and Umfreviles were connected.¹ An aunt of our Northumberland, Margaret, sister of his father, married Robert, son of Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, and Northumberland himself married for his second wife (the Lady Northumberland of this play) Maude, sister and heir of Anthony Lord Lucy, and second wife and widow of the above-mentioned Gilbert. I am unable to trace any Sir John Umfrevile, but the family connection considered in relation to the evidence of the play itself seems to make it more than probable that in Act I. sc. i. the personage now represented by Bardolph was originally named Umfrevile, and I guess that the change was made (though imperfectly) in order to bring the play more into agreement with the Chronicles; for there we always find Umfrevile of the king's party, while Bardolph is always spoken of in connection with Northumberland's faction.

'Sir Robert Umfrevile,' ² says Hall, 'was Vice-Admiral of England,' and in that capacity did much damage on the Scottish coast in the year in which the Archbishop of York was entrapped by Prince John, and in which Northumberland and Bardolph retired to Scotland. Holinshed says that 'lord Robert Umfrevil'—no doubt the same person—was in Prince John's company when the archbishop was taken. After the capture of that prelate, Bardolph retired with Northumberland to Scotland. From Scotland they went together into Wales, to France and Flanders, then back again to Scotland,

¹ Mr. G. R. French, in his *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, 1869, was, I believe, the first to point this out in connection with Shakspere's plays; his information, however, on this particular point seems to me doubtful.

² This Robert was the second son of Thomas, half-brother of the abovementioned Gilbert. Thomas succeeded Gilbert: Gilbert's son Robert, who married Margaret Percy, having died in his father's lifetime without issue.

whence they, 'in a dismall houre, with a great power of Scots returned to England,' and were finally defeated on Bramham Moor by Sir Thomas or Rafe Rokesbie, sheriff of Yorkshire. Northumberland was slain outright; Bardolph was taken, but died of his wounds: their heads were placed on London Bridge.

Prof. Hagena has stated very completely every point which requires consideration in this matter; the question remains whether it is within the competency of an editor either to complete the change deliberately but imperfectly made in sc. i., or to restore Bardolph's part in it to Umfrevile. That question I do not pretend to decide; but I have no doubt whatever that the Qo. line 161, with the prefix Umfr., should be given to the actor who now has Bardolph's part in the scene; neither should I hesitate for one moment in giving to Morton, to whom it evidently belongs, as the beginning of his speech, the line 162—

'Sweet earl, divorce not wisdom from your honour,' which now in both Qo. and Fo. has the prefix Bard. or L. Bar.

The point raised by Prof. Hagena as to the propriety of the language now placed in Bardolph's mouth, ll. 52, 54—'my young lord,' 'my barony'—need not, I think, present any difficulty, whether the part is given to Lord Bardolph or to Sir John Umfrevile.

By the way, Prof. Hagena is wrong in stating that stenography was unknown in Shakspere's time: shorthand of one kind or another is a very ancient invention. Dr Timothy Bright, in 1588, dedicated a treatise on it to Queen Elizabeth. But on this subject see Mr Collier's note on Summer's Last Will, etc., p. 41, vol. 8, Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt.

P. A. Daniel.

At the meeting, Prof. Hagena's Paper was unanimously approved, subject to Mr Daniel's correction as to the shorthand.—F.

neck of, in the, directly after. I Hen. IV, IV. iii. 92. "Coup sur coup. Often, eftsoones, now and anon, successively, one in the necke of another." 1611.—Cotgrave.

bucking, washing. Merry Wives, III. iii. 140. "Lesciver. To bucke clothes; to wash, rince, or scoure with lye." 1611.—Cotgrave.

XII.

THE NATURAL HISTORY SIMILES IN HENRY VI.

BY MISS EMMA PHIPSON.

(Read at the 51st Meeting of the Society, April 25th, 1879.)

In the discussion following Miss Lee's paper on the "Authenticity of the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI.," attention was drawn to the unusual number of similes introduced into these plays taken from natural objects, and it was suggested that a comparison should be made between Shakspere and his brother dramatists in this respect. The field of inquiry which this comparison opens is a very interesting one, and the subject might be indefinitely pursued, but as Peele, Greene, and Marlowe are the writers to whom most critics assign these plays, in a greater or less degree, the question seems to be, Were these authors better versed in natural history than Shakspere was, or did they make a more frequent use of this knowledge than he did? Unfortunately, the materials for this comparison are decidedly limited. The two former dramatists wrote only three plays each, and the latter five; that is, plays where poetical similes were likely to be introduced.

The similes employed may be divided into genuine,—or those which could only have been written by some one who had lived long enough in the country to become familiar with the habits of the animals about him, and artificial,—or those borrowed from writers on natural history, and which repeat the superstitious notions of antiquity which they perpetuated.

One great source from which the dramatists of the day drew their ideas of birds and animals was *Euphues*, published 1579. The success of this work was so great that in 56 years it passed through

ten editions, and its phraseology was universally adopted. It is said that "all the ladies of the time were Lyly's scholars, she who spoke not Euphues being as little regarded at Court as if she spoke not French." Notwithstanding its many absurdities, Euphues abounds with acute observations and poetical aphorisms, and Kingslev considers its popularity as the best proof of the nobleness and virtue of the Elizabethan age. Lyly's similes are very seldom of the genuine class, and mostly refer to the fabulous stories handed down from antiquity. As a specimen of the exuberant style in which he sometimes piles one simile upon another, take the following panegyric upon Queen Elizabeth :- "This is that Cæsar that first bound the crocodile to the palm tree, bridling those that sought to rein her: this is that good pelican that to feed her people spareth not to rend her person; this is that mighty eagle that hath thrown dust into the eyes of the hart, that went about to work destruction to her subjects, into whose wings, although the blind beetle would have crept, and so being carried into her nest destroyed her young ones, yet hath she with the virtue of her feathers consumed that fly in his own fraud. She hath exiled the swallow that sought to spoil the grasshopper, and hath given bitter almonds to the ravenous wolves, that endeavoured to destroy the silly lambs, burning even with the breath of her own mouth, like the princely stag, the serpents that were engendered by the huge elephant, so that now all her enemies are as whist as the bird Attagen, who never singeth any tune after she is taken, nor she being so overtaken."

In the plays of Peele we have thirteen kinds of animals and seven birds; in Edward I. there are eight similes; in David and Bethsabe there are fifteen, and in the Battle of Alcazar six. They are mostly of the artificial order, short and exaggerated. Peele's longest simile refers to the eagle, a great favourite with Euphues, who introduces it perpetually:

"And as the eagle, roused from her stand With violent hunger, towering in the air, Seizeth her feathered prey, and thinks to feed, But seeing then a cloud beneath her feet, Lets fall the fowl, and is emboldened

With eyes intentive to bedare the sun,
And styeth close unto his stately sphere."

David and Bethsabe.

Greene is far more poetical than Peele, and less artificial, especially in his shorter pieces; he was a great admirer of Lyly, and continued the latter's work where he left off. In 1587 Greene published Euphues, his Censure to Philautus. He followed Lyly in his method of drawing illustrations from the properties of stones, plants, &c. He was ranked with Lyly by his contemporaries, and is called by a writer of the time, "the ape of Euphues." Imitators usually exaggerate peculiarities; Greene's natural history similes, however, are mostly short and unimportant, and are not drawn from personal observation.

In the three plays there are sixteen animals, and one bird, the eagle. In Alphonsus of Arragon there are seven similes, in James IV. twenty-one, and in The Pinner of Wakefield only one. Greene's longest simile is the following absurdity:

"The silly serpent, found by country swain,
And cut to pieces by his furious blows,
Yet if his head do scape away untouched,
As many write, it very strangely goes
To fetch a herb, with which in little time,
Her batter'd corpse again she doth enjoin;
But if by chance the ploughman's sturdy staff
Do hap to hit upon the serpent's head,
And bruise the same, though all the rest be sound,
Yet doth the silly serpent lie for dead,
Nor can the rest of all her body serve
To find a salve which may her life preserve."

Alphonsus, King of Arragon.

Marlowe has a still more scanty supply of natural history illustrations; his similes too are short, uninteresting, and mostly of the Euphuistic kind; lions, crocodiles, porcupines, eagles, and flying-fish. Only two of his similes of any length can be called natural:

"Now Phœbus ope the eyelids of the day,
And for a raven wake the morning lark,
That I may hover with her in the air,
Singing o'er these as she does o'er her young."

Jew of Malta.

"Must I be vexed like the nightly bird,
Whose sight is loathsome to all winged fowl?"

Edward II.

We may find the origin of the lines,

"The forest deer, being struck,
Runs to a herb that closeth up the wound."

Edward II.,

in the passage in *Euphues*, "the *hart*, being pierced with the dart, runneth out of hand to the herb *dictanum*, and is healed."

Shakspere, too, may have been indebted to Euphues for many of his notions about such birds and animals as pelicans, ostriches, crocodiles, basilisks, and scorpions. Mr. Rushton, in his book Shakspeare's Euphuism, brings forward more than a hundred passages in the plays on various subjects, taken, more or less directly, from Lyly's work, though many of them are proverbs and allusions such as might have occurred to both writers independently. The better-known animals that Lyly introduces, both in Euphues and in his dramatic works, are almost always mixed up with some absurd superstitions or wild exaggeration, and in these too he is followed by Shakspere. Even the beautiful lines in Cymbeline,

"Hark! hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings,
And Phœbus 'gins arise."—Cymbeline, II. iii., song;

which are apparently taken from the song in Campaspe,

"None but the *lark* so shrill and cleare How at heaven's gate she claps her wings, The morn not waking till she sings,"

Campaspe, Act V., song,

cannot be said to be founded on personal observation. When we turn, however, to his genuine similes, the contrast between Shakspere and his contemporaries is as great as if we had crossed over to some foreign country. Shakspere had the advantage of passing his youth and early life among the fields and lanes of a well-wooded country, and his works bear ample evidence that he had all that love of animate nature which such surroundings and a kindly disposition would foster. Like Hosea Biglow,—

"He, country born an' bred, knew where to find Some blooms that make the season suit the mind." No town-bred naturalist, gleaning his knowledge from books, would have written the lines which haunt us in the woods about midsummer,—

"He was but as the cuckoo is in June, Heard, not regarded."—I Henry IV., III. ii.,

and a hundred others. These early impressions were too deep to be effaced by his after years of town life, and the similes of his later plays are as appropriate as those in his earlier ones. He was, as we might expect, an inland naturalist; there is scarcely an allusion to those species, which, in a month's voyage, or a week's sojourn on the coast, must have attracted his notice. The list of fish mentioned in the plays is a short one; they are mostly inhabitants of fresh water; what sea-fish are introduced, rather suggest a fishmonger's counter than their natural element. Of sea-birds, the cormorant, loon, and dive-dapper are the only three; the commonest, though the most beautiful frequenter of our cliffs, the sea-gull, is only used to denote a dupe, a fool, unless we adopt Mr. Harting's reading of seamells, for "scamells from the rock;" even in the description of the cliff in Lear, where we might expect to find them, the more familiar choughs and crows rise to his mind. The birds which he must have seen in his daily rambles; "the gentle lark, weary of rest,"

"The ousel-cock, so black of hue, With orange tawny bill,
The throstle, with his note so true,
The wren with little quill,"

seem to have been special favourites. The introduction, in *Macbeth*, of "the guest of summer, the temple-haunting martlet," "with his lov'd mansionry," serves, not only, as Sir Joshua Reynolds points out, to give that repose so necessary to the mind after the tumultuous bustle of the preceding scenes, but to endear the bird itself to every country reader. He who has lived for years in the country, with the same open heart and observant mind that Shakspere had, will best appreciate these beautiful metaphors; the allusions to the rural sights and sounds around him, so apt and yet sometimes so slight that they may be passed by a casual reader, will give a new interest to these common objects, and the sweet descriptions of their ways and haunts

will to use Mr. Harting's expression, "strike him as echoes of his own experience, sent forth in fitter tones than he could find," Mr. Harting, in his interesting work, The Ornithology of Shakspeare, points out the intimate acquaintance that Shakspere had with all kinds of field sports, with the exception of fishing, to which Mr. Harting concludes he was indifferent. To deer-hunting he often alludes; the frequent references to falconry, and the accurate use of the terms employed exclusively in that sport, prove that he had much practical knowledge of the subject. That as a country boy of the yeoman class Shakspere should have taken delight in the pursuit of small birds seems highly probable, and accordingly we find scattered through his works frequent allusions to the various methods employed-springes, gins, bat-fowling, bird-lime, and bird-bolts. We do not find such knowledge of sport in the other dramatists, nor is there one single allusion to hawks or falcons in Peele, Greene, or Marlowe. The writer of the older versions of Henry VI. had also a taste for "birding." There are four references to the use of bird-lime in the Contention and True Tragedy. The passage with which II. i. in 2 Henry VI. opens, contains, according to Mr. Harting, seven technical terms; in the parallel passage in the Contention only four of these are employed, but there is another which is not in the revised play:

"And on a sodaine soust the partridge downe."

Contention, page 438.

This expression occurs in King John:

"And like an eagle o'er his aëry towers,

To souse annoyance that comes near his nest."

King John, V. ii. 149.

The list of animals introduced into Shakspere's plays includes nearly all those known at the period at which he wrote: of fabulous creatures, there are 12; animals, 66; birds, 56; insects, 28; fishes, 28. In the vegetable world he is equally at home. A writer on Shakspere's garden gives the following list; wild flowers, about 15; trees and shrubs, 25; vegetables, about the same; spices and medicinal plants, 20; weeds, 20—about 150 in all; more than double the number found in Milton, and exceeding those mentioned by Virgil.

¹ The Ornithology of Shakspere. J. E. Harting, page 2.

A wonderful list, considering that men and women, not plants and animals, were his theme.

The number of similes varies considerably with the style of the play. The Comedy of Errors has but nine; Love's Labour Lost, 39; Lear, 48; and Troilus and Cressida, 95. In 2 Henry VI. there are 49 similes, and in 3 Henry VI., 53.

The table I have drawn up of the number of similes does not, I fear, give a correct idea of the relative amount of natural history contained in each play. Mere strings of epithets, like those used by Thersites, imply no acquaintance with the creatures beyond the name; then, again, every compiler would slightly vary the list.

It is curious that wherever we have a suspicion of Shakspere we find the natural element conspicuous. Edward II. has 23 similes, twice the number of any other of Marlowe's plays; Edward III. 26; the Two Noble Kinsmen has 19,—14 of which are in the scenes attributed by Mr. Spalding to Shakspere,—while the doubtful play of Henry VIII. has but 11, eight of which occur in what Mr. Spalding and Mr. Hickson consider genuine scenes.

The similes in Henry VI. attract attention principally from the fact that they lie close together; in 2 Henry VI. they mostly occur in Act II. scenes i. and ii., while the first two Acts are entirely without them. It is not easy to say, supposing Shakspere to have written these plays, why he should have drawn so largely on his stock of natural history, except that he may have considered them dull, and done his best to enliven them. It is, as Miss Lee says, well nigh impossible to turn bad work into good. More than half of these passages occur, with more or less alteration, in the Contention and True Tragedy. The similes as they stand in the earlier plays are, on the whole, more true to nature than those found in the rival dramatists, and with only one exception bear a strong resemblance to those employed by Shakspere.

To go through all the natural illustrations in *Henry VI*. would be tedious, but if time permits it may be interesting to notice a few of them.

[&]quot;Small curs are not regarded when they grin,
But great men tremble when the lion roars."

2 Henry VI., III. i. (new).

It has been before observed that while he has admiration to bestow on the "awless lion" and the "princely eagle" Shakspere has in no one instance mentioned the dog with appreciation. Sporting dogs he certainly describes with spirit, if not affection, but "to snarl, and bite, and play the dog," 3 Henry VI., V. vi., seems to be the normal condition of the domestic animal. He must have been singularly unfortunate in his experience of the canine race, for his allusions are almost all of an unfavourable nature:

"Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man."

Richard II, III. ii.

"I'll spurn thee like a cur out of the way."—Julius Cæsar.

Mr. Kirkman, in his interesting paper on "Animal versus Human Nature in King Lear," alluded to this want of appreciation, and in the discussion which followed the paper, it was remarked, the dog was not considered so much the friend of man in those days as he has been in later times, but in Chester's Love's Martyr, written at the same date, there is a higher tribute to his good qualities than Shakspere anywhere pays:

"The dogge; a naturall, kind, and loving thing,
As witnesseth our histories of old:
Their maister dead, the poore foole with lamenting
Doth kill himselfe before accounted bold:
And would defend his maister if he might,
When cruelly his foe begins to fight."—Page 110.

"Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile."

2 Henry VI., III. i. (new).

The crocodile appears again in Ant. and Cleo., and in Othello:

"If that the earth could teem with woman's tears, Each drop she falls would prove a *crocodile*."

Othello, IV. i.

It is mentioned by Greene and again by Marlowe; *Euphues* refers to its weeping to attract passengers, "the *crocodile* shrowdeth greater treason under most pitifull tears."

"Or as the *snake* rolled in a flowery bank,
With shining checkered slough, doth sting a child,
That for the beauty thinks it excellent."

2 Henry VI., III. i. (new).

"What, art thou like the adder, waxen deaf?"
2 Henry VI., III. ii. (new).

These familiar objects in the country lanes occur too frequently in the plays to quote all the passages; in his assent to the current notions of the adder's deafness, the blindworm's sting, and the venom toad, Shakspere did but adopt without investigation the superstitions of the time, which after 300 years still keep their hold on the country people of to-day.

"Were't not all one, an empty eagle were set
To guard the chicken from an hungry kite."

2 Henry VI., III. i. (new).

The term "empty eagle" occurs in Greene, and "princely eagle" in Marlowe; this bird, so great a favourite with all poets, was probably known to Shakspere in its wild state only by description, though it is evident that he must have seen it, either in the "costly aviaries" mentioned by Harrison, or in the courtyards of some of the country houses. The term "empty eagle" comes again in 3 Henry VI.,

"And like an empty eagle,
Tire on the flesh of me and of my son."

3 Henry VI., I. i. (new).

And in Venus and Adonis:

"Even as an empty eagle, sharp by fast,
Tires with her beak on feathers, flesh, and bone,
Shaking her wings, devouring all in haste,
Till either gorge be stuffed, or prey be gone."

Venus and Adonis, 56.

With a fresh Act we have a different style of simile:

"And now loud howling wolves arouse the jades
Who drag the tragic melancholy night,
Who with their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings,
Clip dead men's graves, and from their misty jaws
Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air."

2 Henry VI., IV. i. (new).

This passage Miss Lee gives to Marlowe. There is a very similar passage in his Jew of Maltu:

"Thus like the sad presaging raven, that tolls The sick man's passport in his hollow beak, And in the shadow of the silent night Doth shake contagion from her sable wings."

Jew of Maltu.

The metre of the two other illustrations in Act IV. is also un-Shakperian. In Act V. we have but two similes:

"Yet have I seen a hot o'erweening cur"
Run back and bite, because he was withheld;
Who, being suffered with the bear's fell paw,
Hath clapped his tail between his legs and cried."

2 Henry VI., V. i. (new).

The sport of bear-baiting is often mentioned by Shakspere; Mr. Furnivall says he may remember what he saw at Kenilworth, but surely it was too common a pastime for that to be necessary; he connects "wakes, fairs, and bear-baitings," as if they had not been unusual:

"I have seen Sackerson loose twenty times."—Merry Wives, I. i. In 3 Henry VI. the similes again occur mainly in two scenes, I. iv. and II. i.:

"Neither the king nor he that loves him best,
The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,
Dares stir a wing, if Warwick shake his bells."
3 Henry VI., I. i. (old).

In the *True Tragedy* we have "the proudest *bird*," which the revisor, not recognizing, perhaps, that this was a hawking expression, has changed to *he*:

"With trembling fear, as fowl hears falcon's bells."

Lucrece, 1, 511,

"We bodg'd again, as I have seen a swan
With bootless labour swim against the tide,
And spend her strength with over-matching waves."

3 Henry VI., I. iv. (new).

Shakspere has found the swan very useful in metaphor:

"So doth the swan her downy cygnets save,
Keeping them prisoner underneath her wings."

1 Henry VI., V. iii.

The fabulous power of singing before death is often alluded to.

Mr. Harting says, "The swan has, although no song, a soft and

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rather plaintive monotonous note, often heard in the spring, when the bird is swimming about with its young," and surely Shakspere must have had many opportunities of noticing this bird on his own Avon, and in the royal parks.

"More inexorable,
O ten times more than tigers of Hyrcania."
3 Henry VI., I. iv. (old).

We have "the Hyrcan tiger" in Macbeth, III. iv., and the "Hyrcanian beast" in Hamlet, II. ii.

"Our soldiers, like the night-owl's lazy flight,

Fell softly down, as if they struck their friends." 3 Henry VI., I. iv. (old).

The writer of the *True Tragedy* must, like Shakspere, have watched with admiration, not unmixed with awe, this bird floating noiselessly through the twilight, like a bunch of thistle-down; for I do not think it would be easy to find an illustration more appropriate or true to nature than this in any poet.

"And doves will peck in safety of their brood."

3 Henry VI., II. ii. (old).

It seems almost unnecessary to suggest that Shakspere must in his youth have had the charge of pigeons, as there are few boys living in the country who have not; but it is only those who are well acquainted with the habits of these birds who can realize the almost photographic accuracy with which he has observed them. The references to their "golden couplets" (Hamlet, V. i.); their peculiar mode of feeding their young (As You Like It, II. ii.); their gentleness (Midsummer Night's Dream, I. ii.); courage (2 Henry IV., III. ii.); and jealousy (As You Like It, II. ii.)—all show how closely he had watched them.

"Unreasonable creatures feed their young;
And though man's face be fearful in their eyes,
Yet, in protection of their tender ones,
Who hath not seen them even with those wings,
Which sometimes they have used in fearful flight.
Make war with him that climbed unto their nests."

3 Henry VI., II. ii. (old).

This defence of their young by birds is noticed in the other plays:

"For the poor wren,
The most diminutive of birds, will fight,
Her young ones in her nest, against the owl."

Macbeth, IV. ii.

"To be furious,
Is to be frighted out of fear, and in that mood,
The dove will peck the ostrich."

Antony and Cleopatra, III. xiii.

"Ay, such a pleasure as encaged birds
Conceive, when after many moody thoughts,
At last, by note of household harmony,
They quite forget their loss of liberty."

3 Henry VI., IV. vi. (new).

So in King Lear:

"Come let's away to prison,
We two alone will sing like birds in the cage."

Lear, V. iii.

I think it would be an easy task to go through the natural similes in the Second and Third Part of Henry VI. and find parallel passages in Shakspere's other plays for every one of them, but perhaps after all this is not much evidence in favour of their authenticity. As the challenge has before now been given-"Tell me any fine sentiment uttered by ancient or modern poet, and I will find the same, but better expressed, in Shakspere,"- still, when we come to compare the different spirit in which he writes of all natural objects,-"from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall,"-from the other dramatists of the day; when we consider his love of sport and outdoor life, his extensive knowledge of plants and animals, and his intimate acquaintance with all departments of natural phenomena, surely we must agree with Miss Lee that there is no other "dramatist to whom such constant use of animal metaphors can be ascribed as a special characteristic," and no better answer to Mr. Furnivall's inquiry, "Who is this animal and menagerie man?" than William Shakspere.

Animals in Shakspere's Plays.

Lion, Nemean lion. Tiger, Hyrcan tiger. Bear. Hyaena. Wolf. Leopard. Ounce. Panther. Rhinoceros. Camel. Monkey, ape, baboon. Crocodile, alligator. Tortoise. Otter. Boar, hog, sow, swine, pig. Stag, deer, roe, hind, fawn, hart, buck, rascal, pricket. Cattle, draught oxen, neat, steer, rother, milch-kine, heifer, bull, bullock, beeves, cow, calf. Dog, greyhound, mastiff, spaniel, brach, bitch, cur, beagle, lym, bloodhound, shough, water-rug, demi-wolf, tike, hound, whelp, puppy, mongrel, bandog. Sheep, lamb, ram, ewe, wether. Horse, colt, foal, jade, gelding, nag, courser, palfrey, jennet, mare, hackney. Mule. Ass. Rabbit, cony. Fox, dog-fox. Cat, kitten, gib. Musk-cat, polecat, cat-o-mountain, wild-cat. Squirrel. Marmozet. Rat. Mouse. Dormouse. Fitchew. Weazel. Toad. Frog. Lizard. Adder, viper. Blindworm. Serpent, snake. Newt, wall-newt, water-newt. Aspic. Mole, moldwarp. Porcupine. Bat, reremouse. Hedgehog, urchin. Crab. Snail, slug.

Unicorn. Dragon. Griffin. Cockatrice. Basilisk. Sphinx. Mermaid. Hydra. Salamander,

BIRDS.

Eagle. Falcon, haggard, tercel, eyass. Kite, puttock. Raven, Hawk, staniel. Vulture. Magpie, pie. Chough. Crow. Daw. Rook. Buzzard. Ostrich. Pelican. Jay. Nightcrow. Nightraven. Owl, owlet, obscure bird, bird of night. Hernshaw? Peacock. Parrot, paraquito, popinjay. Partridge. Pheasant. Quail. Guinea-hen. Snipe. Woodcock. Lapwing. Cuckoo. Thrush, throstle. Ousel-cock. Finch. Wagtail. Wren. Sparrow. Hedge-sparrow. Starling. Lark. Bunting. Robin, redbreast, ruddock. Swallow. Martlet. Nightingale, philomel. Osprey. Cormorant. Gull, scamel. Goose, wild-goose, gosling. Loon. Swan, cygnet. Duck, mallard. Dive-dapper. Turkey, turkeycock. Cock, cockerel, chanticleer, bird of dawning, hen, chicken, capon. Pigeon, dove, turtle-dove, Barbary-pigeon.

Halcyon. Phœnix. Harpy.

INSECTS.

Worm, maltworm, canker, grub. Glow-worm. Beetle, black-beetle. Fly, breeze, flesh-fly, carrion-fly, waterfly, bluebottle. Moth. Butterfly. Long-spinner? Scorpion. Grasshopper. Cricket, wintercricket. Bee, drone, humble-bee, red-tailed humble-bee. Wasp. Ant. Ladybird. Spider. Gnat. Leech, horse-leech. Louse. Flea. Tick.

FISH.

Whale, leviathan. Dolphin. Porpoise. Shark. Salmon. Pike, luce. Mackerel. Carp. Trout. Dace. Tench. Loach. Cod. Gudgeon. Herring. Pilchard. Stock-fish. Poor-john. Minnow. Mussel. Barnacle. Oyster. Dogfish. Shrimp. Prawn. Sprat. Anchovy. Conger, eel.

ANIMAL SIMILES IN SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

Sn	Used a	
Titus Andronicus	24 2	00 70 00
Love's Labour Lost	34 3	
Comedy of Errors	8	17: T P7 40
Midsummer-Night's Dream	59 3	
Two Gentlemen of Verona	9 1	
Romeo and Juliet	37 3	0 (1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-
Venus and Adonis	28 1	
Lucrece	34 4	Denislas 04 10
Passionate Pilgrim		6 Tempest 41 22
Richard II.	20 2	
1 Henry VI.	30 2	
2 Henry VI.	36 4	
3 Henry VI.	33 5	3
Richard III.	27 3	PEFIE od Dygo
King John	17 2	
Merchant of Venice	37 4	
Taming the Shrew	35 3	
1 Henry IV.	43 5	7
2 Henry IV	32 4	GREENE, ed. Dyce.
Merry Wives	32 2	8 Alphonsus of Arragon 7 7
Henry V	27 3	
Much Ado	26 3	
As You Like It	39 3	4
Twelfth Night	30 3	MARLOWE, ed. Cunningham.
All's Well	18 2	0 1 Tamburlaine 9 4
Sonuets	14 1	0 2 Tamburlaine 7 8
Julius Cæsar	17 1	6 Faustus 12 1
Hamlet	40 4	7 Jew of Malta 13 11
Measure For Measure	15 1	6 Edward II 17 23

Adjectives, such as boarish, waspish, &c., are not included in this Table.

PARALLEL PASSAGES.

II HENRY VI.

Madam, myself have lim'd a bush for her,

And plac'd a quire of such enticing birds,

That she will light to listen to their lays.—I. iii. 90.

Believe me, Lords, for flying at the brook,

I saw not better sport these seven year's day,

Yet, by your leave, the wind was very high,

And, ten to one, old Joan had not gone out.

King H. But what a point, my Lord, your falcon made,

And what a pitch she flew above the rest!

Suf. No marvel, an it like your Majesty,

My lord Protector's hawks do tower so well;

They know their master loves to be aloft,

And bears his thoughts above his falcon's pitch.

Glo. My Lord, 'tis but a base ignoble mind

That mounts no higher than a bird can soar.

Thy heaven is on earth; thine eyes and thoughts

Beat on a crown.-II. i.

And as for proud Duke Humphrey and his wife,

I have set *lime-twigs* that will entangle them.

The Contention, p. 429, Hazlitt's ed.

Q. My Lord, how did your grace like

this last flight?

But as I cast her off the winde did

rise,
And twas ten to one, old Jone had not

gone out.

K. Unckle Gloster, how hie your hawke did sore?

And on a sodaine soust the partridge downe.

S. No marvell if it please your majestie

My Lord Protectors hawke done towne so well.

He knows his Master loves to be aloft

Faith my Lord, it is but a base minde

That can sore no higher than a falkons pitch.

Thy heaven is on earth, thy words and thoughts beat on a crown.—p. 438.

This passage follows the *Contention* very closely, which shows that the writer of that play was well acquainted with hawking terms. Of course these are not similes.

Have all lim'd bushes to betray thy wings.—II. iv. 54.

Small curs are not regarded when they grin.

But great men tremble when the lion roars.—III. i. 18.

The fox barks not when he would steal the lamb,—III, i, 55,

Have all lymdc bushes to betray thy wings,

And flie thee how thou can they will intangle thee.—p. 458.

The fox barkes not when he would steale the lambe, -p. 465.

Innocent

As is the sucking lamb or harmless dove.—III. i. 71.

Seems he a dove? His feathers are but borrowed.

For he's disposed as the hateful raren;

Is he a lamb? His skin is surely lent him.

For he's inclined as is the ravenous wolf.—III. i. 75.

And caterpillars eat my leaves away.
—III. i. 90.

Thus is the shepherd beaten from thy side,

And *wolves* are gnarling who shall gnaw thee first.—III. i, 191.

And as the butcher takes away the calf.

And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays.

Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house;

And as the dam runs lowing up and down.

Looking the way her harmless young one went.—III. i. 210.

Beguiles him as the mournful crocodile.—III. i. 226.

Or as the *snake*, roll'd in a flowering bank.

With shining checker'd slough, doth sting a child,

That for the beauty thinks it excellent.
—III. j. 228.

Were't not all one, an empty eag , were set

To guard the chicken from a hungry *kite.*—III. i. 247.

Were't not madness, then, To make the fow surveyor of the fold? No; let him die, in that he is a fox, By nature proved an enemy to the flock,

Before his chaps be stained with crimson blood.—III. i, 252.

For as the sucking childe or harmless lambe,

So is he innocent of treason to our state.—p. 470.

And puts his watchfull shepheard from his side,

While *wolves* stand snarring who shall bite him first.—p. 464.

The fox barkes not when he would steale the lambe,

But if we take him ere he do the deed,

We should not question if that he should live.

No. Let him die, in that he is a foxe,

Least that in living he offend us more.—p. 465.

My brain, more busy than the labouring spider,

Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.—III. i. 339.

I fear me you but warm the starved snake,

Who, cherished in your breasts, will sting your hearts.—III. i. 342.

Were almost like a sharp-quilled porcupine.—III. i. 364.

Came he right now to sing a raven's note,

Whose dismal tune bereft my vital powers,

And thinks he that the chirping of a wren,

By crying comfort from a hollow breast,

.... Come basilish,
And kill the innocent gazer with thy
sight.—III. ii. 40.

What, art thou, like the adder, waxen deaf?

Be poisonous too .- III. ii. 76.

Seek not a scorpion's nest.—III. ii. 86.

The commons, like an angry hive of bees

That want their leader, scatter up and down.

And care not who they sting in their revenge.—III. ii. 125.

Who finds the heifer dead, and bleeding fresh,

And sees fast by a butcher with an axe,

But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter?

Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest,

But may imagine how the bird was dead,

Although the kite soar with unbloodied beak?—III. ii. 188.

Were there a serpent seen, with forked tongue,

That slily glided towards your majesty.
—III. ii. 259.

Their softest touch as smart as lizards' stings!

Came he even now to sing a ravens note,

And thinkes he that the cherping of a wren,

By crying comfort through a hollow voice,

Can satisfie my griefes, or ease my heart.

And kill the silly gazer with thy lookes,—p. 470.

Winds said, seeke not a scorpions neast.—p. 471.

My lord, the commons, like an angrie hive of bees,

Run up and downe, caring not whom they sting.—p. 471.

Who sees a hefer dead and bleeding fresh,

And sees hard-by a butcher with an axe,

But will suspect twas he that made the slaughter?

Who finds the partridge in the puttocks neast,

But will imagine how the bird came there,

Although the kyte soare with unbloodie beake?—p. 473.

Their softest tuch as smart as lyzards stings.

Their music frightfull as the serpent's

And boding screech owls make the consort full.-III. ii. 325.

Like lime twigs set to catch my winged soul.—III, iii, 16.

And now loud howling wolves arouse the jades

That drag the tragic melancholy night:

Who with their drowsy, slow, and flagging wings,

Clip dead men's graves, and from their misty jaws

Breathe foul contagious darkness in the air.-IV. i. 3.

Drones suck not eagles' blood, but rob bee hives.—IV. i. 109.

Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,

That with the very shaking of their

They may astonish these fell-lurking

Are these thy bears? we'll bait thy bears to death.

And manacle the bear-ward in their chains,

If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting

Oft have I seen a hot o'erweening

Run back and bite, because he was withheld

Who being suffered with the bear's fell paw,

Hath clapped his tail between his legs and cried .- V. i. 148.

Hold, Warwick, seek thou out some other chase,

For I myself must hunt this deer to death.-V. ii. 14.

Their musicke frightfull, like the serpents hys.

And boding scrike-oules make the consort full .- p. 478.

Call hither to the stake my two rough beares.—p. 514.

Are these thy beares? weel bayte them soon.—p. 515.

Hold Warwicke, and seek thee out some other chase,

My selfe will hunt this deare to death.—p. 517.

3 Henry VI.

Neither the king, nor he that loves Neither the king, nor him that loves him best.

him best,

The proudest he that holds up Lancaster,

Dare stir a wing if Warwick shake his bells.—I. i. 45.

Such safety finds

The trembling *lamb* environed with wolves.—I, i, 242.

And like an empty eagle, Tire on the flesh of me and of my son. —I. i. 268.

So looks the pent up lion o'er the wretch

That trembles under his devouring paws,

And as he walks insulting o'er his prey,

And as he comes to rend his limbs asunder.—I. iii, 12.

Or *lambs* pursued with hunger-starved *wolves.*—I. iv. 5.

We bodged again, as I have seen a swan,

With bootless labour swim against a

And spend her strength with over matching waves.—I, iv. 19.

So doves do peck the falcon's piercing talons.—I, iv. 41.

What valour were it when a cur doth grin,

For one to thrust his hand between his teeth,

When he might spurn him with his foot away.—I. iv. 56.

Ay, ay, so strives the woodcock with the gin.

So doth the *coney* struggle in the net.

—I. iv. 61.

She wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,

Whose tongue more poisons than the adder's tooth.—I, iv. 111.

O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide.—I, iv. 137.

O ten times more, than tigers of Hyrcania.—I, iv. 155.

The proudest burd that holds up Lancastre.

Dares stirre a wing if Warwicke shake his bells.—p. 5.

So lookes the pent up lion on the lambe,

And so he walks insulting over his praie,

And so he turns again to rend his limmes in sunder.—p. 20.

So doves do pecke the ravens piersing tallents.—p. 22.

What valure were it when a curre doth grin,

For one to thrust his hand betweene his teeth,

When he might spurne him with his foote awaie?—p. 23.

I, I, so strives the woodcocke with the gin.

So doth the *cunnic* struggle with the net.—p. 23.

She wolfe of France, but worse than wolves of France:

Whose tongue more poison'd than the adders tooth.—p. 25.

Oh tygers hart wrapt in a woman's hide.—p. 26.

Oh ten times more than tygers of Arcadia,—p. 27.

As doth a lion in a herd of neat, Or as a bear encompassed round with

Who having pinched a few, and made them cry,

The rest stand all aloof, and bark at him,-II, i, 14,

Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird.

Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun.-II. i. 91.

Our soldiers, like the night owl's lazy

Or like an idle thresher with a flail, Fell gently down as if they struck

their friends.-II, i. 130. To whom do lions cast their gentle

looks? Not to the beast that would usurp their

den: Whose hand is that the forest bear

doth lick? Not his that spoils her young before

her face; Who scapes the lurking serpent's mortal sting?

Not he that sets his foot upon her

The smallest worm will turn being trodden on,

And doves will peck in safety of their brood.

Unreasonable creatures feed their young,

And though man's face be fearful to their eyes,

Yet in protection of their tender ones, Who hath not seen them, even with those wings,

Which sometimes they have used in fearful flight,

Make war with him that climbed unto their nest .- II. ii. 11.

As venom toads or lizards dreadfull stings.—1I. ii. 138.

When lions war and battle for their dens

As doth a lion midst a herd of neat. p. 28.

Who like a lambe fell at the butchers feete,-p. 31. (Not in Henry VI.)

Nay, if thou be that princely eagles bird,

Shew thy descent by gazing gainst the sunne. - p. 31.

Our souldiers like the night owles lasie flight,

Or like an idle thresher with a flaile, Fel gentlie downe as if they smote their friends,-p. 34.

To whom do lyons cast their gentle lookes?

Not to the beast that would usurp his

Whose hand is that the savage bear doth licke?

Not his that spoils his young before

Whose scapes the lurking serpentes mortall sting?

Not he that sets his foot upon her

The smallest worme will turne being trodden on,

And doves will pecke, in rescue of their broode.-p. 37.

Unreasonable creatures feed their young,

And though man's face be fearfull to their eies,

Who hath not seen them even with those same wings

Which they have sometime used in fearefull flight,

Make war with him, that climes unto their nest .- p. 38.

As venome todes or lizards fainting lookes.--p. 43.

Whilst lyons warre and battaile for their dens

Poor harmless lambs abide their enmity.—II. v. 74.

And Warwick rages like a chafed bull.
—II. v. 126.

Edward and Richard, like a brace of greyhounds,

Having the fearful flying hare in sight.
—II. 5. 129.

The common people swarm like summer flies,

And whither fly the gnats but to the sun.—II. vi. 8.

Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house,

That nothing sang but death to us and ours,

Now death shall stop his dismal threatening note.—II. vi. 55.

The tiger will be mild while she doth mourn,—III. i. 39.

Like to a chaos or an unlicked bear whelp,

That carries no impression like the dam.—III. ii. 161.

I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk.
—187.

I can add colours to the chameleon,—

But when a fox hath once got in his nose

He'll soon find means to make the body follow.—IV. vii. 25.

And when the lion fawns upon the lamb

The *lamb* will never cease to follow him.—IV. viii. 49.

Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept.—V. ii. 12.

Go home to bed, and like the owl by day,

If he arise, be mocked and wondered at.—V. iv. 56.

And yonder is the *wolf* that makes this spoil.—80.

Poore lambs do feele the rigor of their wraths.—p. 40.

The common people swarm like summer flies,

And whither fly the *gnats* but to the sun?—p. 52.

Bring forth that fatall scrichowle to our house,

That nothing sung to us but blood and death,

Now his evill boding tongue no more shall speak.—p. 53.

I can adde colours to the camelion.—p. 64.

But when the fox hath gotten in his head.

Heele quicklie make the bodie follow after.—p. 82.

Whose armes gave shelter to the princile eagle,

Under whose shade the ramping lion slept.—p. 90.

Let him to bed, and like the owle by

Be hist, and wondered at if he arise. p. 93.

And yonder stands
The wolf that makes all this.—p. 94.

So flies the reckless shepherd from the *wolf*,

So first the harmless *sheep* doth yield his fleece,

And next his throat unto the butcher's knife.—V. vi. 7.

The bird that hath been limed in a bush

With trembling wings misdoubteth every bush,

And I the harless male to one sweet

And I, the hapless male to one sweet bird

Have now the fatal object in my eye Where my poor young was limed, was caught, and killed.—13.

The owl shrieked at thy birth, an evil sign;

The *night-crow* cried, aboding luckless time,

Dogs howled, and hideous tempests shook down trees,

The raven rooked her on the chimney top,

And chattering *pies* in dismal discord sung.—44.

The two brave bears, Warwick and Montague,

That in their chains fettered the kingly lion,

And made the forest tremble when they roared.—V. vii. 10.

The birde once limde doth feare the fatall bush,

And I the hapless maile to one poore birde,

Have now the fatall object in mine eie, Where my poor young was limde, was caught & kild.—p. 98.

The *owle* shrikt at thy birth, an evil signe,

The night crow cride, aboding lucklesse tune,

Dogs howld and hideous tempests shooke down trees,

The raven rookt her on the chimnies top,

And chatting pies in dismall discord sung.—p. 99.

With them the two rough beares, Warwike and Montague,

That in their chaines fettered the kinglie lion,

And made the forrest tremble when they roard.—p. 103.

PRINCIPAL SIMILES IN PEELE.

- "Marry, sir, this mouse would make a foul hole in a fair cheese."

 Edward I.
- "Away, his sight to me is like the sight of a cockatrice."—Ibid.
- "And cursed Mortimer, like a lion, leads."—Ibid.
- "Now comes my lover tripping like the roe."—

 David and Bethsabe.
- "Shall, as the *serpents* fold into their nests
 In oblique turnings, wind the nimble waves
 About the circles of her curious walks."—*Ibid*.

- "The mastives of our land shall worry ye,
 And pull the weasals from your greedy throat."—Ibid.
- "Like as the fatal raven, that in his voice Carries the dreadful summons of our deaths, Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries, Her pleasant gardens, and delightsome parks, Seeming to curse them with his coarse exclaims, And yet doth stoop with hungry violence Upon a piece of hateful carrion."—Ibid.
- "Chafing as she-bears robbed of their whelps."-Ibid.

"Whose angry heart Is as a lion's letted of his walk."—Ibid.

- "And as the eagle, roused from her stand, With violent hunger, towering in the air, Seizeth her feathered prey, and thinks to feed, But seeing then a cloud beneath her feet, Lets fall the fowl, and is emboldened With eyes intentive to bedare the sun, And stieth close unto his stately sphere."—Ibid.
- "O fly the sword and fury of the foe,
 That rageth as the ramping lioness.
 In rescue of her youngling from the bear."—Battle of Alcazar.
- "Adders and serpents hiss at my disgrace.

 And wound the earth with anguish of their stings."

 Battle of Alcazar.
- "Hold thee, Callipolis, feed and faint no more; This flesh I forced from a hungry lioness, Meat of a princess, for a princess meet; Who, when she saw her foragement bereft, Pin'd not in melancholy or childish fear, But as brave winds are strongest in extremes, So she redoubling her former force, Rang'd through the woods, and rent the breeding vaults Of proudest savages to save herself, Feed then and faint not, fair Callipolis. For rather than fierce famine should prevail To gnaw thy entrails with her thorny teeth, The conquering *lioness* shall attend on thee, And lay huge heaps of slaughtered carcasses, As bulwarks in her way, to keep her back. I will provide thee of a princely osprey, That as she flieth over fish in pools,

The fish shall turn their glistering bellies up,
And thou shalt take thy liberal choice of all.

Jove's stately bird with wide commanding wings,
Shall hover still about thy princely head,
And beat down fowl by shoals into thy lap,
Feed then, and faint not, fair Callipolis."—Battle of Alcazar.

Compare this last passage, though it contains no *similes*, with the description of the lioness in As You Like It, and elsewhere. The other natural history allusions are too slight to be worth quoting.

Greene.

- "The silly serpent found by country swain,
 And cut to pieces by his furious blows,
 Yet if his head do scape away untouched,
 As many write, it very strangely goes
 To fetch a herb, with which in little time,
 Her battered corpse again she doth conjoin:
 But if by chance the ploughman's sturdy staff
 Do hap to hit upon the serpent's head,
 And bruise the same, though all the rest be sound,
 Yet doth the silly serpent lie for dead,
 Nor can the rest of all her body serve,
 To find a salve, which may her life preserve."

 Alphonsus king of Arragon.
- "Like simple *sheep*, when shepherd absent is Far from his flock, assailed by greedy *wolf*, Do scattering fly about, some here, some there, To keep their bodies from his ravening jaws."—*Ibid*.
- "The wanton colt is tamed in his youth."-Ibid.
- "But as the *echinus*, fearing to be gored,
 Doth keep her younglings in her paunch so long,
 That when their pricks be waxen long and sharp
 They put their dam at length to double pain."—Ibid.
- "Make choice of friends, as eagles of their young,
 Who soothe no vice, who flatter not for gain."—James IV.
- "What though the lion, king of brutish race, Through outrage sin, shall lambs be therefore slain?"—Ibid.
- "O English king, thou bearest in thy crest The king of beasts, that harms not yielding ones."—Ibid.
- "I, eagle like, disdain these little fowls,
 And look on none but those that dare resist."—Ibid.

"The manners and the fashions of this age
Are like the ermine's skin, so full of spots."—Ibid.

Marlowe.

- "That, like a fox in midst of harvest time,
 Doth prey upon my flocks of passengers,
 And, as I hear, doth mean to pull my plumes."—1 Tamburlaine.
- "As princely *lions*, when they rouse themselves, Stretching their paws, and threatening herds of beasts."——*Ibid.*
- "Like crocodiles, that unaffrighted rest, While thundering cannons rattle on their skins."—Ibid.
- "Their hair as white as milk, as soft as down,
 Which should be like the quills of porcupines
 As black as jet, and hard as iron or steel."—2 Tamburlaine.
 - "His shining chariot gilt with fire, And drawn with princely eagles through the path."—Ibid.
- "And fishes, fed by human carcasses,
 Amazed, swim up and down upon the waves,
 As when they swallow assafætida,
 Which makes them fleet aloft and gape for air."—Ibid.
- "Thus, like the sad presaging raven, that tolls
 The sick man's passport in her hollow beak,
 And in the shadow of the silent night
 Doth shake contagion from her sable wings."—Jew of Malta.
- "Now Phœbus ope the eyelids of the day,
 And for the raven wake the morning lark,
 That I may hover with her in the air,
 Singing o'er these as she does o'er her young."—Ibid.
 - "Now will I show myself To have more of the scrpent than the dove, That is, more knave than fool."—Ibid.
- "As if a goose would play the porcupine,
 And dart her plumes, thinking to pierce my breast."—

 Edward II.
- "Can kingly lions fawn on creeping ants?"—Ibid.
- "Fair queen, forbear to angle for the fish, Which being caught, strikes him that takes it dead, I mean that vile torpedo, Gaveston."—Edward II.

- "Pliny reports, there is a flying-fish,
 Which all the other fishes deadly hate,
 And therefore, being pursued, it takes the air;
 No sooner is it up, but there's a fowl,
 That seizeth it."—Ibid.
- "Yet, shall the crowing of these cockerels Affright a lion?"—Ibid.

"The forest deer, being struck,
Runs to an herb that closeth up the wounds,
But when the imperial lion's flesh is gored,
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,
And, highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air."—Ibid.

- "More safety is there in a tiger's jaws, Than his embracements."—Ibid.
- "For now we hold an old wolf by the ears,
 That if he slip will seize upon us both.
 And gripe the sooner, being gript himself."—Ibid.
- "Must I be vexed like the nightly bird,
 Whose sight is loathsome to all winged fowl."—Ibid.
- "The uren may strive against the lion's strength, But all in vain."—Ibid.

Henry VIII.

"But *spider*-like,
"Out of's self-drawing web."—I. i. 62 (Attributed by Messrs Spedding and Hickson to Shakspere).

"This butcher's cur is venom-mouthed, and I Have not the power to muzzle him, therefore best Not wake him in his slumber."—I. i. 120 (Shakspere).

"Anger is like A full hot horse, who being allowed his way, Self mettle tires him."—I. i. 133 (Shakspere).

"This holy fox, Or wolf, or both, for he is equal ravenous, As he is subtle."—I. i. 158 (Shakspere).

"A kind of puppy,
To the old dam, treason."—I. i. 158 (Shakspere).
N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

"As ravenous fishes do a vessel follow
That is new trimmed, but benefit no further
Than vainly longing."—I. ii. 79 (Shakspere).

"With your theme, I could O'er mount the lark."—II. iii. 94 (Shakspere).

"There be more wasps that buzz about his nose Will make this sting the sooner."—III. ii. 55 (Shakspere).

"So looks the chafed lion
Upon the daring huntsman that has galled him."—III. ii. 206
(Fletcher).

- "And dare us with his cap like larks."—III. ii. 282 (Fletcher).
 (?) Shakspere. The country boys throw up their caps in passing through fields, the larks rise thinking they are hawks, and so betray their nests.—E. P.
- "The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phænix."—
 V. iv. 41 (Fletcher).

The Two Noble Kinsmen.

"But touch the ground for us no longer time
Than a dove's motion when the head's pluck'd off."—I. i. 98
(Attributed by Mr. Spalding to Shakspere).

"He that will fish
For my least minnow, let him lead his line
To catch one at my heart."—I. i. 116 (Shakspere).

"Your actions Soon as they move, as ospreys do the fish, Subdue before they touch."—I. i. 140.

"Unless we fear that apes can tutor us."—I. ii. 43 (Shakspere).

"Either I am
The fore horse in the team, or I am none
That draw i' the sequent trace."—I. ii. 66 (Shakspere).

"Where, phænix-like, They died in perfume."—I. iii. 69 (Shakspere).

- "Like to a pair of *lions* smeared with prey."—

 I. iv. 18 (Shakspere).
- "Before one salmon you shall take a number of minnows."

 II. i. 4 (Fletcher).

- "And like young eagles teach them Boldly to gaze against bright arms."—II. ii. 33 (Fletcher).
- "To have my wife as jealous as a turkey."—II. iii. 30 (Fletcher).
- "And when they fight like compelled bears, would fly Were they not tied."—III. i. 68 (Shakspere).
- "O for a prick now, like a nightingale, To put my breast against."—III. iv. 25 (Fletcher).
- "As mad as a March hare."—III. v. 73 (Fletcher).
- "And as a heated *lion* so he looks,

 His hair hangs long behind him, black and shining,
 Like a raven's wing."—IV. ii. 130 (Fletcher).
- "But when he stirs, a tyger."—IV. ii. 130 (Fletcher).

"And dove-like
Bow down your stubborn bodies."—V. i. 11 (Shakspere).

- "Require of him the hearts of *lions*,

 The breath of *tigers*, yea, their fierceness also."—

 V. i. 38 (Shakspere).
- "Else wish we to be snails."—V. i. 42 (Shakspere).
- "I'd rather see a wren hawk at a fly."-V. iii. 3 (Shakspere).

"I have heard
Two emulous *Philomels* beat the ear o' the night
With their contentious throats, now one the higher,
Anon the other, then again the first,
And by and by out-breasted, that the sense
Could not be judged between them."—V. iii. 124 (Shakspere).

"Pig-like he whines."-V. iv. 69 (Shakspere).

Edward III.

"Like the lazy drone, Crept up by stealth unto the eagle's nest."—I. i.

- "Bid him leave off the *lion's* case he wears; Lest, meeting with the *lion* in the field, He chance to tear him piece-meal for his pride."—*Ibid*.
- "Degenerate traitor, viper to the place Where thou wast fostered in thine infancy."—Ibid.

- "Fervent desire, that sits against my heart, Is far more thorny-pricking than this blade; That, with the nightingale, I shall be scared."—Ibid.
- "But I will make you shrink your snaily horns."—Ibid.
- "What, are the stealing foxes fled and gone, Before we could uncouple at their heels? They are, my liege, but, with a cheerful cry, Hot hounds, and hardy, chase them at the heels."—I. ii.
- "Her voice to music, or the nightingale."—II. i.
- "Her hair, far softer than the silk-worm's twist, Like to a flattering glass, doth make more fair The yellow amber."—Ibid.
- "O, that I were a honey-gathering bee,
 To bear the comb of virtue from his flower;
 And not a poison-sucking envious spider,
 To turn the vice I take to deadly venom."—Ibid.
- "The *lion* doth become his bloody jaws,
 And grace his foragement, by being mild
 When vassal fear lies trembling at his feet."—II. i.

"Deck an ape
In tissue, and the beauty of the robe
Adds but the greater scorn unto the beast."—Ibid.

"Dare he already crop the flower-de luce?
I hope, the honey being gathered thence,
He, with the *spider*, afterward approached,
Shall suck forth deadly venom from the leaves."—III. i.

"As when the empty eagle flies To satisfy his hungry griping maw."—Ibid.

- "Fight, Frenchmen, fight; be like the field of bears, When they defend their younglings in their caves."—Ibid.
- "Ay, so the grass-hopper doth spend the time In mirthful jollity, till winter come, And then too late he would redeem his time, When frozen cold hath nipp'd his careless head."—III. ii.

"Ransack-constraining war Sits raven-like upon your houses' tops."—Ibid.

"Thou, like a skittish and untamed colt,
Dost start aside, and strike us with thy heels."—III. iii.

- "Let creeping serpents, hid in hollow banks, Sting with their tongues; we have remorseless swords And they shall plead for us, and our affairs."—Ibid.
- "No father, king, or shepherd of thy realm;
 But one that tears her entrails with thy hands,
 And, like a thirsty tiger, sucks her blood."—Ibid.
- "The snares of French, like emmets on a bank, Muster about him; whilst he, lion-like, Entangled in the net of their assaults, Franticly rends, and bites the woven toil: But all in vain, he cannot free himself."—III. v.
- "And dare a falcon when she's in her flight,
 And ever after she'll be haggard-like."—Ibid.
- "The lion scorns to touch the yielding prey."-IV. ii.
- "What bird, that hath escap'd the fowler's gin, Will not be ware how she's ensnar'd again?"—IV. iii.
- "At Cressy field our clouds of warlike smoke Chok'd up those French moths, and dissever'd them: But now their multitudes of millions hide, Masking as 'twere, the beauteous burning sun."—IV. iv.

coals: sb. pl. Rom. & Jul. I. i. 2: carry coals. 'Pacific your conscience, and leave your imprecations, were will beare no coales, neuer feare you.' 1596.—T. Nash, Saffron Waldon, H. 4, bk.

cocker: v. t. K: John, V. i. 70: 'You cocker him to much, Menedemus' [nimium illi, Menedeme, indulges].—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 249, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

cook, sb. Rom. & Jul. IV. ii. 6: 'Celuy gouverne mal le miel qui n'en taste, & ses doigts n'en leche. Prov. We say, he is an ill Cooke that lickes not his owne fingers; One may say, he is vnwise, who, in the managing of publicke businesse, addes not somewhat vnto his private.'—Cotgrave.

cudgel, sb. Merry Wives, IV. ii. 292. 'Pesture, to stampe, to pound, to bray or pill in a morter, to bruse, to breake, to bang, be bebast, to beswaddle with a cudgell.' 1598.—Florio.

difference, sb. badge, 'mark of distinction in heraldry.'—Hamlet, IV. v. 183.

"thes holy men [friars] beyn thus about sperd, thorow all this lond, in euery sled: of there awn retenue they weare the differens, to whom they haue professyd there obediens; for euere valeant and worthy warryor, perde is known by his cote armor; there-for this men known must be

by differens, to whom they have vowyd there chastite."

A.D. 1536-40. The Pilgryms Tale, p. 80 of my ed. of Thynne's Animadversions. E. E. T. Soc.

'fool's paradise: 'Rom. & Jul. II. iv. 175:

"But what are these where fancie seated is, But lures to loose desires, sin-sugred baits, That draw men onward to fooles paradice, Whose best of promises are but deceits?"

'No Love Lost,' in Brathwaite's Natures Embassie, p. 58, A.D. 1621.—S.

gentleman-like, adv. (used only as adj. by Shakspere, in Two Gent., Rom. & Jul., &c.). 'In troth, gentleman-like spoken (Rectè, sanè).'—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 226, ed. 1607, 1st ed. 1598.

gimmal, ring, Henry V., IV. ii. 49. 'Gymmow or ringe to hange at ones eare as the Egyptians haue. Staloginum, Inauris.' 1552.—T. Huloet. Abcedarium.

he, they (pleonastic). Ric. II., Ric. III., Cymbeline, &c. 'Syrus, he whispereth with your sonne: the yong men, they lay their heads together to take aduise.'—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 222, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

XIII.

ANIMAL NATURE VERSUS HUMAN NATURE IN KING LEAR.

BY THE REV. J. KIRKMAN, M.A.

(Read at the 48th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Jan. 10, 1879.)

Some time ago, having to deliver a course of lectures on King Lear, my attention was attracted by the frequent mention of animals of various kinds in this play. At first this seemed to be only one of those features observable in somewhat different degrees in different plays; indicating the supreme familiarity of the Master with all forms of life, and his felicity in employing them to one purpose after another, in developing the workings of the human heart, the conflicts of the higher and lower passions in man, or such ordinary comparisons between human and lower animal nature: characterised always, of course, by his own inimitable touch.

To say that many different kinds of creatures are alluded to in King Lear would be merely to repeat what we might say of many, even of most, of Shakspere's Plays. This, of itself, would hardly form a more special study than as a general survey of Natural History in Shakspere: although even that is a book of the future, of which we have now only two or three little instalments, and not one very powerful or adequate: Harting's 'Ornithology of Shakespeare,' 1871; Paterson's 'Insects of Shakespeare,' 1838; and a chapter in Jesse's 'History of the Dog,' 1871.

I will, then, first state the phenomenon in this play, and afterwards suggest the moral law which underlies and causes it. We need perhaps hardly, to this audience, urge the principle that we judge such a play as a perfect work of art. Every detail, particularly

in this, which some of us hold to be the greatest of his plays, must be in harmony with the keynote of the whole, and in perfect subordination to its general purpose. Nothing could occur by accident, without reference to the general harmony. We may have been, possibly, too often in the past, momentarily betrayed into the error of supposing some feature casual or unimportant, and therefore are now more than ever awake to the value and suggestiveness of slighter traits as parts of the essential structure. I should smile forgivingly and with pity at the reproach of those simple-minded readers (we cannot call them students) who say we often put more into many of Shakspere's words or sentences than he ever saw or intended. I defy you to put more into the meaning of some writings than they actually have: as you could hardly imagine depth in a road-side puddle, or the gay film of a soap-bubble. While, on the other hand, it would be affectation to say that we exaggerate the greatness of the depths of the ocean, or the movements of its majestic billows, or the charms of its innumerable smiles. Most especially we may affirm, with reference to the subject in hand, we are not enlarging through a haze of glowing imagination, when we clearly perceive, and now attempt to describe, the frequent recurrence, the wide-spread prevalence, of a feature that occurs in other plays scatteringly, occasionally, or in no surprising frequency, or harmonised to a different symphony. We find, then, in King Lear, an extraordinary frequence in the mention of the lower animals, a constant allusion to animal nature and its destructive or deceitful instincts, and in a vast majority of the instances with one special reference, the reference of comparison with the ways of men, according to resemblance between the two.

Let us state the case arithmetically: for this New Shakspere Society is mighty at arithmetical calculations; and our admirable chairman, I believe, could almost tabulate the rhythmical waves of a line of some red sentiment in one play, and a violet passage of another sentiment in some other play. (Mr. Furnivall here echoed that this—getting at the facts—was the only true and safe foundation on which to work in the analysis of Shakspere's peculiarities.) There are 64 different names of animals mentioned, "all well defined," as Coleridge says of the stinks of Cologne: for they are, for the most

part, mentioned in a morally unsavoury relation. This is by counting each kind of dog, but the word 'dog' only once; and not counting Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart. These occur in 133 separate mentions, and by 12 different persons, indeed by all the chief persons in the play-Lear, Edgar, Fool, Edmund, Albany, Cornwall, Kent, Gloucester, Goneril, Regan, Cordelia, Gentleman. Of these 102, or about 78 decimal something per cent. are from the mouths of three persons-King, Edgar, and Fool. To this curious fact, strongly in support of the causation I would suggest, I will draw particular attention. There are more birds in other plays, as Harting's Index shews: there may be more beasts in other plays: but on the whole there is only one play which can compete with King Lear as to animals. But in no play is there any approach to so many as indicative of the same moral or psychological law as we have here. The only play which approaches to King Lear in this respect is (as I anticipated before I searched, and at once found to be the case) Timon of Athens, the last two Acts. The resemblance may be seen at a glance, and the overruling law perceived to be precisely the same as here. The scenery and circumstances of some plays are more laid in the country, among wild or domesticated creatures, whose presence naturally asserts itself and gets woven into the drama. In King Henry the Sixth, Part 2, we find 45 names of animals, with 88 separate mentions. In King Henry the Sixth, Part 3, we meet with 47 names of animals, and 80 separate mentions, generously including such names as phænix and stale. In As You Like It, where we expect to find many country objects, denizens of the forest, and the > structure of the moral drama might lead us to anticipate a comparison between the capricious cruelties of a palace, and the ungoverned instincts of those creatures that take

> "Their license in the field of time, Unfettered by the sense of crime, To whom a conscience never wakes,"

we have 56 names of animals, with 90 separate mentions. But of these comparatively few lie under the dark law of association found in *King Lear*, which the perpetual dawn of hope and love ruling in *As You Like It*, makes to be only casual and never

dominant. Only one more play need be here mentioned: Midsummer Night's Dream. This numerically exceeds King Lear, having 65 names of animals, and 146 separate mentions; among which the very frequent mention of the Lion (29 times), in connexion with Bottom's · magnanimity and genius for acting, will immediately recur to any Shaksperian spirit. Midsummer Night's Dream has precisely the opposite keynote to King Lear. The season and atmosphere of exuberant life, joy, and fun, shew almost all creatures but serpents under their kindly genial light. There is a very delight even in naming things, because of their song, their beauty, their innocent, or quaint, or industrious ways. It is here that we have Shakspere's own as well as Theseus's love of hounds, with the lovingly accurate observation of their professional merits and marks of good breeding, and that poetical blending of voices and echoes in musical confusion, about which possibly the fox or the bear or wolf might have a different opinion even from Shakspere himself, or the Athenian Duke, so gently tolerant to such fearful wild-fowl as the rustics when simpleness and duty move them. Almost all the allusions to animals here are pleasant, delightful, pregnant with the pure love of "all things both great and small." The melody of the play requires this. could not be otherwise. It is exactly the opposite condition of things that rules in King Lear. But, in spite of what may be indisputably found ruling there, it would be a serious blot on the sun's disc, if any one could prove by internal evidence that Shakspere was deficient, or otherwise than supreme, in his sympathy with the animal world, or with the display of any animal character, from serpent's tooth to Philomel's song, while he to one clear harp in such diverse tones warbled his native wood-notes wild. It would have been superfluous to insert this caution, had it not been from some laudably jealous fears heard in the criticisms of some of my friends.

Transferring ourselves to the darker purpose of King Lear, with the desire of verifying its law under which animals are mentioned, I have already observed that, as the divines are ever assuring us (lest we might possibly think otherwise), "nothing happens by chance," 133 anythings in one play must needs be very suggestive. There is something in it far more than an arithmetical calculation,

more than you get by counting in Mrs. C. Clarke's 'Concordance.' something deeper than the Talmudic guardians and filagree students of the Old Testament got by counting the number of verses, the middle verse, and so on, in the Pentateuch, and in each book thereof. There was a high wrangler without much soul for music who was once taken to hear the Messiah at Exeter Hall; and who found his enjoyment in counting the number of notes in the Oratorio. But we have to do more than count animals: so, even the comparison between two plays may reveal only a casual or superficial fact after all, or not essential in the moral structure of either of them. We have to ask, why is this a fact in King Lear? What beautiful or sad law was it that was like the igneous rock ever beneath us, cropping up through all sedimentary strata here and there, often commanding attention by the height and sharpness of its peaks? Mr. Darwin would answer infallibly without a moment's hesitation, I would venture to predict: "because of the common nature of man and his lower progenitors in the scale of creation." I mean, without any allusion to Shakspere being of "Darwin's views," Darwin would state on biological grounds precisely the same fact in nature as Shakspere has worked out on moral or psychological principles. Even daily conversation or educated speech at every turn betrays it: and in the ordinary degree it is nothing remarkable; unless the reason for it be denied. out of a mistaken notion of man's isolated nobility. In King Lear it seems to underlie all, to overrule all. Its perpetual reappearance, sometimes with singular intensity of point, is one of the most prevalent colours to be observed in any play whatsoever, like jealousy in Winter's Tale, or the charming side of forest life in As You Like It. Indeed, in order of impressiveness, after the primary feature of the baseness of human nature in Goneril, Regan, Oswald, and Edmund, is, next, this paralleled terrible revolting fact of similar villainy, worthlessness, and treachery or cruelty, in the lower nature of beasts, birds, and vermin. Most of the allusions to them point that way. The law of the play's construction makes this inevitable, if the creatures are to be mentioned at all; as the construction of Midsummer Night's Dream requires that the allusions generally point in the different direction. To fancy that Shakspere might have given us the evil

drama of base humanity without bringing in all the other genera of our "earthborn companions and fellow-mortals," would be no more reasonable than to fancy one of Mendelssohn's Lieder of heavenly strivings without certain sequences and harmonies. Animal nature versus human nature may stand to mean, unless I express it infelicitously or uncourteously, the toss-up which is worse in the lovely creations of our sweet Mother Nature herself. "Pompey and Cæsar are very much alike, especially Pompey." You may say, especially beastly kites, hideous sea-monsters, stealthy foxes, greedy wolves, gnawing vultures. Lear says, especially daughters: especially man, Timon says. This is the simplest account of the melody of King Lear. And it is heard through all the variations of the several scenes, sometimes with terribly shrill clearness.

Particularly notice the spare allusion made to *flowers*. In the chief place of mention, they are under the sentiment contrary to the joy and beauty of flowers; where *Lear* is fantastically

"Crowned with rank fumiter and furrow-weeds, With burdocks, hemlocks, nettles, cuckoo-flowers, Darnel, and all the idle weeds that grow In our sustaining corn."

There is not even the pleasure which those familiar with insanity find in seeing Ophelia with her rosemary, pansies, and herb o' grace, or garlanded with

"Crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples."

For she had her thoughts severed from her griefs, was incapable of her own distress, and her woes by wrong imaginations lost the knowledge of themselves. This is not exactly the case with Lear even in his madness. In the same context the Doctor mentions the utility of

"Simples operative to close the eye of anguish"

before the days of chloral. Edgar touchingly interjects "Sweet marjoram!" at the sight of the ruin of royalty, which flower grows-about Shakspere's cliff at Dover, perhaps in some loving mystery of sympathy with Shakspere's consecration of it, since he has mentioned it for us! There is little or no further employment

of the beauty of nature's furniture. The Fool knows how like a crab is to an apple. Edgar knows the fiend that mildews the white wheat, and sees what a perilous trade it is to gather samphire. But here are no daffodils to take the winds of March with beauty, no marigolds weeping, or flowers for men of middle age. The heath is like the tract of humanity, unlovely and stormy, drear and sad.

We know how indicative is almost always the beginning of a play. It generally in some suggestive way sounds the keynote of the whole. This begins by showing as bridged over any moral or psychological distinction between one conventionally born, and one of nature's unfortunate hap-hazards. He who apostrophises his deity, saying, "Thou, nature, art my goddess!" and grins like Caliban at the thought of "legitimate Edgar," is the personal link in two senses, by birth and by inward character, between man with godlike reverence, love, and fidelity, and man as R. Browning describes him in 'Rabbi Ben Ezra:'

"What is he but a brute, Whose flesh hath soul to suit!"

And the play closes likewise with Lear's last pangs of reflection in the same strain, after moral character has been proved all along so direly identical in woman and wolf, in man and beast, that contemptible creatures should still have what for "my poor fool" no Promethean heat can relume,—the light of LIFE.

"Why should a dog, a horse, a rat have life, And thou no breath at all?"

I think this is an exceedingly significant passage. How different from Othello's passionate reflection upon Desdemona when she will in a minute be quenched for ever! Why should dog, horse, rat, be brought in at that crisis, and in that comparison, unless it were that animals and animal nature, were the stratum Shakspere was moving in?

As S. T. Coleridge sings on the slimy sea:

"The many men so beautiful!

And they all dead did lie!

And a thousand thousand slimy things

Lived on, and so did I!"

This last allusion in King Lear, by-the-by, is internal evidence that fool means the Fool in that passage, and not Cordelia, as some have imagined. For the Fool had much to do with those and other animals in the way of companionship and observation, and his death therefore naturally suggests that contrast. Unless we may more safely say that Shakspeare intentionally leaves a trace of vagueness or confusion of ambiguity there, as if the confusion of poor Lear's tempest-tost wits led him to confound the one with the other name on his lips and in his memory.

We may fancy how some things had been going on before the play began. As Mr. Gosse so quaintly settles that Adam was created with an omphalos, and about 30 years of age: and that Genesis i. records a beginning in time as to man without a beginning in physiology. So that God, if it had pleased him so to do, might have launched the earth on its orbit at any quasi-stage of its history; as it is, for instance, at this moment, with railway-trains running, telegraphs working, and us sitting here, all with only quasi-antecedents and not any historical past. So we may imagine, before the play began, King Lear was fond of animals, and a great observer of animal nature, then of course for the most part in noble wildness. This inclination to notice animals was shared by the Fool, as one part of his general affectionate sympathy for his royal patron. Although we must acknowledge that there are some anachronisms in this play for the smell-funguses to detect, as to the flowers named together; and also as to the wildness or domesticity of animals in the period in which Lear lived, especially as distinguished from the time in which Shakspere wrote of Lear; and the smell of the bear-garden near which Shakspere lived is decidedly perceived some centuries aforehand, in the times of the King. All kings and princes, I believe, have been fond of animals, down to the present Prince of Wales; especially of two, horses and dogs. Illustrations of this fact are innumerable, and would be superfluous here. Lear was evidently devoted to his horses and dogs. He cries out frequently for his horses; he makes as much impatient allusion to them as to his hundred knights, included in his regal appanage, and scorns the indignity of being "sumpter to this detested groom" Oswald; nay he would rather

be a comrade with the wolf and owl. It was Lear's inventive genius which conceived the delicate stratagem "to shoe a troop of horse with felt," often in effect adopted since, according to Lord Bacon's maxim, "There is no secresy equal to celerity." A note says that this stratagem is recorded as done, in Lord Herbert's 'Life of Henry VIII.,' published in 1513. Wordsworth was pleased with the idea, and applies it to the inaudible, soft, ghost-like tread of the ass of Peter Bell. Lear's mind runs on his horses as possibly useful towards some sudden recovery of his kingly position: "I'll put it in proof." The idea is also found in Ariosto. It is only indicative, in King Lear, that the brain of the insane unconsciously cerebrates about objects that were before fixed in feelings of strong affection or aversion. But the last reference to a horse, already alluded to, is far more significant. There is a good deal more to be considered about dogs. Lear evidently kept dogs, studied them, loved them. And they figure, or their nature figures, prominently in this play. And their noses point almost entirely in one direction, even the very opposite to what the ardent lovers of dogs would desire. I cannot help this. It is not my fault. We have to consider what we find in the play, and elsewhere in Shakspere. It is mere fantastic hyper-criticism to investigate with "a wish that is father to the thought," how far dogs had been civilized or Christianised, and how far most dogs were still wild, vagabond, and wolfish, and had not yet been brought into the "environment" that should be able to evolve their latent possibilities of moral excellence in such humiliating contrast with their masters. The fact is that there is only one allusion here to Mr. Jesse's "unswerving fidelity, intense affection and unselfish character, courage, gentleness, and a host of virtues," in that "friend and companion of man," and that allusion is not over flattering, when Kent says of such low natures as Oswald's, that they "know nought, like dogs, but following." Even this is not so reliable as some would have us believe. There is something infinitely pathetic in that last touch of humiliation, that the defection and disaffection of the palace had spread to the dogs.

> "The little dogs and all, Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, see they bark at me."

It has a deep touch of human distress and disgrace equal to the bitterness of Anthony's humiliation when the servant Thyreus derides his orders, and he feels the vile sting which a contemptible nature can so easily dart :- "Authority melts from me." (Antony and Cleopatra, III. xiii.) Lear, like Timon, sees but the evil nature in woman, man, or beast; his noble heart is "subdued to what it works in, like the dyer's hand." It would have been absolutely contrary to the tenour of King Lear to find mention of the "better gifts that bounteous nature hath in them closed:" (although I may add in passing that those are physical and not moral gifts, swiftness, scent, breed, &c., and not virtues, not even fidelity). Dogs are here the most frequent instance of the humiliating, revolting phenomenon or law that comes over Lear's great heart and his former observations of nature, "as doth the raven o'er the infected house," the phenomenon or fact that man's viler nature and its low animal propensities, wherein exalted grace so slowly becomes "instinctive," and is, as Archbishop Leighton says, "a tender plant in a strange unkindly soil," are identical with the same elements in the brute creation. All the allusions but that one to dogs, and to almost every other animal here, are of the same kind, indicating the common nature "of the earth, earthy." The lark is but shrill-gorged, so far from earth, not singing up to heaven's gate. Even the voice of the nightingale is a foul fiend crying in poor Tom's belly. Authority, with a glorious power of bitterest sarcasm, is reduced to the image of a dog feared at a farmer's gate: "the great image of authority:" and also in the same place (IV. vi.), we have the instinctive snobbishness of dogs, an undeniable case of "inherited tendencies" inspired from association with man, as I fancy Mr. Herbert Spencer, Dr. Carpenter, or any evolutionist would say.

I had written this a few days before Professor Huxley's admirable little sketch of Hume came out. On page 106, he says: "One of the most curious peculiarities of the dog mind is its inherent snobbishness, shown by the regard paid to external respectability. The dog who barks furiously at a beggar will let a well-dressed man pass him without opposition. Has he not then a 'generic idea' of rags and dirt associated with the idea of aversion, and that of sleek broad-cloth associated with the idea of liking?"

Indeed there is comparatively little in all Shakspere favourable to that model of the virtues of inherited civilisation through the claims of long descent. Almost all Shakspere's allusions to dogs relate to their evil qualities. Those few prominent passages which are of a favourable tendency are well known to us all. Mr. Jesse is almost as angry with Shakspere as with everybody else for this lack of appreciation of the model animal: and he emphatically denounces that habit of calling a bad man a dog or a cur, which is so colloquial and common, and of which the instances in Shakspere may be counted by scores. Yet there must be truth underlying such a habit, and a truth as inwoven with Shakspere's universal sympathy and knowledge as any other truth which could not co-exist with carelessness of language, or mere recklessness of colloquial epithets. Herein Shakspere precisely resembles the Scripture, which is dead against dogs, and only mentions one virtue, that they can bark (Isaiah lvi. 10). This does but prove to us that the dogs in Egypt, in Judæa, were wild scavengers, and very different from the darlings and the "upper ten thousand" of dog-society in these advanced days of "culture" and refinement. Even Launce's dog (in Two Gentlemen of Verona, IV. iv.), is chiefly immortalised by one action: although it is true he had been "in the company of three or four gentleman-like dogs;" and Launce's unselfish willingness to half-die for him, speaks more for Launce's fondness than for the objective merit of the favourite. Macbeth's catalogue of dogs, which only differentiates eight, no more hints commendation of dogs than of murderers. Edgar individualizes ten at least (in III. vi.). And, to pass from considering dogs exclusively to all the animals whose natures supply the continuous parallel to the displays of humanity, it is the horrible perception of a common carnal nature, mere "animal" nature that Lear enlarges on in IV. vi., which for the black minute seems to give almost an entire summary of the ruling passions in creatures, which finds its crisis in that inevitable but vain appeal, such as many another wounded sensitive spirit sick of this vile world and such humanity as experience has revealed to him, makes:-"Give me an ounce of civet, good apothecary, to sweeten my imagination." Lear calls Oswald, that mongrel, you dog, you cur; Goneril is detested kite; Kent calls the

two, dog-hearted daughters; Goneril has a wolfish visage; it is sharper than a serpent's tooth to have a thankless child; now, you she-foxes, says the mad king; even Gloucester says he would not bear to see Goneril in the king's anointed flesh stick boarish fangs. Twas his royal flesh begot those pelican daughters. Is it not as if this mouth should tear this hand (like a dog) for lifting food to it? Lear goes to the root of the matter when he appeals:

"Is there any cause in nature which makes these hard hearts?"

Let them anatomize Regan!"

"Allow not nature more than nature needs, Man's life's as cheap as beast's."—

i. e. even reduced to the same level in other respects besides as to our tradesmen's weekly bills. This is very close to Hamlet's comparison:

"What is a man,
If his chief good, and market of his time,
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more," &c.

(Hamlet, IV. iv.)

In duly lauding the passages that Coleridge, Hazlitt, &c., find so sublime, descriptive of the pitiless *storm* in sympathy with Lear's state, we find no reference by them to the howlings of nature in all the viler and as pitiless outbursts of *brute* creation that are distributed through the whole drama, and to which even the storm leads Lear's familiarity with beast nature to ruminate on:

"Crack nature's moulds; all germens spill at once That make ingrateful man!"

The sympathy of the storm is in two scenes; the one touch of nature which makes the whole animal world kin is found everywhere. And as at first Lear would "unburthened crawl towards death," i.e. like a cashiered cab-horse, or like a butterfly that has laid its eggs and crawls to death, so at the last he tries Cordelia's imperceptible breath with a feather; he would have found compensation for all woes in being with Cordelia, to sing together like birds in a cage: and his pang, the last he can endure on earth, as we have seen, takes the special form of bitter envy and revolt that any animals should still possess the unspeakable preciousness of LIFE that Cordelia has lost for ever.

Look for a moment at the Fool, the finest Fool that ever was, in imagination or in fact; "no comic buffoon to make the groundlings laugh," as Coleridge says, "but his wild babblings and inspired idiocy articulate and gauge the horrors of the scene." Coleridge is decidedly below his usual degree of penetration there. "His wild babblings" are full of wisdom which observation copied there, and always to the purpose. His idiocy was inspired with the same lore and study of animal natures and ways that his great Master had. It cannot be without pregnant intention (on Shakspere's part) that the Fool so frequently compares the low instincts of animals with the lower degradation of those bound by all the noblest ties and motives. Almost all his references are marked by watchfulness of the habits of creatures. They are seldom mere mentions. At least there is always some hints of past observation in them. "He's mad that trusts in the tameness of a wolf, a horse's health, a boy's love, or a whore's oath." "Winter's not gone yet, if the wild geese fly that way." He sees resemblances at once to Kent in the stocks among our repudiated relatives. "Horses are tied by the head, dogs and bears by the neck, monkeys by the loins, and men by the legs." "We'll set thee to school to the ant, to teach thee there's no labouring in the winter." And remember it is this personage and no other who coined that axiom worthy of Hamlet, or of the shrewdest, saddest sufferer from the "faithless coldness of the times"—"Truth's a dog that must to kennel." No better single saying has rescued from oblivion, or from simply having a name, more than one of ancient Greek philosophers. There must be antecedent reasons for that selected illustration, not very profound indeed, but very palpable. And he entertains Lear by biological inquiries bitterly suggestive:

"Canst tell how an oyster makes his shell?

Lear. No.

Fool. Nor I neither: but I can tell why a snail has a house: To put his head in, not to give it away to his daughters."

And there is a little difficulty about the *cuckoo*, which exceeds other references elsewhere to the ingratitude of that self-invited guest:

"The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long That it had it head bit off by it young" (I. iv.). Mr. Harting shirks touching this ornithological difficulty, although he is a naturalist, by a diversion treating us to the philological curiosity of *it head* instead of *its head*. It is only too evident that the Fool in his measure, and that no superficial one, felt the vile kinship of man and beast as terribly illustrated by the course of events.

What is astonishing in Edgar is the rapid succession of animals mentioned by him: unless it be still more astonishing to us that the fact has never before been noticed as helping to furnish a key to the main purpose of the play. See what a number of creatures he names in two Scenes, iv. and v. of Act III. Observe the steady, set deliberation with which he speaks of the denizens of the world he has fled to, from the cruel and unjust and lying world of men. He goes from the society of men to the society of animals, exactly as Timon goes from man's feasting to eat roots. Those two scenes would furnish no mean ménagerie, stocked with animals billeted from the Index to any Moral Science Treatise, or from one of St. Paul's catalogues of heathen vices. And there are the fourteen distinct terms for dogs, as if Lear's uncontrollable mortification at the disaffection of the three pampered pets caught from their mistresses' laps, had touched one of those cerebral chains of association we all know we possess, and he must needs run over the links. And in the mere outcast man Lear he sees "the thing itself," animal stripped of his conventional position, his sophistications and superiority, and all the homage that vice pays to virtue :- "Unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art" (III. iv.). Perhaps some might insinuate that no one but a censorious spirit or soured misanthropist could have predisposition enough to notice so emphatically, thus to estimate, perhaps over-estimate, these hints or evanescent colours rather than invariably undeniable assertions. I say, we have to study Shakspere faithfully, and see where he leads us. No one beyond him fulfilled Richter's genial condition: "He has no right to find fault with any man who does not love all men."

So let us conclude this sketch by observing that there are two other persons besides Lear driven into like fearful extremity of experience and conviction, wherein "Thought's the slave of life, and life Time's fool,"

Hamlet and Timon.

Hamlet has two or three famous utterances which tell full well how the horrible fact of a common nature in man and beast had sunk into his great heart.

"What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more," &c.
(Hamlet, IV. iv.)

and

"A beast that wants discourse of reason, (not that wants reason,)
Would have mourned longer." (Hamlet, I. ii.)

But the conditions of his mind, and the play laid in palaces and houses and amid more modern life, rather than in that open-air life and comparatively primitive civilization of Lear's time, and especially his ruling tone of looking up to the dark mystery of life itself, that might be god-like and full of heavenly symphonies, rather than down to the fact of low-thoughted life ruled by animal passions,—these did not lead to the perpetual tracing of that analogy we find so dominant in King Lear. The keynote is altogether different. There is no religion in King Lear. There is a too terribly subtle principle of religion and conscience in Hamlet to allow man to be estimated as but a genus of animals. Moralizing on life, and conscience, and mystery characterizes Hamlet; testing the degraded elements of the genus homo as but one in the succession with genera of wolves, serpents, kites, &c., characterizes Lear, and so he pourtrays them accordingly, by their analogues in a time and country so familiar with hunting, with animals, and all nature's relationships. The last two Acts of Timon. who finds

"the unkindest beast more kinder than mankind,"

are very close in resemblance to King Lear. We see what is so similar in the three plays. The main phenomenon is identical in King Lear and Timon, Acts iv. and v. Edgar, in some possible soliloquy, wherein his assumed madness need not have shone, might almost have uttered Timon's noble, terrible apostrophe to Nature:—

"Common mother thou, Whose womb unmeasurable and infinite breast Teems, and feeds all; whose selfsame mettle Whereof thy proud child, arrogant man, is puffed, Engenders the black toad and adder blue, The gilded newt, and eyeless venomed worm, Go great with tigers, dragons, wolves, and bears," &c.;

or even that other fearful outpouring of the wide law of common destructiveness and destruction, when he describes Apemantus as a beast among beasts, and details his beastly ambition, so utterly without an element of kinship to Timon's inherent nobleness, just as Samuel told the Israelites all the tyrannies and the taxation, the spoliation and subjugation, that lay dormant in the glowing, romantic title of King. We may take Timon, Acts iv. and v., with King Lear, as confirmation of the theory that so inevitable, so radical, so deep a consciousness, by moral intuition or perception, as Darwin and the Evolutionists have since demonstrated biologically, of the common nature of proud, boastful man, and the creatures he in his religious exclusiveness scorns to own as his ancestors, was in Shakspere's soul because it was in Nature herself. And while many scattered allusions may be found in his plays (as most people daily acknowledge colloquially what they theoretically deny), declarative of this brotherhood of all the lower qualities of our nature, in King Lear he has intentionally organized it. It is the keynote of the play. There is, perhaps, we may as well observe, hardly anything in the True Chronicle historie of King Leir and his three daughters, 1605, to suggest this as a foundation of his own structure to Shakspere. There are some stray allusions, but none worthy to rank with Shakspere's own, except

"fell vipers as they are" (p. 383).

A Natural History companion to Shakspere is still a want: and so is the extension of the *New Shakspere Society*, which, perhaps, may lead to the other.

So, in conclusion, even if we might find more pleasing delight in the associations traced in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, or in *As You Like It*, let us, without mawkish hesitation out of love to dogs or pride in self, see how the ruling melody in *King Lear* and *Timon*,

the theme of the fugue that reappears through all varieties of harmonies and sequences, is that although the high moral intuitions attained through long development from lower nature and organization, as Mr. Herbert Spencer traces, distinguish man immeasurably from the ranks below him,

"Life's struggle having so far reached its term:
Thence shall I pass, approved
A man, for aye removed
From the developed brute; a God, though in the germ."
(Browning: 'Ben Ezra.')

Yet, if the nobler qualities of reverence, fidelity, conscience, and righteousness are foregone, man falls back to the ranks from which he came, reasserts his low original: woman is a serpent, a vulture, and a fox; man is a dog, a rat, a vermin: just as petals return to stamens in roses; as their identical form and colour with green leaves reassert themselves in the middle of a cherry blossom; as tribes revert to savageness; as dogs and cats would revert from domesticity and virtues to wildness and villainy: and so any human being individually knows he could too easily sink, unless he will

"Look upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die." (Tennyson.)

I could have worked out this Shaksperian study in Natural History more efficiently, but my own ménagerie is a busy suburban parish, wherein are many sweet creatures, harmless as doves, wise as serpents; and some of other sorts.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF ANIMALS IN KING LEAR.

			Act	Scene	
Adder, stung jealous of	 Edmun	d	V.	i.	94*
Ant, set thee to school to	 Fool		II.	iv.	42
Ass, on thy back barest thy	 Fool		I.	iv.	22
Ass, knows when cart draws horse	 Fool		I.	iv.	23 .

^{*} Page in 'Clarendon' Lear.

		Act Scene	
Greyhound	Edgar	III. vi.	63-
Hound	Edgar	III. vi.	63
<i>Lym</i>	Edgar	III. vi.	63
Mastiff	Edgar	III. vi.	63
Mongrel, where's that	Lear	I. iv.	18
Mongrel, grim	Edgar	III. vi.	63
Mongrel bitch, son and heir of	Kent	II. ii.	34
Spaniel	Edgar	III. vi.	63
Tike, bobtail	Edgar	III. vi.	63
Trundle-tail	Edgar	III. vi.	63
Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart	Lear	III. vi.	63
Eels, as cockney did to	Fool	II. iv.	43
Fish, to eat no	Kent	I. iv.	17
Fox, when one has caught her	Fool	I. iv.	26
Fox, in stealth Fox, ingrateful	Edgar	III. iv.	58 66
The same of the sa	Regan $Lear$	III. vii.	62
7 0 1 111	T	V. iii.	95
7771 1	Gloucester	IV. i.	70
777 11:1 3 - 3	Lear	IV. vi.	70
Frog, Tom eats the swimming	Edgar	III. iv.	59
Fitchew, nor soiled horse goes to it	Lear	IV. vi.	59
Goose, if I had you on Sarum plain	Kent	II. ii.	36
Geese, wild-, fly that way if	Fool	II. iv.	41
Hedge-sparrow, fed cuckoo	Fool	I. iv.	23
Halcyon, beaks, turn their	Kent	II. ii.	36
Herring, Tom cries for two white	Edgar	III. vi.	62
Hog, in sloth	Edgar	III. iv.	58
Horse, nor the soiled	Lear	IV. vi.	58
Horse, when cart draws the	Fool	I. iv.	23
Horse, in pure kindness to	Fool	II. iv.	43
Horse, straight took	Kent	II. iv.	41
Horse, to ride	Edgar	III. iv.	59
Horse's health, mad that trusts	Fool	III. vi.	62
Horse, shoe a troop of, with felt	Lear	IV. vi.	84
Horse, why should, have life	Lear		106
Horse, and away to	Goneril	I. iv.	27
Horse, ride on a bay, trotting	Edgar	III. iv.	57
Horses, saddle my	Lear	I. iv.	24
Horses, prepare my	Lear	I. iv.	25 66
Horses, for thy mistress get	Cornwall	I. v.	29
Horses, are the, ready Horses, be my, ready	Lear $Lear$	I. v.	29
TT 11 11 11 11.1	Fool	II. iv.	40
Kite, detested, thou liest	Lear	I. iv.	25
Lark, the shrill-gorged	Edgar	IV. vi.	81
many one minim Sorgea	2300900	A 7 0 Y 30	01

			Act	Scene	,
Lion, the, and wolf keep fur dry		Gentleman	III.	i.	50
Lion, in prey		Edgar	III.	iv.	58
Mice, and rats, and such small deer		Edgar	III.	iv.	59
Mouse, look, look, a!		Lear	IV.	vi.	82
Monster, sea-, more hideous than		Lear	I.	iv.	25
Monsters of the deep, like		Albany	IV.	ii.	73
Newt, the water-, and the wall-,	• • •	Edgar	III.	iv.	59
Nightingale, in voice of, fiend	• • •	Edgar	III.	vi.	62
Oyster, how makes his shell	• • •	Fool	I.	v.	28
Owl, comrade with wolf and		Lear	II.	iv.	46
Pelican, those, daughters		Lear	III.	iv.	58
Rat, a, have life, and thou no breath	•••	Lear	V.	iii.	106
Rat's-bane by his porridge	• • •	Edgar	III.	iv.	57
Rats, like, bite holy cords	• • •	Kent	II.	ii.	36
Rats, mice and, and such small deer	• • •	Edgar	III.	iv.	59
Snail, why a, has a house		Fool	I.	∇_{\bullet}	28
Serpent's tooth, sharper than		Lear	I.	iv.	25
Serpent-like, most, her tongue		Lear	II.	iv.	45
Serpent, this gilded	• • •	Albany	V.	iii.	97
Swine, to level thee with	• • •	Cordelia	IV.	vii.	89
Sheep, no wool, thou owest	• • •	Lear	III.	iv.	58
Sumpter to this detested groom		Lear	II.	iv.	47
Tad-pole, the, Poor Tom eats		Edgar	III.	iv.	59
Toad, the, Poor Tom eats		Edgar	III.	iv.	59
Toad-spotted traitor		Edgar		iii.	99
Tigers, not daughters		Albany	IV.	ii.	73
Vermin, and to kill		Edgar	III.	iv.	60
Vulture, a, sharp-tooth'd, unkindnes	S	Lear	II.	iv.	44
Wolf, and owl, comrade with	• • •	Lear	II.	iv.	46
Wolf, belly-pinched, keep fur dry	• • •	Gentleman		i.	50
Wolf, in greediness	• • •	Edgar	III.	iv.	58
Wolf, trusts in tameness of	***	Fool	III.	VI.	62
Wolves, howl'd at thy gate	• • •	Gloucester	III.	vii.	67
Worm, no silk, thou owest	• • •	Lear		iv.	58
Worm, made me think man a	• • •	Gloucester	IV.	i.	70
Wagtail, you!	• • •	Kent	II.	ii.	35
Wren, the, goes to it	• • •	Lear	IV.	vi.	35

Summary:

Sixty-four different names of animals, counting dog only once, but counting each kind of dog, except Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart.

The persons who allude to animals, are, Lear, Edgar, Fool, Edmund, Albany, Cornwall, Gloucester, Kent, Gentleman, Regan, Goneril, and Cordelia. Of these, 132 separate mentions: exclusive of

such terms as apish, bemonster, gossamer, feathers, eggs, nature's germens, crawl to death. 102 times by *three* characters: viz., 44 by Lear; 39 by Edgar; 19 by Fool.

KING HENRY THE SIXTH: Part 2,

ANIMALS.

		Times 1	named			Times r	named
Adder ·		T -	1	Heifer			1
Ban-dogs			1	Horse		•••	3
Basilisk		***	3	Jades			1
Bear	• • •	•••	4	Kite			4
Beast	• • • •	• • •	1	Lamb			4
Bees	• • •	*	4	Lion	• • •		2
Birds	•••		3	Lizard			1
Bucks		•••	1	0x	• • •		3
Calf	• • • •	• • •	2	Ostrich	• • •	• • •	1
Caterpillars	• • •	• • •	2	Partridge	• • •	• • •	Ī
Chicken	• • •	• • •	2	Puttock	• • •	• • •	1
Crocodile		• • •	1	Palfrey	• • •	•••	1
Crows	• • •	• • •	1	Porcupine	• • •	• • •	1
Curs	• • •	• • •	3	Raven			2
Dog	• • •	• • •	2	Snake		• • •	2
Doves	• • • •	• • •	2	Scorpion	• • •	• • •	1
Drones		• • •	1	Serpent	• • •	•••	4
Deer	• • •	• • •	1	Sheeps	• • •	• • •	3
Eagles	• • •	• • •	1	Screech-owl		• • •	2
Falcon	• • •	• • •	2	Spider	• • •	• • •	1
Fowl	10		1	Wren		•••	_
Fox	******		3	Worm		* 1	1
Hawk			2	Wolves	•••	• • •	3

46 names of animals; 88 separate mentions.

KING HENRY THE SIXTH: Part 3.

ANIMALS.

	.110	, Times	named				Times 1	named
Basilisk						•••	• • •	6
Bear								
Bear-whelp	100		1	Bug				1
Beast				Bull				

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			Times	named			Times named
Chamele	eon			1	Night-crow		1
Coney				1	Owl		2
Cur				1	Night-Owl		1
Deer				3	Screech Owl	•••	1
Dogs			• • •	2	Neat	• • •	1
Doves		• • •		2	Pies	• • •	1
Eagle				3	Phœnix		1
Ewes		***		1	Raven	• • •	1
Falcon		•••		1	Stale	• • •	1
Fowl		•••	• • •	1	Steeds	• • •	4
Fox		• • •		- 1	Serpent		1
Flies		- '		1	Sheep	•••	2
Greyhou	ınd	•••		1	Swan		1
Gnats		• • •		1	Tiger	• • •	2
Hare				1	Toads	• • • •	1
Horse				2	Worm		1
Lion		***		7	Woodcock		1
Lamb		***	•••	5	Wolves	• • •	5
Lizards		•••		1	She-Wolf	• • •	1
Mole (-h	nill)	***		2			
		1.1					

47 names of animals, including phœnix; 80 separate mentions.

AS YOU LIKE IT.

ANIMALS.

	Times	named							
Ass				1	Deer	• • • •			6
Ape				1	Doe				1
		dunghills		1	Ewes		•••		3
Boar		•••		1	Fawn		***		_ 1
Bird				3	Falcon	•••	•••	• • •	1
Beast				2	Goats	•••	• • •	• • •	2
Curs				1	Hyen		• • •	• • •	1
Coney				1	Hogs		• • •		1
Cow				1	Horse			• • •	5
Chanticle	eer			1	Hart	•••		• • •	1
Capon		•••		1	Hind			•••	1
Cock		•••		1	Lion	•••	•••		1
Civet .			- •••	2	Lioness				3
Cat		• • •		1	Lambs		- ***	• • • •	1
Dog		***		3	Monster	c		• • •	1
Dog-apes	3			_ 1	Mutton		• • •	***	1

		Tim	es named				Times	named
Monkey		 	1	Rams		0	21	2
Oyster		 	1	Sheep				5
Parrot		 	1	Snake				2
Phoenix		 	1	Swans		•••		1
Horn be	asts	 	1	Sparrow		•••		1
Pigeons		 	3			•••	• • •	1
Ox		 	2	TIT		• • •		1
Pard		 	1	Weasel				1
Rat		 	1	Wild-goo	ose	•••		2
Ravens		 •••	1	Wolves		•••	•••	1
Snail		 	3	Worms		•••		3
Stalking	-horse	 	1	Toad		• • •	•••	1

56 names of animals; 90 separate mentions.

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM,

ANIMALS,

			Times r	amed			Times name	đ
Ass				7 1	Goose			4
Adder		•••		3	Griffin			1
Ape	•••	•••		1	Glowworm			1
Beasts		•••		3	Hound			5
Wild-be	asts			1	Hog	• • •	•••	2
Beetles		***		1	Hedgehog		•••	1
Bear				8	Pard	• • •	• • •	1
Boar				1	Birds	• • •		3
Blindwo	rm	•••		1	Hind			1
Bull		•••		2	Humble bees			2
Butterfli	es			1	Horse		• • • •	5
Bat		•••		1	Leviathan	• • •		1
Cat	,			2	Lion	• • •	2	
Colt	• • •			1	Lark	•••		2
Crab		• • •		- 1	Mare	• • •		1
Choughs	3		,.	1	Monster	• • • •		2
Cuckoo				1	Mouse	• • •		2
Cur			• • •	1	Monkey	• • •	***	1
Dog		•••	•••	4	Newts	***	•••	1
Dolphin			• • •	1	Nightingale		***	1
Doves				3	Owl	• • •	•••	1
Duck		•••		1	Ousel cock	• • •	***	Ţ
Fox	• • •		• • •	2	Ounce	• • •		1
Finch		•••	• • •	1	Philomel	• • •		2
Foal				1	Spaniel		•••	2

			Times	named			Times nar	med
Spiders -				1	Throstle	,	,	1
Spinners				1	Tiger			1
Snakes				2	Reremice		,	1
Serpents					Wolf			2
Sparrow				1	Wood birds			1
Screech-c	wl		• • •	1	Worms			2
Squirrel		,		1	Wild fowl			1
Snail				1	Wren			1

66 names of animals: 146 separate mentions.

Mr. Furnivall: We all join, I am sure, in thanks to Mr. Kirkman for his admirably read and happily-written Paper. Besides its value as an Essay on Lear, it has this further worth: some of us who had only noted how Shakspere has always made the non-animal Nature of sun, cloud, and storm, sympathise with man, and harmonise with the tone of his plays; we can now add to our notes, that Shakspere has in like manner made animal nature sympathise, harmonise, with the motive of each play. One accepts the fact as a matter of course as soon as it's stated; but tho' I had in my Leopold-Introduction comment on Lucrece printed a list of parallelisms to show how its allusions to rapacious animals suited its tone, as well as that of 2 & 3 Henry VI, I hadn't noted the same fact in Lear, or seen cause to stretch the principle over all Shakspere's work, But I still make an exception in the case of non-animal nature in Venus & Adonis, in which "from whatever source came the impulse to take from Ovid the heated story of the heathen goddess's lust, we cannot forbear noticing how thro' this stifling atmosphere Shakspere has blown the fresh breezes of English meads and downs."—Leopold Sh. Intro. p. xxx.

cousin, sb. Henry V., I. ii. 235. Mihi immortalitas parta est. I am in heauen: I am now cousen to God almightie. R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 105, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

invent, v. write, compose. As You Like It, IV. iii. 28, "neither was I Greenes companion any more than for a carowse or two, nor pincht with any vngentleman-like want, when I invented Pierce Pennilesse." 1592.—T. Nash, Strange Newes, sign. H. 1, back.

jet, vb. Cymbeline, III. iii. 5. Loe, I see here goe ietting [incedere video] that honest fellow Parmeno; but see, a gods name, howe carelesse he is.—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 176, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

pass, v. tr. care, care for. 2 Henry VI., IV. ii. 136. But thou perhaps doest little passe [parvi pendis] what becomes of me, so thou maist make some shift for him.—R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 238, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

XIV.

ON "YON GREY LINES THAT FRET THE CLOUDS," IN JULIUS CÆSAR, II. i. 103-4.

BY MR. RUSKIN.

(Read at the 45th Meeting of the Society, Oct. 11, 1878.)

[Mr. Furnivall said: "Miss Hickey askt me whether I was satisfied with Mr. Aldis Wright's meaning of this fret: "that mark the clouds with interlacing lines like fretwork." (Clarendon Press ed., p. 126). She was not: she thought fret here was to eat away, (for-etan). I said that I couldn't answer her question because I didn't know enough of Nature to tell what appearance in the clouds Shakspere meant to describe; and I should therefore refer the point to Mr. Ruskin. He was good enough to send me the two following letters on it:]

¹ Schmidt gives here, 'fret, to variegate.' The word comes from the Gothic prep. fra, and the verb itan, to eat; fra-itan, to eat up; just as Germ. fressen, ver-essen, to eat up (Skeat). The Anglo-Saxon fretan, is to 'fret, tear, eat up;' and its derivatives, fratwan, fratwian, are to 'fret, adorn.' In Layamon, 1. 31677, we have, "let bu be hundes [Englishmen]: hannen (perish) to-gaderes, eider freten oder: swa hund ded his broder" (iii. 274). In Genesis and Exodus, 1. 2101, "de lene [kine] hauen de fette freten." In William and the Wernolf, p. 9, 1. 87, of the Wolf:

"For reuliche gan he rore and rente all his hide, & fret oft of be erbe & fel doun on swowe."

In Chaucer (description of Diana's temple, in) Knight's Tale, 1. 2068:

"Then saugh I Attheon | an hart ymaked
For vengeaunce | þat he saugh Diana all naked
I saugh | how þat hise houndes | haue hym caught,
And freeten hym | for þat they knewe hym naught.

In 1603, J. Florio. Montaigne (ed. 1634, p. 266).—"The Barble fishes, if one of them chance to be engaged, will set the line against their backes, and with a fin they have, toothed like a sharp saw, presently saw and fret the same asunder."

"Brantwood,
"Coniston, Lancashire.

" MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

"Of course, in any great writer's word, the question is far less what the word came from, than where it has come to. Fret means all manner of things in that place; primarily, the rippling of clouds—as sea by wind; secondarily, the breaking it asunder for light to come through. It implies a certain degree of vexation—some dissolution—much order, and extreme beauty. I have myself used this word substantively, to express the rippled edge of a wing-feather. In architecture and jewellery it means simply roughening in a decorative manner.1

"Ever affectionately yours,
"J. Ruskin."

" Edinburgh, 29th Sept., 1878.

"DEAR FURNIVALL,

"Your kind letter comes to me here, and I must answer on this paper, for, if that bit of note is really of any use to you, you must please add this word or two more, in printing, as it wouldn't do to let it be such a mere fret on the vault of its subject. You say not one man in 150 knows what the line means: my dear Furnivall, not one man in 15,000, in the 19th century, knows, or ever can know, what any line—or any word means, used by a great writer. For most words stand for things that are seen, or things that are thought of: and in the 19th century there is certainly not one man in 15,000 who ever looks at anything, and not one in 15,000,000 capable of a thought. Take the intelligence of this word in this line for example—the root of the whole matter is first, that the reader should have seen, what he has often heard of, but probably not seen twice in his life—' Daybreak.' Next, it is needful he should think, what 'break' means in that word -what is broken, namely, and by what. That is to say, the cloud of night is Broken up, as a city is broken up (Jerusalem, when Zedekiah fled), as a school breaks up, as a constitution, or a ship, is broken up; in every case with a not inconsiderable change of idea, and addition

 $^{^{1}}$ In modern English 'chasing' has got confused with it, but should be separated again,

to the central word. This breaking up is done by the Day, which breaks,—out, as a man breaks, or bursts out, from his restraint in a passion; breaks down in tears; or breaks in, as from heaven to earth —with a breach in the cloud wall of it; or breaks out—with sense of outwards—as the sun—out and out, farther and farther, after rain. Well; next, the thing that the day breaks up is partly a garment, rent, more than broken; a mantle, the day itself "in russet mantle clad" the blanket of the dark, torn to be peeped through—whereon instantly you get into a whole host of new ideas; fretting, as a moth frets a garment; unravelling at the edge, afterwards;—thence you get into fringe, which is an entirely double word, meaning partly a thing that guards, and partly a thing that is worn away on the ground; the French Frange has I believe a reminiscence of φράσσω in it—our 'fringe' runs partly towards frico and friction—both are essentially connected with frango, and the fringe of 'breakers' at the shores of all seas, and the breaking of the ripples and foam all over them-but this wholly different in a northern mind, which has only seen the sea

'Break, break, on its *cold* gray stones'— and a southern, which has seen a hot sea on hot sand break into lightning of phosphor flame—half a mile of fire in an instant—following in time, like the flash of minute guns. Then come the great new ideas of order and time, and

'I did but tell her she mistook ner frets,' And bowed her hand,' &c.,

and so the timely succession of either ball, flower, or dentil, in architecture: but this, again, going off to a totally different and still lovely idea, the main one in the word aurifrigium—which rooted once in aurifex, went on in Etruscan work, followed in Florence, into a much closer connection with frigidus—their style being always in frosted gold—(see the dew on a cabbage-leaf—or better, on a grey lichen, in early sunshine)—going back, nobody knows how far, but to the Temple of the Dew of Athens, and gold of Mycenæ, anyhow; and in Etruria to the Deluge, I suppose. Well then, the notion of the music of morning comes in—with strings of lyre (or frets of Katharine's instrument, whatever it was) and stops of various

quills; which gets us into another group beginning with plectrum, going aside again into plico and plight, and Milton's

'Play in the plighted clouds'

—(the quills on the fretful porcupine are all thought of, first, in their piped complexity like rushes, before the standing up in ill temper)—and so on into the plight of folded drapery,—and round again to our blanket. I think that's enough to sketch out the compass of the word. Of course the real power of it in any place depends on the writer's grasp of it, and use of the facet he wants to cut with."

In confirmation of Mr. Ruskin's view, Mr. Harrison cited the parallel lines in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v. 7, 8,

'look, love, what envious streaks Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east,"

where the streaks of light—grey light too, as the "yon grey" of 1.19 shows—are not like lace on the clouds, but behind and bursting through the crevices that the severing clouds leave between them, ragged-edged, fretted and pierced like lace. In colour, form, fact, the two passages correspond with nature.

Miss Hickey quoted a line from Greene's Looking Glass for

London,

"Until the Lord unfret his angry brows,"

as showing that 'fret' was used for the lines of the frowning brow. Mr. J. NEWBY HETHERINGTON said: "I have always taken 'fret' in this Julius Casar passage to mean 'eat away,' and hence to 'break through,' and till I saw the note in the Clarendon Press Edition I never thought of 'Ornament.' So far as my experience goes, the light does seem to break through the clouds at early dawn, especially if the sky be overcast after a stormy night; and the night referred to had been very stormy. I well remember the gloomy daybreak, seen from a railway carriage, after the lamps had gone out, when the first sign of dawn were grey rents, patches and lines in the clouds; these gradually became larger, and the edges of the clouds were torn or fringed. At last there came a dusky red which, as the clouds gathered together, soon disappeared. Of course on a cloudless morning the signs of dawn would be very different, and I think it is well to bear in mind that the dawn referred to in the play followed a tempestuous night."

Mr. Jiju Sanjo said that in crossing the ocean three times in his journeys from Japan to England and back, he had noticed the lines of light breaking through the clouds as described by Shakspere,

Mr. Ruskin, and Mr. Hetherington.

Mr. EDWARD ROSE also said that in very early mornings before dawn he had remarked the same lines.

XV.

ON HAMLET'S "SOME DOZEN OR SIXTEEN LINES":

AN ATTEMPT TO REBUT THE ARGUMENTS BOTH OF

MR. MALLESON AND PROF. SEELEY

(Transactions for 1874, p. 465—498).

BY C. M. INGLEBY, LL.D.

(Read at the 31st Meeting of the Society, February 9, 1877.)

In Henry Jones' play of *The Earl of Essex*, Act V. sc. i., Essex entrusts his ring (the Queen's gift) to the Countess of Nottingham for delivery to the royal donor, the "sacred pledge of mercy" serving to enforce his suit for pardon. In the following scene Elizabeth asks the treacherous confidante—

"What, said he nothing of a private import?
No circumstance—no pledge—no ring?"

to which the Countess replies, "None, Madam." This was in course of performance at Drury Lane towards the end of the last century; and no sooner had the actress (Mrs. Davenport probably) delivered this reply, than a man in the gallery, utterly unconscious of the unreality of the scene, bawled out, "You lying jade! you know you've got it on you now."

Mr. Malleson pays Shakspere almost as great a compliment. Incredible as it appears, he entirely forgets that the inner play is but a part of Shakspere's Hamlet; that Hamlet writes no speech at all—whether of six, twelve, or eighteen lines; nor recites such a speech; that Shakspere simply wrote the entire play as one continuous whole—certainly making large additions to his first sketch, but as certainly not writing any addition in personâ Hamleti;

still less writing an addition to a play which he had previously written in the character of the author of an Italian morality! I say it would be incredible, were it not demonstrable, that Mr. Malleson has repeated the man in the gallery's mistake; but the proof is patent. Not only does he say of the lines constituting the largest speech (of the Player-King), "If they are those Hamlet wrote" (p. 467); not only does he suspect that "Hamlet altered the manner of the murder in the old play" (p. 469); not only does he ask whether the short speech of Lucianus contains "anything to make us say, 'Not by Hamlet'" (p. 474); remarks which are not inconsistent with his recollection of the fact that Hamlet really writes nothing: but he says (p. 480), "When he [Hamlet] sat down with the play before him he may have written twenty or twenty-six;" and asks (p. 481), "May not Hamlet have inserted his lines in substitution for others which he struck out?" and what is still more conclusive, remarks (p. 471): "It [Hamlet's addition] contained probably more than the half-dozen lines which were all Lucianus was able to deliver, before Hamlet a third time interrupted him, and the king rose, frighted with false fire." So that we are constrained to believe that Mr. Malleson had completely lost sight of Shakspere; that he unconsciously took the tragedy of Hamlet as a reality; the Inner Play only being a drama; that Hamlet really wrote some lines, say from twelve to sixteen; that he inserted them in the Italian Play; and that he and the King together stopped the old actor (who played Lucianus) in his recital of the lines, so that he could get out only half-a-dozen of them, and we lose the rest in the verbatim report of the proceedings which has come down to us.

Professor Seeley seems to have received Mr. Malleson's naïveté with the greatest gravity; and only when his opponent forces upon him his extraordinary misprision does the Professor gently call Mr. Malleson's attention to the fact which must have come upon him like a thunderbolt; that "Shakspere was in reality the author of both text and sermon," and that Hamlet's "speech of some dozen or sixteen lines," was a mock insertion written by Shakspere himself (p. 488).

But not—the Professor would insist upon this—not by any means

as an essential part of the Inner Play; in a word, that Shakspere, in the course of writing the Inner Play remembered the promised speech and wrote an addition for Hamlet, incorporating it with one of the speeches of the Player King. Now certainly this is a little step in advance; Professor Seeley has not wholly forgotten where he was, as Mr. Malleson is proved to have done; but notwithstanding he has not the remotest notion of the method upon which a first-class artist, like Shakspere, constructs and executes any of his dramatic works.

To trace into its issues every suggestion in the play, so that the event should justify the hint, is (in Hamlet's phrase), "to consider too curiously." Why so? Because the drama is a work of art. It is indeed a happy imitation of Nature, and reflects the manners of the time, but it differs from biography and history in this—that it is a work of Dramatic art, a contrivance for imposing upon the spectator, so that he shall take no account of the actual and real time, place, and circumstance, and with conscious cooperation with the play, almost forget that he is in a play-house, that the duration of the play is a matter of from two to three hours, that the events are transacted on a platform, and the other thousand and one (or if you will, dozen or sixteen hundred), minute absurdities, which are essential to such a microcosm.

If a real Prince in Hamlet's place were to essay the detection of guilt by the device of a play performed before the suspected criminal, he might compose and insert a few lines to add point and force to the ordeal. If he did so, and we were present at the play, we should hear the lines recited, and might exercise our ingenuity in finding out which they were. If we had a short-hand report of the play as performed, we should the more readily do this. We might then vivisect the dialogue and speeches; apply to them all conceivable tests, qualitative and quantitative; æsthetic and biographical; metrical and verbal; and we might very well succeed in eliminating the lines in question. If we failed it would be our fault; for the lines would be there.

Are we to suppose that Shakspere in composing Hamlet followed pari passu the course of such a series of events? Surely not! To

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do so would be to suppose him wholly deficient in the simplest art of the play-wright.

The very notion of dramatic art implies contrivance; a compromise with facts effected by means of device, with these objects: (1) To economize natural events, and so to abridge them into the smallest possible dimensions consistent with their intelligible progress. (2) To throw them into the "falsely true" perspective of a diorama; and make the short and restricted, the "little brief" cluster of events, which are witnessed on the stage, seem long and large as natural events. (3) To make them intelligible by pleasing dialogue and soliloguy, supported by the lower concrete art of dress, situation, and scenery. The lower the art, the more necessary is the closeness of imitation; so that dress, action, and scene, must be as real as possible; and the reality is in the specified order. Dress is real, not simulated, dress; action is action, but simulated action; and scene (so far as it supersedes the ordinary carpentry of the stage), is not scenery at all, but scene-painting. The closer the imitation of concrete reality, the lower is the art; therefore dress is the lowest of all; and the spoken drama is the highest.

With these views kept clearly in mind, we shall plainly perceive to how debased a condition is Shakspere reduced by those who interpret one of his plays as if he had manufactured it as a dry imitation of biography or history. On that supposition the following would be his procedure. As soon as he had found or constructed his plot for Hamlet, and decided upon the Inner Play scene, he either composed an original pseudo-antique drama, or he found an old Italian play suitable to his purpose and adopted it, or adopted and adapted it. Then he conceived the device of Hamlet's seasoning to the old dish; as if Shakspere might not have seasoned it himself, when he composed, or adapted the old play. Then having played the part of the old author, he now plays the part of Hamlet, and in hâc personâ writes just a dozen or sixteen lines to insert in the play, and that being so, we ought to find them there.

Now I venture to say, that, such a portrait of Shakspere, the dramatic artist, was never drawn before it fell to the lot of Mr. Malleson to paint it. How utterly unlike the original is such a

picture! Shakspere's procedure, as I understand the matter, was this. In the course of enlarging the first sketch he conceived the design of making it the vehicle for the highest possible instruction in the art of elocution. The play scene was already devised; and he had therefore to introduce the players as arriving at the Court of Elsinore. Here Shakspere found the occasion he wanted. He would make Hamlet instruct the player; the first gentleman in Denmark instruct the vagrant showman. He would here teach the clown and the tragedian how to behave themselves. But how was Hamlet to do this? He would hardly be supposed to know by heart the rôles of a strolling player. So Shakspere makes Hamlet speak as if he had already recited to the player a speech of his own composition, and makes Hamlet thereupon give the old man his instructions. But having made or found the occasion he wanted, he had to prepare the audience for the supposed recitation. Without any preparation the audience would be shocked by Hamlet's remarks:

" Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue." $\!\!\!$

But he has not pronounced any such speech; so then it became a necessity for Shakspere to represent Hamlet at a former interview, imparting to the old player his intention of writing a speech of "some dozen or sixteen lines," for insertion in the *murder of Gonzago*. So we have Hamlet asking:

"Can you play the murder of Gonzago?

1st Player. Ay, my lord.

Hamlet. We'll have it to-morrow night. You could, for a need, study a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines, which I would set down and insert in 't? could you not?

1st Player. Ay, my lord."

Observe how naturally the preparation is made. The audience are not shocked here, they already know that Hamlet intends to make the old play the instrument of tenting his uncle to the quick, so they receive the remark about Hamlet's "some dozen or sixteen lines," as perfectly natural to the situation. But all the while Shakspere's object (here kept wholly out of view) was to prepare the audience for his own lesson (voce Hamleti) on elocution. Moreover, as a further preparative, he makes Hamlet recite part of the Pyrrhus speech, so

that the audience should not wonder that Hamlet was au fait in dramatic propriety.

Note, now, that as soon as Hamlet has given the old player his lesson, the *dramatic need* of the "speech of some dozen or sixteen lines" is satisfied, and we can have no further concern in them. The suggestion served (1) to prepare the way to Hamlet's advice; (2) to suggest the probability, vague to the last degree, that Hamlet touched and tinkered the old play to suit his purpose more completely.

Professor Seeley objects to Mr. Malleson's selection of six lines, that, "it is not twelve or sixteen" (p. 477); but truly nothing can be vaguer than the phrase "some dozen or sixteen lines." The phrase "dozen or sixteen" is but a little more than several; the phrase "dozen or fourteen" means just as much and just as little (cf. Henry V. II. i., where Mrs. Quickly says:

"No, by my troth, not long; for we cannot lodge and board a dozen or fourteen gentlewomen, that live honestly," &c.

Then the qualification of "some" makes the phrase, if anything, one degree vaguer. All that Hamlet's proposal can mean is, that he wishes the old player to study an insertion, or several insertions, just as Hamlet should decide upon. We know nothing as to his decision, save the fact of some lines being rehearsed.

If Shakspere had intended us to *find* them in the old play, we should have had Hamlet's recitation of them, or a sufficient glance at their purport to serve our purpose. That there is no indication, convinces me that as soon as Hamlet has instructed the old player, the function of the supposed insertion was fulfilled, and that they had no further part in *Hamlet*.

Shakspere having used the occasion for the advice to the player, probably proceeded to sketch out his Inner Play, in doing which, I dare be sworn he never once thought of Hamlet's projected insertion. If he did, he was a much less capable dramatist than I take him to be. If he had actually stooped to the servility of making an insertion for Hamlet, he could have been no artist at all, but a base imitator, without a spark of imagination. All the same, it may have crossed his mind that aftercomers, utterly ignorant of dramatic art, might be concerned about the "speech of some dozen or sixteen lines," and not

improbably chuckled over the mare's-nest he was preparing for their amusement and vexation. Nevertheless, in satisfaction of the most rigid demands of the rational precisian, he contrived that King Claudius should take alarm when the performance had been but half played out; so that the latter half, to which the said precisian is bound to relegate Hamlet's "speech of some dozen or sixteen lines," and which Professor Seeley calls "the part that was unacted" (p. 475), was unacted only because it was never written at all.

On the whole, I may say, the positions of both Mr. Malleson and Professor Seeley, each as affecting the arguments of the other, are unanswerable. No ingenuity will ever storm those $\epsilon \pi i \tau \epsilon i \chi \iota \sigma \mu a \tau a$. Mr. Malleson proves that Professor Seeley's selection cannot be the wanted speech; and Professor Seeley proves that Mr. Malleson's six lines are equally out of the question.

To recapitulate my own position; I say that they should never have sought for the lines; that they ought to have known that the lines could not be in the Inner Play, because Shakspere was an artist. They ought to have seen that the allusion to them was a dramatic expedient, which was satisfied as soon as Hamlet had taught the old player what was doubtless at the time a much needed lesson; and was probably a blow at the absurdities of a rival theatre; for a dramatic expedient, not essential to the plot, introduced for a collateral object, is to be left out of account so soon as that object is attained.

Truly, it were scarcely possible to conceive a topic for debate more intrinsically trifling than this of Hamlet's inserted speech. But it is not trifling in its issues. If it were possible for two educated gentlemen to set about groping for a speech which never existed, and which they ought to have known was not to be found, it is important to reopen the question, and call attention to that rule of dramatic art, which must have swayed Shakspere if his talent as a play-wright was above contempt. He tells us in *Hamlet* that, "rightly to be great" is "to find quarrel in a straw when honour's at the stake;" so rightly to be critical, is to find quarrel in a question, "not worth an egg," when it involves the greater question of Shakspere's dramatic art.

C. M. INGLEBY.

Mr. Furnivall—I can only repeat to-night what I said on Dr. Ingleby's Sonnet-Dedication Paper, when he read it us, that I reject his view—of the 12-16 line speech—absolutely and unconditionally; and I sincerely hope that he will see reason to withdraw the present Paper, as he has withdrawn the former one. If Shakspere ever "chuckled over" any "mare's-nest," or ever said "Save me from my friends!" he would surely have done both, had he heard to-night's Paper. A more perverted, yet happily futile, attempt to degrade Shakspere's art, I never listend to.

The way in which our friend has been led into this lamentable assault on our great poet's fair fame, is clear. He has simply left out the main fact of the question, has never notist the condition precedent to any argument upon it, and has consequently written his essay entirely beside the point. Alas! it is neither the first nor the thousandth time that such things have been done in Shakspere

criticism.

The object of Hamlet's 12-16 line speech is of course plainly declard by Shakspere, after Dr. Ingleby would have us suppose that the poet had not only dismisst it from his thoughts but deliberately intended that it should never be in them. He says—

"If his occulted guilt
Do not itself unkennel in one speech,
It is a damned ghost that we have seen,
And my imaginations are as foul
As Vulcan's stithy."

There is "the dramatic need" for Hamlet's speech; there, the reason for "the speech... as I pronounced it you," "my lines," "a speech of some dozen or sixteen lines which I would set down and insert in 't." And of course, if Hamlet's speech is the one speech, Dr. Ingleby's whole Paper falls to the ground. That this speech is so, needs no argument. In Shakspere, all is consistent and artistic; the speech is just casually mentioned at first, then you see that Hamlet attaches great importance to it, then you are told why he does so—it is to be the turning-point of the drama, just as Antony's speech was in Julius Caesar, the play that came next

¹ The word 'trippingly,' applied to the speaking of the speech, must be interpreted by the result it is to produce, the begetting of "a temperance that may give smoothness," to "the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion" which perhaps Hamlet's "one speech uttered." Shakspere himself stops the interpretation which a shallow objector might give to his "trippingly." The speech must surely have been one which an actor would have been tempted to "mouth.. to tear to tatters, to very rags." Words were Hamlet's special weakness; deeds his difficulty. Compare his "Sweep to my revenge," "Now could I drink hot blood," &c.

before Hamlet¹; and then the climax is anticipated, as it should be in Hamlet's case, by the eagerness and want of self-control of him whose blood and judgment were not well commingled. Moreover, Shakspere was obliged by his art thus to avoid the repetition of the climax in Julius Cœsar. Just open your eyes to see the absolute "dramatic need" of this "one speech," and you then get sufficient excuse, if not justification, for the introduction of its appendages, the sneers at contemporary actors and the lesson on the player's art. But if without this connection of the speech with the turning-point of the play, you make Shakspere interrupt one of the world's greatest tragedies—the greatest, many folk would say—just to vent his company's spleen at their rivals, and lay down rules for the clown, you degrade him to the dust as Dr. Ingleby has done.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that if Dr. Ingleby's view of the Hamlet-speech is to prevail, we shall have him, or some follower of his, arguing that the "dramatic need" of Portia's and Rosalind's chaffing speeches about men's dresses (Merchant, III. iv. 62-78; As You Like It, II. i. 118-124), was the ridiculing of the young dandies of the time, and that we never ought to expect to see either lady in 'male attire,' tho the Doctor's dress, and the "doublet and hose" are afterwards put under our noses, as plainly as the "one

speech" is.

Mr. Malleson may not have sufficiently observed Dr. Ingleby's distinction between "voce Hamleti" and "in persona Hamleti," but assuredly, the mote in his eye is as nothing when compared to the beam in his critic's. Assuredly, neither he nor the author of Ecce Homo has any loss of critical or artistic reputation to fear, from the Paper that has been read to-night.

Mr. Malleson—If I had thought that I should have given Dr. Ingleby so much trouble, I would have taken more pains with my

composition.

I would have written, for example, that Shakspere allows or encourages us to picture to ourselves Hamlet (not a real person) sitting down or standing up with the Old (supposed) Play before him, to make the addition, which Shakspere, in writing his play, makes the character of Hamlet, say he would insert in the Old Play, which we are to bear carefully in mind is Shakspere's also.

This would have been clear but clumsy.

I would have gone on to explain, that Shakspere having prepared our minds to expect great results from the "one speech," which in personâ Hamleti we are to suppose he had added to the Old or Inner Play, allows us to account for our only hearing a few of the 12 or 16 lines supposed to be inserted, by making Hamlet interrupt Lucianus

¹ Note there too how innocently Antony asks as a 'suitor,' that he may, 'in the pulpit, as becomes a friend, speak in the order of Cæsar's funeral,' and how Cassius warns Brutus of the importance of Antony's coming speech, III. i. 232-5.

(who is not a real personage, but a *dramatis persona* feigning to be an actor in the Inner Play) before the latter has recited more than half a dozen of the inserted lines.

But tiresome iteration and periphrasis are not necessary. It is a commonplace to remark, that we all speak of Shakspere's characters as if they had really lived. It is the universal tribute to his creative genius. We do not say that Shakspere represents Hamlet as thinking, Juliet as feeling, Coriolanus as acting. We say Hamlet thinks, Juliet feels, Coriolanus acts.

Still further to confute Professor Seeley and myself, Dr. Ingleby lets his soaring imagination transport him to the very elbow of Shakspere himself, as he was composing *Hamlet*, and from that coign of vantage reveals to us *voce Inglebii* the exact course of

"Shakspere's procedure."

Speaking thus with authority, he tells us among other interesting things how he dares be sworn that when Shakspere proceeded to sketch out his Inner Play, "he never once thought of Hamlet's projected insertion," never recurred again to the promised "one speech." At least, if he did, he was "a much less capable dramatist" than Dr. Ingleby takes him to be; and his talent as a playwright in such case is not, in the Doctor's opinion, "above contempt"!

I can only say with Claudio;

"O what men dare do!"

I may add that Mr. Irving, who must therefore also lie under Dr. Ingleby's strictures as "utterly ignorant of dramatic art," evidently agrees with me as to the inserted lines, and shows by repeating the words after Lucianus, and by his action and intense excitement, that he believes Hamlet's contribution to the old Play to begin with:—

"Thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing."

The following remarks of Mr. Horace Howard Furness form a

fitting close for this little controversy.

"It is to task the credulity of an audience too severely to represent the possibility of Hamlet's finding an old play exactly fitted to Claudius' crime, not only in the plot, but in all the accessories, even to a single speech which should tent the criminal to the very quick. In order, therefore, to give an air of probability to what every one would feel to be thus highly improbable, Shakespere represents Hamlet as adapting an old play to his present needs by inserting in it some pointed lines. Not that such lines were actually inserted, but, mindful of this proposal of Hamlet's, the spectator is prepared to listen to a play which is to unkennel the King's occulted guilt in a certain speech; the verisimilitude of all the circumstances is thus maintained.

No matter how direct or pointed the allusion of the King's guilt may be, we accept it all, secure under Shakespeare's promise that the play shall be made to hit Claudius fatally: and we hear the fulfilment of this promise in Hamlet's cry of exultation over the success of his attempt at play-writing. The discussion, therefore, that has arisen over these 'dozen or sixteen lines' is a tribute to Shakespeare's consummate art. Ingleby, I think, is right in maintaining that Shakespeare did not first write The Murder of Gonzago, and then insert in it certain lines, as though written by Hamlet: and Sievers, the Clarkes, Malleson, and others are also right, I think, in believing that certain lines of the court-play are especially applicable to Claudius, and which we may imagine are those that Hamlet told the Player he would give him. It is the very impression which, I think, Shakespeare wished to convey.—Ep." Furness's Variorum Hamlet, vol. I. p. 251.

P.S. Mr. Horace H. Furness's view of the matter is, accordingly, very nearly my own; much more so than he appears to have thought. On p. 418 I have said that the suggestion of the inserted speech raised a vague probability in the hearer's mind "that Hamlet touched and tinkered the old play to suit his purpose more completely"—(i.e. the supposed old play): hence Hamlet's equally vague allusion to "one speech" in the passage Mr. Furnivall so triumphantly quotes against me. The truth is, the whole thing is vague to the last degree, and to seek for the inserted speech is to miss the purport of the incident, and equally so whether that purport be what I have said, or what Mr. Furness takes it to be.

'all-hid': a boy's game. L. L. Lost, IV. iii. 78. "Sir Vaughan.. our vnhansome-fac'd Poet does play at bo-peepes with your Grace, and cryes all-hidde, as boyes doe." 1602. T. Dekker, Satiro-mastix, Works, 1873, i. 257.

anatomy, sb. skeleton: Errors, V. 238. "Aridelle: f. A leane, or carrian tit; an ill fauoured fleshlesse iade; also an Anatamie, or bodie whereon there is nought left but skin and bone." 1611. Cotgrave.

assured, a., firm, certain: Cymbeline, I. vi. 159. "if . . that he dye suddenly, it is to them an assured argument of divine favour." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1634, p. 292.

bevy, sb.: Henry VIII. I. iv. 4. "Cateto, . . a beuie, a knot of anything of an vncertain number." 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

black, a.: 'die under their (my curses') black weight,' K. John, III. i. 297. "And I warrant them, many a blacke curse haue they of the poore commons for their doing." 1583. Ph. Stubbes. Anatomie, Pt. II. N. Sh. Soc., 1880, p. 22.

bona roba: 2 Henry IV. III. ii. 26. "Bonne robbe. A Bona roba; good stuffe, sound lecherie; a round, fat, plumpe wench." 1611. Cotgrave.

break = burst through: Meas. for Meas., V. 440. "Vn vallet desgaroté. A Raggamuffian; and we say, when the toes, or knees peepe out, they have broken loose, or broken prison." 1611. Cotgrave.

breeching scholar: Shrew, III. i. 18. "Donat. The name of a certaine Grammarian, read in some Schooles; whence; Les diables estoient encore à leur Donat. The diuells were, as then, but breeching boyes, like Grammar Schoole boyes, but young in experience, but Nouices in the world." 1611. Cotgrave.

Cinquepace: Hamlet, Qo 1, ix. 40. "Passa mezzo, a passameasure in dancing, or a Cinquepace. 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

Comparisons are Odious. Much Ado, III. v. 18. "Comparationes vero, Princeps, ut te aliquando dixisse recolo, odiosæ reputantur."—Fortescue. De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, fol. 42, ed. 1616. The Prince was the son of Henry VI. Fortescue was about to compare the Common and Civil Laws.—W. D. Stone.

costard, sb.: Richard III. I. iv. 159. "I shall rappe you on the costarde if you playe the knave; jè vous frapperay sur le coupiau de la teste si vous faictez du villayn." 1530. Palgrave, p. 679, col. 1.

debt in L. L. Lost, V. i. 23. Cp. in Richard Quiney's letter to Shakspere, '25 octobr 1598': "Yow shall ffrende me muche in helpeing me out of all the debettes I owe in London, I thancke God, & muche quiet my mynde, which wolde nott be indebeted." Leopold Shakspere Introduction, p. ev.

drayman: Rich. II. II. iv. 32. "Brentadori, wine-porters that carie wine from place to place, or wine measurers, dreymen." 1598. I. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

false gallop: Much Ado, III. iv. 94; As You Like It, III. ii. 119. "In England towards the South, and in the West parts, and from London to Barwick, vpon the confines of Scotland, Post-horses are established at every ten miles or thereabouts, which they ride a false gallop after some ten miles an hower sometimes," &c.—Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, 1617, Pt. III. p. 61.—W. D. STONE.

fat-witted with drinking of old sack: 1 Hen. IV. I. ii. 2. "Sack doth make men fat and foggie, and [is] therefore not to be taken of young men. Being drunke before meales, it prouoketh appetite, and comforteth the spirits maruellously." 1602. W. Vaughan. Directions for Health, p. 9.

feeze, sb.: cp. pheeze, vb.: Shrew, Ind. I.i. "To leape, taking his race, or fetching his feese. Ex procursu salire." 1580. Baret's Alvearie, u. Race, 41.

XVI.

ON THE DISPUTE BETWEEN GEORGE MALLER, GLAZIER,
AND TRAINER OF PLAYERS TO HENRY VIII., AND
THOMAS ARTHUR, TAILOR, HIS PUPIL.

BY

G. H. OVEREND, ESQ.

OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

(Read at the 54th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Oct. 17, 1879.)

Among some unindexed records of the Court of Chancery, formerly kept in the Tower, there is a bill addressed to Cardinal Wolsey as Chancellor, which is rather interesting, both as regards the quaint language of the document and its references to the life of players in the reign of Henry VIII. The subject of the bill is the complaint of one George Maller, a glazier, against Thomas Arthur, a tailor, whom he had undertaken to train as a player. The following is a copy of the greater part of the document:—

"To the moste Reverende Father in God, Thomas Lorde legate a latere, Cardinall Archiebisschoppe of Yorke, primate and Chaunneelor of Englonde.

"Most humb[ly] s[hewet]he unto your good grace, your daily oratour George Maller that wher one Thomas Arthure, the xxiij day of November in the xixth yer of the reig[n] of our sovereinge lorde the kynge that nowe is [1528], maide instaunte suete and labor too your said oratour, hyme too teiche in playinge of interludes and plaies, wherby he might attayne and come too be one of the Kinges plaierz, for whiche thinge soo to be doone, the same Arthure faithfully promysed, well and truely too serve your seid oratour by the space of one holl yere than next enseuynge, [he] fyndinge the seid Arthure meate and drynke and all other charges, gevynge hyme alsoo iiij^d a day duringe the seide yere, whiche Arthure by the space of vij wekes in the begynnyng of the seid yere, servet your seide oratour

accordingly, and than he, intendinge untruely and craftely too hynder your seid oratour in his forseide science of playing, procurede iii of the covenanted servaunttes of your seid oratour, beinge exparte in plainge, too goo away with hyme, withoute licence of your seild oratour, at whoise request and procurement the seide iij servauntes wente and departed with the seid Arthure frome your seide oratour without gevinge notice, goynge in sundry partiez of England in plainge of many interludes, gittinge and obteanynge diverz sommez of monye, amountinge to the some of xxx li. whiche they imployed and convertede too ther owne usse, gevinge unto your seid oratour nothinge therof, contrary to ther seid covenauntes. And sence the tyme of whiche departure of the seid Arthur, and other befornamed. owte of the service of your seide oratour, they have considered themselffe together, govnge and perusynge diverz and many partiez of the Kinges Realme in utterynge of plaiez and interludes, by meanez wherof your seid oratour haith not onely loste ther daily service, whiche they war bounde too doo unto hyme; but also the seid Arthure and the other befornaymede have contynually gayned, and yet daily doo, greate awaill, profet and avauntage, by reason of the foreseide interludes and plaiez. All whiche profettes and avauntage therof commynge and growinge, of veray right ought too come and growe unto your seid oratour, by the reason of ther seid covenauntt, promyse, and service, whiche they schulde have doone and performed, as is befor alleged, in consideracion that your seid oratour taught the seid Arthur and other, whiche seid Arthure was right harde and dull too taike any lernynge, wherby he was nothinge meate or apte too bee in service with the Kinges grace too maike any plaiez or interludes before his highnes. Neverthelesse your seid oratour was agreable too helpe and further the seid Arthur into the Kinges service, too the entente too bee one of his seid plaierz,—soo he wolde have taryed still with your seid oratour,—and wolde have lerned hyme the feate and connynge therof, whiche he refused to doo, aganst his seid promes. And so it is, gracious lorde, the seid Arthur, not regardinge his seid promes, covenauntes, or honestye, or yet good right and conscience, intendinge wrongfully too unquyet and troble your seid oratour—bycause he schulde not take his remedy against the seid Arthure for suche wronges and injuriez that the said Arthur haithe commytted and doon unto your oratour,—haithe sued a feaned accion of trespace apon his case, befor the Scheriffes of London, againste your seid oratour in maner and forme folowinge."

Then the plaint, which is in Latin, follows, and the substance of it is, that on the 20th day of November in the 20th year of Henry the Eighth [1529], in the parish of Holy Sepulchre without Newgate, in the suburbs of London, George Maller, glazier, arranged with Thomas Arthur, tailor, that for a certain sum of money previously

agreed upon, he would bring the said Arthur into the service of the King, to take a part and portion of all profits and emoluments distributed among the royal players called "the Kinge's plaierz," and that the said Arthur should have the privileges (libertatem) from the King belonging to the royal players, and the royal mark called "the Kinge's bage;" and that by reason of these pretexts of Maller, Arthur had undergone great losses amounting to the sum of £26.

The date given here does not agree with that at the commencement of the bill, but it is most likely the correct one. The date of the bill itself will be some time between this date and 17th October, 1529, when Wolsey resigned the Great Seal.

After reciting Thomas Arthur's plaint, George Maller's bill continues:—

"Afore whiche suet of the seid feaned accion, the seid Arthur

¹ The pleadings only refer to one set of royal players called "the Kinge's plaierz." But up to eight or nine years earlier, up to 1521, there were two sets. In the King's Book of Payments, 9—12 Henry VIII, among the entries on Twelfth Day 1519, there is one "Item to the Kinge's players ——lxyjs. vijid." On 2 January in the same year there is an entry, "To the Kinge's old players, iiijli." In the next year there is only one entry for the 66s. viijd.; but on the following Twelfth Day, payments of the same amount as in 1519 were again made. A rough search through the Book of Payments produced no further references to the players' fees; but in an undated paper of the latter part of the reign printed in the Archwologia, the following occurs, "Item, the King's pleyers, in reward for loan of garments, 5s."

Besides the payments to the players, there are other entries to Mr. Cornisshe on Twelfth Day in each of the three years, the amount being the same in each case. The entry in 1519 is "To M. Cornisshe in rewarde for playing afore the King opon New Yere's day at nyght with the Children of

the Kinge's Chapell, vili xiijs. iiijd."

There are also entries of payments to Mr. Cornisshe for the Children of the Chapel singing before the King. There were ten of these "Children" under his control, and he was allowed eight pence a week for their "borde wages," and the amount was paid to him monthly. When they performed plays they were provided with dresses by the Master of the Revels.

In 1518, £18 2s. $11\frac{1}{2}d$, was paid to Cornisshe "for ij pagentes with all thinges and necessaries as were made for the same, whiche was shewed before the King with other nobles and gentilles vito die Julii anno ix^{no}."

As the agreement between Maller and Arthur was made in 1528, the set of old players may have died out, and a corresponding increase have taken place in the fees of the others, which would certainly be small while the business of playing at the Court was divided among three different companies. If the amount mentioned in the Book of Payments were the total sum which could be gained from the king, it is not to be wondered at that Arthur preferred "doing the provinces" to remaining in London, when he once had some knowledge of his profession.

did commence and pursue another lyke accion before the seid Scheriffes, and the proces in the seid former accion contynued unto suche tyme that the seid partiez warr at issue; and soo dependinge, it chaunced your seid oratour too be in prison in Ludgate, within the citie of London; and in the meane tyme the jurye that was impanelled betwix your seid oratour and the seid Arthure, wer soo wilfully set that they wolde not take any day or tyme too heere the witnes of your seid oratour to speyke in the premyssez; but untruely founde your seid oratour in the damage of iiijli.; howbeit, noo jugement theruppon was gyven, bycause the pleadinge of the seid surmysede accion was insufficient in the lawe. That, notwithstaundinge, gracious lord, the enqueste that now is inpanelled too passe betwix your seid oratour and the seid Arthure in the seid secounde accion, allege and say that they will lene untoo the seid verdyt gyvene by the other enqueste, whiche they of right ought not too doo, the same verdite beinge untrue, as your seid oratour schall by good and sufficient witnes prove, if he may have grauntede unto hyme the Kinge's write of subpena aganste the seid witnes, whiche in no wisse will testifye the trought without they bee compelled by vertue of the same write too say the trought in the premyssez, notwithstondinge that your oratour haith diverz tymes required the seid witnes to depose the truthe therin, whiche they alwaiez haith refused and yet doo."

The bill than prays a writ of *certiorari* to be directed to the Sheriffs commanding them to certify and bring up the said action to be tried in Chancery; but unluckily the Records do not contain any further notice of the suit. Still, what we have, shows the social position, the training, travelling, and gains, of an actor of Henry VIII's time.

Mr. Furnivall—We all thank Mr. Overend for his interesting illustration of player-life in Henry VIII's time, from the Records among which his daily life is spent. We wanted a tailor-player of old, to match our Robin Starveling of that immortal company who playd the sweet and lovely Play, the "tedious breefe Scene of yong Piramus and his loue Thisby: very tragicall mirth," before Theseus and his bride. But while Shakspere only cast his tailor for Thisby's mother, and then made him act Moonshine, the Records make their

¹ The change was due to Quince's second thoughts and Bottom's suggestion at the rehearsal, III. i. 60-73.

The Six of the Company. Cast for Act Quince the Carpenter Thisbies father Prologue Lyon Snug the Ioyner Lyon Bottome the Weauer Pyramus Pyramus Flute the bellowes-mender Thisbie Thisbie Wall Snout the Tinker Pyramus father Moone-shine Starueling the Taylor Thisbies mother

(7-3. 'Tawyer (one of the Globe Company), with a Trumpet' (trumpeter) is in the Stage-directions of the First Folio, tho' not named in the cast.)

SCRAPS. 429

tailor take Manager Quince's place, and doubtless cast the parts, draw the 'bil of properties,' and write the 'ballet of Bottomes Dreame,' &c., when needed. At first sight it seems rather comical that Henry VIII's trainer of Players should be a glazier, and have a tailor for his pupil; but when we recollect that the early Mysteries were regularly acted by the different crafts of towns, and that the great Captain Cox of Coventry in Elizabeth's time was a mason, we see how natural it is that George Maller and Thomas Arthur should have been tradesmen too. Seven weeks was certainly a short apprenticeship for Arthur to learn the "science of playing in," but he was evidently a sharp fellow in more senses than one.

conceited, a.: full of fun and fancy, Winter's Tale, IV. iv. 204. "An admirable conceited fellow," Autolycus, a very "Gringalet: m. A merrie grig, pleasant rogue, sportfull knaue, conceited whoreson." 1611. Cotgrave.

forked, adj. barbd: As You Like It, II. i. 24. "A forked arrow-head. Fer de flesche à oreilles." 1650. Sherwood. "Fer de fleishe à oreilles. A forked, or barbed arrowe head." 1611. Cotgrave.

gingerly, adv. carefully: 2 Gent. I. ii. 70. "He first made a solemne and deuout confession, and then . . he tooke off the taffata very gingerly wherein the coffer was wrapped." 1607. R. C.—Hy. Stephen's World of Wonders, englisht, p. 350.

hearten, vb. encourage: 3 Hen. VI. II. ii. 79. "And as he was emboldened to commit incest with his owne daughter, by the example of his predecessor; so by his example was Pope Paulus the third heartened to do the like." 1607. R. C.—Hy. Stephen's World of Wonders, englisht, p. 338.

hull, sb.: verb in Hen. VIII., II. iv. 199; &c. "The windes were so contrary, as wee were forced to strike sayles, and lie at hull (that is, tossed to an[d] fro by the waves.)" 1617. Fynes Moryson, Itinerary, p. 267.

juror, sb.: Timon, IV. iii. 345, Henry VIII., V. iii. 60 (Fletcher). "And if 12 Iurors (being committed to their keeper) do fall out and fight, six against six, this maketh no Riot (saith Marrow) because they were lawfully assembled, and were compelled to bee in company together." Lambarde's Eirenarcha, bk. ii. chap. 5, ed. 1607, p. 180.

laced mutton, women of easy virtue: Two Gent., I. i. 202. "The late deceased Archdeacon of Hardas (being at Padua with the Cardinall of Tournon).. said, 'The deuill take all those maried villains who are permitted to eate laced mutton their bellies full': which he spake generally of all the Cleargie, but it arose vpon

speech had of a Bishop, who was secretly maried, as it was reported." 1607. R. C. englishing of H. Stephen's World of Wonders, p. 167.

lag, a.: Rich. III., ii. i. 90. "Serotino, late, lagge, latewarde, in the euening." 1598. Florio

love in idleness: M. N. Dream, II. i. 168. "Herbe de la Trinité. The Paunsie, hearbe Trinitie, Hearts-ease, loue in idlenesse, two faces vnder a hood; some also call so the hearbe Harefoot, or Harefoot Trefoile." 1611. Cotgrave. See above, p. 450.

make, vb. i.: have to do, do, Hamlet, II. ii. 277: 'what make you at Elsinore?' "What make you in these countries, if I may aske you without offence?" Theod. Truly I came hither to see the country, people, and nation . . . 1583. Ph. Stubbes, Anatomie, Part II. ed. F. J. F., N. Sh. Soc. 1880, p. 2.

mammock, v. tr.: tear in bits, Coriol., I. iii. 71. "Lopinet: m. A bit, mammocke, small gobbit, little peece or parcell of." 1611. Cotgrave.

needy, a.: Rom. & Jul. V. i. 54. "Thus fareth the world now. who that is riche and hye on the wheel. he hath many kynnesmen and frendes that shal helpe to bere out his welthe. But who that is nedy and in payne or in pouerte, fyndeth but fewe frendes and kynnesmen, ffor every man almost es[c]heweth his company and waye." 1481. W. Caxton. Reynard the Fox (1878), p. 112.

never at quiet: Macbeth, II. iii. 18. "He setteth men together by the eares; the towne was neuer at quiet since he came; he teacheth such doctrine as some doo like, and some not, and so they fall at variance." 1588. J. Udall. The state of the Church of England (Arber, 1879), p. 31.

stable, sb.: Winter's Tale, II. i. 134—"to lie with their norse-keeper: is not that against kind?" (said of women). (1608). A Mad World, my Masters. "An old man to make a young man cuckold, is one of Hercules' labours. Ar. That was the cleaning of other men's stables." 1611. Chapman, May Day, III.—H. C. HART.

tricksy, a.: Mids. N. Dr. Tempest, V. 226 (other sense). "Immarzapanato, become or made fine, braue, sweete, or daintie, or smug, or trickesie, and trim as a marchpane." 1598. I. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

venie, sb.: Merry Wives, I. i. 296. "Imbroccata, a thrust at fence, or a venie given over the dagger." 1598. Florio.

whist: Tempest, I. ii. 379. "But how mutch the young Gentleman saw him whist and silent, the more he was inflamed." 1567. Painter's Rhomeo, p. 97, N. Sh. Soc.

wink, v.i., shut your eyes: Rom. & Jul., III. ii. 6. "I pray, Sir, winke; I must wash you." 1596. T. Nash's Saffron Walden (Barber speaking to shavee), sign. C. 2.

XVII.

ON PUCK'S 'SWIFTER THAN THE MOON'S SPHERE,' AND SHAKSPERE'S ASTRONOMY.

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.

(Read at the 55th Meeting of the Society, Nov. 14, 1879.)

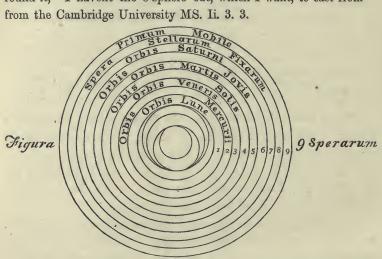
"Fai. Ouer hil, ouer dale, through bush, through briar, Ouer parke, ouer pale, through flood, through fire, I do wander euerie where, swifter then ye Moons sphere." A Midsommer nights Dreame, II. i. 2-7. First Folio, p. 148, col. 1.

What does this 'swifter than the Moon's sphere' mean, asks a friend: "The moon travels in its sphere, but the sphere is not supposed to move." True, it isn't by us, but it was by Shakspere and his fellows in good Queen Bess's days, the I confess to not having thought of this till my friend put to me, on October 18, the question that had occurred to him the day before.

At the date of the *Dream*, the Ptolemaic system was believed in, and the moon and all the planets and stars were supposed to be fixt in hollow crystalline spheres or globes. These spheres were supposed to be swung bodily round the earth in 24 hours by the top sphere, the *primum mobile*, thus making an entire revolution in one day and night. I know no authority for the estimate of the length of the moon's orbit in Shakspere's days, but, if we take her orbit at our present measure, 1,490,000 miles, that gives us about 17 miles a second for the swiftness of "ye Moons sphere.1" This would make Puck's pace, say, 20 miles a second. But if he was in fact so slow that it ud take him "forty minutes" to "put a girdle [round] about the earth,"

We the globe can compass soon,
Swifter than the wandering moon.—M. N. Dr. IV. i. 103.
Of course Shakspere didn't think of the calculation above, but one enjoys the joke of doing sums about Puck.

25,020 miles, his pace would have to come down to about 10½ miles a second; and we should have to decrease the moon's swiftness to, say, 8 miles a second, and make her supposd 'sphere' or globe in Shakspere's day about 710,000 miles round. As all Shakspere editors (so far as I know), and probably most Shakspere students, have gone on repeating Puck's line without realising its meaning and Shakspere's conception of the world and the heavens, I reprint from Prof. Skeat's edition of Chaucer's Astrolabe for the Early English Text and Chaucer Societies a diagram of the earth and the nine spheres round it,—I havent the 8-sphere cut, which I want, to cast from—from the Cambridge University MS. Ii. 3. 3.



The Earth (with four crescents or eccentrics 1 circling it) is the centre. Round it are 9 hollow spheres, 2 of the 7 Planets (1-7), the Fixt Stars or Firmament (8), and the *Primum Mobile* (9):—

¹ Three ought to mean Water, Air, Fire. I put the figures here and on p. 435.

² Chaucer, like Ptolemy, Aristotle, and Marlowe, had only 8 Spheres, the 8th being the primum mobile or "First Moeuyng," in which the Fixt Stars were:—
"[Bk. I.] The fifthe metur. O Thow makere of the whel pat bereth pe sterres / which pat art yfastned to thy perdurable chayer / And tornest the heuene with a Rauessyng sweyh / And constreynest the sterres to suffryn thi lawe / Chaucer's Boece. MS. Ii. 3. 21, Univ. Libr. Camb., ed. F. J. F., Chaucer Soc. 1880, p. 13. Later, 2 (3, 4) more Spheres were added to account for the irregularities of the motions of the heavenly bodies, &c. "Later theorists add two more [heavens or spheres], a ninth to make the precession of the equinoxes, and a tenth, or primum mobile, to make the diurnal revolution. All

1. The Moon | 4. The Sun | 7. Saturn | 2. Mercury | 5. Mars | 8. The Fi

3. Venus 6. Jupiter

8. The Fixt Stars
9. Primum Mobile 1

and in or on each of the seven lower spheres was a planet fixt, and was whirld by that sphere right round the earth in 24 hours, the driving power being the *primum mobile*. "The glorious planet Sol" was "amidst the other," as Shakspere says,² in their very middle, 3 planets being above, and 3 below him: and he movd, fixt, in or on an actual crystalline sphere, which Cleopatra could rightly call on

beyond this is the empyreal heaven." Penny Cyc. xix. 106, which also says that the details of the Ptolemaic system are explaind with clearness in Mr. Narrien's 'Origin and Progress of Astronomy,' London, 1833. But it is clear that the primum mobile was successively made the 8th, 9th, 10th, & 11th sphere, being always kept outside all the other spheres, as the driving wheel of the whole machine, next to the Empyreal Heaven, the abode of God, or the Gods, who supplied the steam-power.

- He views the clouds, the planets and the stars,
 The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
 From the bright circle of the horned moon
 Even to the height of Primum Mobile;
 And whirling round with this circumference,
 Within the concave compass of the pole,
 From East to West his dragons swiftly glide.
- Doctor Faustus. Act III, Chorus, p. 69, col. 1, ed. Cunningham.
- ² The Heavens themselves, the Planets, and this Center. [Earth] Obserue degree, priority, and place, Insisture, course, proportion, season, forme Office, and custome, in all line of Order: And therefore is the glorious Planet Sol In noble eminence, enthron'd and sphear'd Amidst the other, whose med'cinable eye Corrects the ill Aspects of Planets euill, And postes like the Command'ment of a King, Sans checke, to good and bad. But when the Planets In euill mixture, to disorder wander What Plagues, and what Portents, what Mutiny? What raging of the Sea? shaking of Earth? Commotion in the Windes? Frights, changes, norrors, Diuert, and cracke, rend and deracinate The vnity, and married calme of States Quite from their fixure?—Troylus and Cressida, I. iii. 84-101.

Some of Shakspere's other mentions of spheres are:

And certain stars shot madly from their spheres, To hear the sea-maid's music.—Dream, II. i. 153.

Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven, Having some business, do entreat her eyes To twinkle in their *spheres* till they return.

Rom. & Jul., II. ii. 15-17.

him to burn when Antony died†. He was not suppose to revolve in an imaginary orbit as we Copernicans make him.

Marlowe, in *Doctor Faustus*, will allow only the old orthodox 8 spheres, with a Ninth of the Empyreal Heaven; but Milton had

Now, now, you stars that move in your right spheres. Where be your powers?—K. John, V. vii. 74.

Two stars keep not their motion in one *sphere*; Nor can one England brook a double reign, Of Henry Percy and the Prince of Wales.

1 Henry IV., V. iv. 65.

And thou, thrice-crownèd queen of night, survey With thy chaste eye, from thy pale *sphere* above, Thy huntress' name, that my full life doth sway.

As you like it, III, ii, 3.

In his [her star's, Bertram's] radiance and collateral light Must I be comforted, not in his *sphere.*—All's Well, I. i. 100. She's so conjunctive to my life and soul, That, as the star moves not but in his *sphere*, I could not but by her.—Hamlet, IV. vii. 15.

O sun.

† Burn the great *sphere* thou mov'st in! darkling stand The varying shore * o' the world.—Ant. & Cleop., IV. xv. 10.

You are gentlemen of brave mettle; you would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing.—Temp. II. i. 183.

In the Lover's Complaint, l. 23, 'spheres' is probably used for planets and stars. In Much Ado, IV. i. 58 ('Dian in her orb'), and in Ant. & Cleop., III. xiii. 146, 'orb' means the sphere of the Moon, and that of the Stars, respectively, the sphere which moved them round the earth. The metaphorical use is seen in 1 Hen. IV., V. i. 17; Cymb., V. v. 371, and Pericles, I. ii. 122, as Schmidt notes. I suppose that Shakspere, like Marlowe, &c. held only 8 spheres besides the Empyreal.

1 Faust. Come, Mephistophilis, let us dispute again, And reason of divine Astrology: Speak, are there many spheres above the moon? Are all celestial bodies but one globe, As is the substance of this centric earth?

Meph. As are the elements, such are the heavens, Even from the moon unto th' empyreal orb, Mutually folded in each other's spheres,

And jointly move upon one axletree, Whose terminus is termed the world's wide pole:

Nor are the names of Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter

Feigned, but are erring stars.

Faust. But have they all one motion, both situ et tempore?

Meph. All move from east to west in four-and-twenty hours upon the poles of the world; but differ in their motions upon the poles of the zodiac.

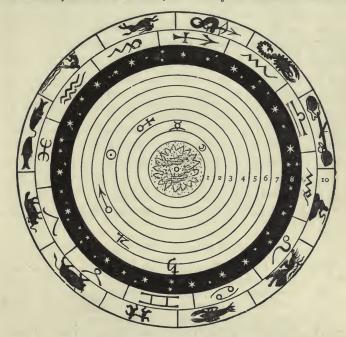
Faust. These slender questions, Wagner can decide; Hath Mephistophilis no greater skill?

^{*} Star=moon: eclipse of sun and moon (Oth. V. ii. 99)—Staunton. But?

ten, besides the Empyreal (see p. 449 below), as well explaind by Prof. Masson, in the Introductions to his editions of Milton:-

"They pass the Planets Seven, and pass the Fixed, [Stars, no. 8] And that Crystalline Sphere whose balance weighs [no. 9] The trepidation talked, and that First Moved." [no. 10] (Par. Lost, III. 481—483.)

Our member, Mr. A. Macmillan, has kindly let us have a cast of the



10-Sphere cut from Prof. Masson's book, "a copy a little neater than the original, (but otherwise exact) from a woodcut in an edition in 1610, of the Sphæra of Joannes a Sacrobosco, with commentaries

Who knows not the double motion of the planets?

That the first is finished in a natural day;

The second thus: Saturn in 30 years;

Jupiter in 12; Mars in 4; the Sun, Venus, and Mercury in a year; The Moon in 28 days: these are freshmen's questions. But tell me, hath every sphere a diminion or intelligentia?

Meph. Aye.

Faust. How many heavens or spheres are there?

[over

and additions by Clavius and others . . it represents the interior of the Universe as looked *down* into, in equatorial section, from the pole of the ecliptic," i. 94.

"It is an enormous azure round of space, scooped or carved out of Chaos, and communicating aloft with the Empyrean, but consisting within itself of ten Orbs or hollow Spheres in succession, wheeling one within the other, down to the stationary rest of our small Earth at the centre, with the elements of water, air and fire, that are immediately around it," i. 95.

But our Members will like no doubt to have further contemporary authority on the point, especially as nothing has yet been said about the 'music of the spheres.' I therefore print some extracts from the authority on the subject, the Natural Philosophy of the Middle Ages, Bartholomeus de Glanvilla de Proprietatibus Rerum as englisht by Trevisa in Chaucer's day (1397), "printed by Thomas Barthelet . . 1535. And last of all, augmented & enlarged, as appeareth, for the commoditie of the learned & well disposed Christian, by me Stephen Batman, professour in Diuinitie, and printed by Thomas East, Anno. 1582. the .24. yeare of the reigne of our most happye and prosperous Souereigne, Queene Elizabeth, whom God fortifie in the numbers of his mercies for euer." (leaf 426, back):—

¶ What is the World Cap. 1. [Liber 8.]

2 Parts of the World

1. from the Moon to the Fixt Stars.
2. from the Moon to the middle of the Earth.

. . . Philosophers divide all the worlde in two parts: of the which twaine, the more noble and simple is the ouer parte, that worketh and stretcheth from the circle of the Moone to the region of planets. The other part is the lower, and suffreth and stretcheth from the circle of the Moone downwarde to the middle poynt of the earth. Marcianus describeth the lower part of the world in this

Meph. Nine: the seven planets, the firmament, and the empyreal heaven. Faust. But is there no calum igneum et crystallium? [see p. 449].

Meph. No. Faustus; they be but fables.

Faust. Resolve me then in this own question: Why are not conjunctions, oppositions, aspects, eclipses, all at one time? but in some years we have more, some less.

Meph. Per inequalem motum respectu totius [By the unequal motion of each with respect to the whole].

Faust. Well, I am answered. Now tell me who made the world.

Doctor Faustus, Act II, sc. ii. p. 66, col. 2, ed. Cunningham.

¹ It is delightfully confusd, 'manifesting the incertaintie of humane skill,' as Batman says, below, p. 439.

manner wise: The world, he saith; is a circle of foure No. 2 con-Elements, which be found all round, in the manner and forme of a sphere; and the earth is placed in the middle: (Fire, Air, Water and) and the other deale is rauished about the mouing of Earth, the heaven, to the making and forming of this world.—leaf 118, back, col. 2.

tains 4 Elements middle of all.

¶ Of the distinction of heaven. Cap. 2.

Heauens be seuen, named in this manner, Aereum, 7 Heavens Ethereum, Olimpeum, Igneum, Firmamentum, Aqueum, Empereum celum, heuen of Angels,—leaf 120, col. 1.

> Firmament with Fixt Stars in its upper part.

. . . the firmament they cal the first heaven and the last, as philosophers meane: in the ouermost part wherof be the bodies of starres. For Philosophers set but onely one heaven. But as Basilius saith in Exameron, the Philosophers would rather gnaw and fret their owne tongues, then they would assent, that there be many heavens. Aristotle in libro de causis elementorum, describeth that heauen that is called *Firmamentum*, in this manner. Heauen (he saith) is the fift Element, seuered from the nether Elements, and distinguished by propertie of kinde: for it is not heavie, for then it might come downward: nor lyght, for then it should stye and moue vpwarde. For if it wer one of the foure elements, or compowned of the foure, then corruption might come therin, in all, or in some part therof. And as it is sayd there: The creator set it to be well and cause of generation and coruption. And therefore that heaven It moves is kindly mouable without rest: and the mouing thereof is rounde about the middle, vpon a lyne that is named Axis, that standeth ther pight vnmouable 2 betweene two starres, that be called *Polys*, that be the most South starre, & the most North starre: the which North starre we call the shipmans starre. [Julius Cæsar, III. i. 60.]

Heaven the 5th Element.

unrestingly

on an Axis fixt on 2 Poles,

the South

Shipman's

Star, and the North or

are 2 Stars.

And that heaven hath ende touching length and bredth, & stretching of place: But it is endlesse touching mouing, for it moueth by a mouer of endlesse might; that is, by God himselfe, that is most high and glorious without end. Hetherto speaketh Aristotle lib. de causis Elementorum. And also he calleth these Poles, two starres, in The 2 Poles the highest endes of heaven, set in the middle thereof, one aboue, and another beneth: the one there of, is set aboue in middle of the Heauen, Northwarde, and is called Polus Articus: and that other is set against him Southward, and

The Arctic Pole, and the Antarctic.

By that name Etherea is vnderstood all the space that is from the Moone euen to the stars that be pight, in the which space be roundnesses of circles of the seauen Planets, -ib. ² the ever-fixed pole.—Othello, II, i. 13.

is called *Polus Anterticus*, as it were set afore the starre that is called *Polus Articus*. Betweene these two Poles as it were betweene his two endes, heaven moueth: so that the greatest Circle of heaven commeth not even round over our heads: For they two Poles be not lyke high to vs, and heven moveth from the East to the West, and from

the West againe till he come to the East, and all that wave

like swifte, lyke as a wheele moueth about the axeltree. And therefore *Aristotle* vnderstandeth a certaine line that stretcheth from that one Pole to that other Pole in straight length, and about that line, all the roundnesse of heaven

moueth lyke swifte: and that lyne he calleth Axis, as the

Heaven moves like a wheel about the axle-tree.

The Axis on which Heaven moves.

[How the Firmament or Primum Mobile swings the 7 Spheres with it daily round the Earth. See p. 440.]

Commentator sayeth there.—leaf 120, col. 2.

The Firmament

is round, and concave to us.

It moves round the earth Bias or ouerthwart and carries with it, in 24 hours. all the 7 Spheres of the Planets. that lie between it and the highest Element, Fire.

Heaven has many different Circles in it,

and from the moving of these, and the opposite course of the Planets, comes the Also the firmament is called heaven, for it is sad and stedfast, & hath a marke that it maye not passe: and so for full great abiding of his stedfastnesse, it is incorruptible & vnchaungeable both in substance and in shape. And the shape thereof is rounde about, and hollow within to vs warde: and round about toward them which be aboue heaven, but the roundnes bendeth from them ward. The mouing thereof is kindly round about, and a slonte, and rounde about from the East to the west, and rolleth about, & draweth with him by simple mouing, and lyke swifte, in the space of a night and a daye, all that is there vnder, even to the place of the fire: and so he rauisheth and leadeth about with himselfe, the roundnes of the seaven Planets.—leaf 120, back, col. 2.

[Of the sweet Harmony of the Spheres. See p. 441, 2,-3,-5,-7.]

Also though heauen in it selfe be lyke in partes: yet needeth it to have manye divers roundnesses and circles in shape and greatnesse, that differ in length and breadth, and that of divers habitations, which be needefull to things that shall dye, as Aristotle saith in li[ber] de causis Elementorum. . . . Wherefore in shape heuen hath roundnes, hollownes and vtter roundnesse, with cleernesse and brightnes, and evenesse in the hollow heaven, and diversitie in parts. Wise men tel, that of meeting of roundnesses, and of contrary moving of Planets commeth a sweete harmony: wherof speaketh Macrobius, in lib. Ciceronis, expounding the dreame of Scipio: In putting &

¹ strong as the Axle on which Heaven rides.—Troilus, I. iii. 66.

mouing of these round worlds commeth the sweet sound sweet and accord. &c.—leaf 121, col. 2.

Harmony of the Spheres.

Of the 9 Spheres, in the First whereof (labove the Firmament or Primum Mobile) God and the Angels dwell.]

Addition. [by S. Batman and C. Carlile.]

The varietie of opinions concerning the Heauens, doe Addition. manifest the incertaintie of humane skill: neuerthelesse wise men espie, that where ther is cause of learning, so long laborious studies are not spent in vaine, as appeareth by these three seueralls, per C. Carlile,

The number of spheres, as the truth is, and as Plato There are 9

and Aristotle describeth them.

Nouns 1 iste orbis, qui & Firmamentum dicitur, Aris-

totele vocatur 'primum mobile,' seu 'supremus orbis.

The first (for lacke of the figures) is the seate of the holy and blessed Trinitie, God the Father, his Sonne Iesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost the thirde person, the Archangells, Powers, Potentates, and Angelles, the soules of the Elect, which are departed in the Lorde and Sauiour Iesus Christ.

The second: the twelve Signes. The third, the seauen Planettes: these containe seauen heauens. followeth the foure Elements: whereof the earth is lowest. The twelve Circuites are vnder, and inclosed of Cælum Emperium.—leaf 122, col. 1.

¶ Of heauen Emperio. Cap. 4.

Coelum Empereum is the first and highest heaven, the place of Angells, the Countrey and habitation of blessed men. And hath that name *Empireum*, of *Pir*, that is fire: For it is fully called fire, not for burning, but for light and shining, as *Isidore* sayth. For this heaven is most bright and shining, and gyueth light and shining vnto the heauen Christalline, that is next thereto. And this heaven of his owne kinde is in parts lyke without starres, and shapen all rounde, as Damascenus saith. And it is round, for to contayne spirituall and bodely things; and it is kindly quiet, immoueable and vnmoued. And so that heaven is not needfull for continuance of generation of lower thinges: but, as Alexander saith, For complection and full perfection of the worlde, and of bodyes, as certaine endes

Spheres:

1. The seat of God, the Archangels, and Souls of

the Elect.

2. Twelve Signs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9: the Planets. The Elements. The 12 Circuits.

The Empyreal Heaven of Angels and Blessed Men.

It is round and immove-

¹ Is this for Nonus, ninth; or does he mean, that since Aristotle's 8 Spheres (p. 432 n.) a new ninth has been invented, to hold God and his household? He can hardly mean to put them in the Primum Mobile with the fixt Stars: that should be his 2nd Sphere of the Twelve Signs.

dark at one end, and light at the other.

aske, which are ordayned according to the middle: The one ende is most darke, as the Earth: The other most light, as *Cœlum imperium*. Either bodye, vttermost, and highest, and lowest, is for it selfe vnmouable and quiet.

Rabanus describeth the properties of this heaven, and taketh the wordes of Basilius in Exameron, and saith in this manner: Cælum Emperium, is the first bodye, most simple in kinde, and hath least of corpolentnesse: for it is most subtill in the first firmament, and foundation of the worlde, most in quantitie, bright in qualytie, round in shape, highest in place: For it is farthest from the middle point of the world, and containeth spirites and bodyes. seene, and vnseene: and is the highest dwellyng place of God. For though God be in euery place, yet it is sayd specially, that he is in heaven: For the working of his vertue shineth most ther. And therfore heaven is speciallye called, Gods owne seate: For in the bodye of the worlde, the kinde of heaven is favrest, as Damascene saith, and in heauen the vertue of God worketh most openly.—leaf 122, col. 2.

It is furthest from the middle of the earth, and is the dwellingplace of God.

The 8th Sphere, or Firmament,

Sphæra. Primum Mobile, or Sphere of the Fixt Stars.

According to Alphraganus, the Sphere is the top or outside round in which the Fixt Stars are.

It turns on two Poles.

This Sphere whirls, with Stars [Dravven.] fixt in it, round the world in 24 hours.

¶ Of the sphere of heauen. Cap. 6. [See p. 439.]

The sphere of heaven, as Isido. sayth, is a certaine kinde shapen all round, and moueth all round about the middle thereof in euen space of times, from one poynt to Philosophers tell, that this sphere hath neither the same. end nor beginning: and therefore, because of the mouing about thereof, it is not soone knowen, where it beginneth, and where it endeth; and no shape is so according to heaven, as the shape of a sphere, both for the simplicitie thereof, and for conteining and receiving, and also for likenes and accord, as Isido. saith. Also Alphraganus sayth, that the sphere is the round vttermost part of the heauenly body, in the which the fixed starres be contayned. And this sphere goeth about vppon two Poles, the one thereof is by North, and goeth neuer downe to vs, and is called *Polus Articus*, the North pole: the other is Polus Antarticus, that is, the South pole, and is neuer seene of vs: and that is, because it is farre from vs, or els because the earth is betweene vs and it. Betweene these two Poles, as it were betweene two endes of the world, the sphere of heuen moueth and turneth round about, and with the mouing therof, the starres that be pight therein, are borne & rauished about, out of the East into the West, and againe out of the West into the East, in mouing of a day and a night, in the space of foure &

twentie houres. And the sphere of heuen moueth about with so great swiftnes, that, but if the Planets met, and letted the swifte mouing thereof, and made it moderate: the shape of the world shoulde fall. And therefore, as Alphraganus saith, the seauen roundnesse of Planets be vnder the sphere, every one meeting and crossing other. By the which roundnesse, the Planets passe with couenable meeting, and meete and come against the rauishing of the firmament, and withstandeth and tarieth the swiftnes And all the body of the sphere, mooueth a slont about the middle, that is about the lyne that is named Axis; and Axis is a certaine line vnderstoode, that stretcheth straight by the midle of a bal, or of an other thing, from one Pole to another: by such a line vnderstood in heuen, the roundnes of heuen moueth as a wheele moueth about the axiltree. The endes of this line that is named Axis, be called Cardinales cæli, and be pight in the foresaid poles, and are called Cardinales, because they move about the hollownesse of the Poles, as the sharpe corner of a doore moueth in the herre. And those Cardinales be hollowe and crooked inward, as Isid. saith. And halfe the sphere is called Emisperium, that is, the parte which is all seene of vs; and for defaulte of our sight, it seemeth that it toucheth the earth: and the Circle, to the which the sight stretcheth and endeth, is called Orizon, as it were the end of the sight, as sayth Isid. Then knowe thou heereof shortly, that the sphere of heauen is a bright substance, and shineth euen to the middle thereof, that is, to the earth 1; and the roundnesse thereof is most farre from the middle poynt of the earth: and therfore the substance of those things, which be full great in heaven, seeme full little to our sight: and that is for they be far off. And this sphere containeth all the nether things, and ordaineth and informeth them all, and is cause effective of generation and of living, and rauisheth and draweth to it selfe contrary things: for by violence of his mouing, it draweth after him the Planets, which mette with him, and passeth forth with harmonie & accord.2

Its swiftness is cheekt by of the Planets. which yet it carries with

It moves on an Axis,

(like a wheel round an axletree) whose ends are calld Cardinals because they turn in the hollow sockets of the Poles.

Hemisphere.

The Horizon. This Sphere of Heaven is bright, and shines down to the earth, from which it is the most distant sphere. But yet it contains and quickens all lower things, and sweeps the opposing Planets along with it in its course. From which opposition

¹ This brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, Hamlet, II. ii. 312.

² Olivia. But, would you undertake another suit, I had rather hear you to solicit that, Than music from the spheres.—Tw. N. III. i. 121.

Duke S. If he, compact of jars, grow musical, We shall have shortly discord in the spheres.

Harmony and Accord.

For Ari. saith in li. de proprietatibus Elementorum, of ordinate mouing of the sphere, and of the contrarye meeting of Planets, in the worlde commeth harmonie and accord.

Macrobius too says that these opposite motions make 'Accordes and Melodie.'

And so *Macrobius* saith: in putting & mouing of the roundnesse of heaven, is that noyse made, and tempereth sharpe noyse with lowe noyse, and maketh divers accordes and melodie: but for the default of our hearing, and also for passing measure of that noyse and melodie, this harmony and accord is not heard of vs. In likewise as we may not perceive and see the Sunne move, though he move, for the cleerenesse of beames overcommeth the sharpnesse of our sight.—leaf 123, col. 1.

But we cannot hear it. (See Lorenzo's lines, p. 446.)

Of double mouing of the Planets. chap. 22.

The Planets have a double motion.

All the Planettes moue by double mouing by their owne kinde, moouing out of the West into the East, against the moouing of the firmament: And by other mouing out of the East into the West. And that by rauishing of the Firmament. By violence of the firmament they bee rauished energy days out of the East into the West. And by theyr kinde mooning, by the which they labour to moue against the Firmament, some of them fulfilleth theyr course in shorter time, and some in longer time.

Contrary mouing.

Saturn's course is 30 years; Jupiter's, 12;

Mars's, 3. The Sun's, 1.

Mercury's, 338 days.

Venus's, 348 days.

The Moon's course is 27 days, 8 hours. The 7 Planets'

And that is, for theyr course bee some more and some lesse. For Saturnus abydeth in every signe thirtie moneths, and full endeth his course in thirtie yeare. *Iupiter* dwelleth in euery signe one yere, and full endeth his course in .12. yeare. Mars abideth in euery signe .60.1 dayes, and full endeth his course in two yeres. The Sunne abideth in euery each signe 30. dayes and .10. houres and semis, and ful endeth his course in .CCClxv. daies, and sixe houres. Mercurius abideth in euery signe .28. dayes and sixe houres, & full endeth his course in .CCCxxxviii. dayes. Venus abideth in euerye signe 29. daies, and full endeth his course in CCCxlviii. dayes. The Moone abideth in euery signe two daies and an halfe, & sixe houres, and one bisse lesse: and ful endeth his course from point to point. in 27. dayes and eight hours. And by entering and out passing of these .7. starres, into the .12. signes, and out

His voice was propertied

As all the tuned spheres.—Ant. and Cleop. V. ii. 83.

The music of the spheres! List, my Marina!

Pericles, V. i. 231.

¹ Batman gives 45, but Prof. Adams, the Cambridge Astronomer, says that it should be 60, as the original Latin has it.

thereof, all thing that is bread and corrupt in this neather worlde is varyed and disposed: and therefore in the ruption, Philosophers booke, Misalath. chap. 1. it is read in this manner: 'The highest made the world to the lykenesse of a sphere, and made the highest circle aboue it moueable in the earth, pight and stedfast in the middle thereof: not withdrawing towarde the left side, nor toward the right side, and sette the other Elementes moueable, and made them moue by the moouing of seauen Planetes, and all other starres helpe the Planettes in their working and kinde. And therefore the working of the Planettes is lyke to the stone Magnas, an Adamant, and to Yron. For as Yron is drawne to that stone, so euery creature vpon earth, hath a manner inclination by the mouing of the does iron. Planets.' Couenable sitting, and destruction, commeth by moouing and working of Planettes: the working of them varieth and is diverse by diversitie of Climas and Countryes.—leaf 128, col. 1.

The Planets other things to them like

Of the Sunne. Cap. 28.

The (*Sunne, is named Sol, Phæbus, & Titan, which *Addition. was the elder brother of Saturne: not that the Sun had his beginning of Sælum: but Cælum, a celando, made and see by God almightie, and called it the great lyght to rule the daye; which Sunne is placed among the seauen great Starres, called the seauen Planets: so named by the first inuenters of Astronomy, to the ende they might be severally discerned and knowen. The Sunne is the fourth in place, as it were a King in the middest of his throne: for vnder him is Luna, Mercurius and Venus: and aboue him in position & place, he hath as many, that is to wit, Mars, Iupiter, Saturne, by the which placing is expressed the most mightie ordinaunce of God, to the benefite of Nature.) —leaf 131, back, col. 1.

The Sun is in the Middle of the 7 Planets, the Moon being under

The Sunne is the eye of the worlde, and mirth of the daye, fairenesse of heauen, measure of times, vertue and strength of all that is gendered, Lord of Planets, fairenesse and perfection of all the stars. Also Marcianus sayth the same in this manner: The Sunne is the Work and and minde, and of reason: head and well of lyght, king of against the Firmanent of Reason and minde, and of reason head and well of lyght, king of He moves against the Firmanent of Reason and Markov Control of Reason and Markov Co the firmament: for therefore he moueth against the firmament, for to make his mouing moderate and temperate, and therefore he is called the brightnesse of heaven.—leaf 131, back, col. 2.

The Sun is the Eye of the World.

(or Primum Mobile) to moderate its The Sun is in the middle of the Planets, to make Harmony, like a middle string in an instrument. Marcianus saith, and Macrobius also: the Sun is the middle among the Planets: for to make harmonie and accord of heauen: the Sunne in his owne circle, maketh that thing, that the middle string maketh in an instrument of musike.—leaf 132, back, col. 1.

¶ Of the Moone. Cap. 29

Luna.
Decor
noctis.
Bona dea
Borecynthya.
Duana.

The Moon's titles.

The Moon's changes.

Her 4 shapes.

Her 3 states.

Her horns.

Her influence on the humours of man.

The Moone is called Luna, as it were one of the lights. that is to vinderstand, principall & most, for he is most lyke to the sunne in greatnesse and fairnesse, as Isid. saith. For as it said in Exameron: the Moone is the fairnesse of the night, & mother of all humours, minister & Lady of the sea, measure of times, follower of the sunne, changer of the aire, and hath no light of hir selfe, but borroweth & taketh of the plentie of the Sunne, and taketh forme, shape, and figure of the Sun, as he is far or neere to the Sunne. . . . Also the Moone chaungeth figure and shape; for he sheweth towarde the earth a divers face of his lyght: for now she showeth hir selfe shaped bow wise, and now as a circle and round to the sight of men, now Moynoydus, now Dictotomos, now Amphitricos, now Pancilenos. And he is Moynoydos, when he is new and seemeth horned; and is Dictotomos, when he is as it were halfe full, and is eight dayes olde: & he is Amphitricos, when it is doubt of his full roundnesse when he is eleuen or twelve dayes olde: and he is Pansilenos, when he shineth at ful, when he is fourteene dayes olde. Also the Moone sheweth hir selfe in three states: fro he is with the Sunne in conjunction, when he is next to the Sunne or aside, when he passeth fro-ward the Sun, or when he is all afore the Sun. When he goeth first fro-ward the Sun, hee seemeth with hornes as a bowe, & then alway the hornes be tourned Eastward: & when he commeth again to the conjunction, he receiveth the same figure & shape, & then the hornes be alway turned westward: & in that side that is turned from-ward the Sun, he seemeth always voyde, and in the side that is toward the Sun, full of lyght.

The Moone increaseth all humours: for by priuye passings of kinde, floude and ebbe is increased and multiplyed. In hir waning the marrow of the bones, the braine of the head, and humoures of the body be made lesse: and in wexing and increasing of hir, they are increased; and therefore all thing hath compassion of the default of the Moone. Also she draweth to hir waters of the sea, for as the stone Adamas draweth after him yron, so the Moone moueth and draweth after hir the Occean sea. Therefore

in the rising of the Moone, the sea swelleth and increaseth, Ebb and Flow and floweth by East, and ebbeth and decreaseth by West: and againward when the Moone goeth down, the sea floweth by West, and ebbeth by East. And as the Moone hath more lyght or lesse: so the sea stretcheth or withdraweth in his flowing and ebbing, as Macrobius sayth in lib. Cireronis.—leaf 133, col. 1.

Also the Moone signifieth and betokeneth chaunging of times and of weathers: for (as Beda saith) if the Moone be redde as golde in the beginning, then he betokeneth windes: and if ther be black specks in the ouer corner and wemmes, he betokeneth raine in the beginning of the month: and if he be red in the middle, it betokeneth faire wether and cleere in the full of the Moone: and in night rowing, if the Moone lyght spranckleth on the oares, then tempest shall come in short time, as Beda sayth. Also in the harmonie of heaven, the Moone maketh the heaviest sowne, as Marcianus sayth: for in the circle of pest bace. the Moone is an heavie sowne, as a sharp sowne is in the sphere of heaven that commeth of ordinate sowne, and of cherking of the mouing of the circles, and of the roundnesse of heauen. And as he saith, thereof commeth most sweete melody & accord. . . . Also, as Albumasar saith, the Moone cleanseth the aire, for by his continuall mouing, he maketh the ayre cleere and thinne: and so if mouing of the sphere of the Moone were not, the ayre should be corrupt with thicknesse and infection that should come of outdrawing by night of vapours and moysture, that great corruption shoulde come thereof. Also Astronomers tell, that among all Planets, the Moone in rulyng hath most power ouer disposition of mans body: For as *Ptholomeus* sayth, in *libro de iudicijs astrorum*. Vnder the Moone is contained sicknes, losse, feare and dread, and domage. Therefore about the chaunging of mans body, the vertue of the Moone worketh principally: and that falleth through the swiftnesse of his mouing, and for that hee is nigh to vs, and also for the privile power & might that is kindly in the Moone: and therefore a Phisition knoweth not perfectly the chaunging of sicknesse, but if he know the effectes and workings of the Moone, in mans bodye.—leaf 134, col. 1.

[leaf 120, back]

The Moon betokens changes of weather. The signs of change,

In the Heaven the Moon makes

forming most melody. The Air is cleansd by the motion of the Sphere of the Moon.

The Moon has most power over men's dispositions thro its swift moving.

As one is extracting, one may as well add from our Batman vpon Bartholome, Book VIII. a few lines about the Comets, of which Calpurnia says (J. Cæsar, II. ii. 30-1):

"When beggars die, there are no comets seen; The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes;" and the Stars, for Lorenzo's lovely lines 1 (Merchant, V. i. 58-62):

"looke how the floore of heauen
Is thicke inlayed with pattens of bright gold!
There's not the smallest orbe which thou beholdst,
But in his motion like an Angell sings,
Still quiring to the young eyd Cherubims:
Such harmonie is in immortal soules."
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grosly close it in, we cannot heare it.

(1st Fol. p. 182, col. 1. See p. 442, above.)

Of the starre Cometa. Chap. 32 (Book VIII.)

Comets betoken the death or fall of Kings.

Cometa is a Starre beclipped with burning gleames, as Beda doth say, and is sodeinly bred, & betokeneth changing of kings, and is a token of Pestilence, or of war, or of winds, or of great heate. Sometime it seemeth, that such stars so beset with blasing beames, moue with the mouing of Planets: And somtime it seemeth that they be pight & not moueable. And alwaye (as Beda saith) they be seene in a certaine place of heauen: And they passe not by diverse parts of the Zodiac, as Planets do, but it seemeth that they be in the circle that is called Lacteus, or Galaxia, & they spread their beames toward the North, and neuer towarde the West. And therefore they be not seene in the West side. And they be seene but in short space of time, that is, seauen daies: but sometime it is seene the space of .80, daies, as Beda telleth. Whereof it is that this star that is called *Cometa* commeth and is gendered. whether it bee of Planettes, or of starres that bee pight; alway he is seene in the firmament in the North side, as he saith.—leaf 135, col. 2.

They are in the Milky Way,

and are seen only in the North of the Firmament.

¹ T. C., writing in the *Daily News* of Nov. 12, 1879, on the last days of Cambridge's most brilliant scientific man, Professor Clerk Maxwell—lost, alas, too soon!—says that "His mind remained perfectly clear to the last, and his complete freedom from anxiety on his own account left him free to speculate on questions of general interest. For example, he one day was exercised in endeavouring to learn why, in *The Merchant of Venice*, a man of Lorenzo's character, to whom no one would attribute noble thoughts, was represented as saying to Jessica:

'Look how the floor of Heaven,' &c." V. i. This is surely one of the bits of super-characterization, like Achilles's and Aufidius's moralizings in *Troilus*, III. iii. 75-111, and *Coriol*. IV. vi. 37-55,

Of fixed Starres.1 cap. 33.

Stellæ be called starres, and have that name of Stando standing: for though they moue alwaye, yet alway it seemeth that they stande, as Isido. sayth. And they be called Sidera, and have that name of Considerando, taking sidera. heede: for of them Astronomers take heede, and by them giue iudgementes and domes, and knowe what shall befall. Also they bee called Astra, and have that name of Austros, Astra. or of Anastros: for, by opposition, bodies of some starres be pight in the sphere of the firmament, as nayles in the roundnesse of a wheele: and that is troth of some, and Firmament, namely of the more great, as Isido. sayth. And Alphraganus . . . calleth starres, bearers of lyght, for that they be bright bodyes, and give to men & beastes, by night when it is dark, the comfort of lyght, and ornate & hight 2 the ouer parte of this worlde; and as far foorth as they may, they be in steed of the Sunne, of whome they receive lyght; and by continuall sending out of beames, they cleanse and pourge the aire : by vertue of them, corrup- They purge tion of pestilence is taken away from the neather worlde. the air and Also, by vertue of stars, Elements that be contrary each pestilence. to other, be conciled and accorded, and lightened with euerlasting shining of starres. By heate of them all things be nourished & saued. . . .

stuck in the like nails in the rim of a wheel.

Touching their shape, they be most bright, & also they be round in figure, and be sad [firm], and sound, not hollowe, not hoaly in the vtter part: they be plaine, and not rough nor corued: in place they be highest; in mouing they be most swifte; in quantitie they be most great and huge, though they seeme lyttle, for farnesse of place, in number and tale: onelye he knoweth how many they be, that numbreth and telleth the starres. In might & number of working, the stars be most vertuous among bodies: for the starres gender, and change and saue the nether things.

Ilf. 135, back.

God alone the Stars.

of the Stars.

The starres, by out-sending of theyr beames, lyghten The Spheres the darkenesse of the night, & full ende theyr course in spheres and circles, and moue in one swif[t]enesse, no time

The bay-trees in our country are all wither'd, And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven . .

These signs forerun the death or fall of kings.—Rich. II., II. iv. 9. Note that it's only in the Sphere of the Fixt Stars, the Firmament, or 8th Sphere, - Plato's Aristotle's, Chaucer's, and Marlowe's Primum Mobile, p. 432, 434,—that the Comets and Meteors appear.

I see thy glory, like a shooting star, Fall to the base earth from the firmament, ib. 1, 20.

^{2 ?} light.

The Stars make tempest, and fair weather; and betoken good haps, and eyil.

They're gracious to Shipmen.

more swiftlye than other.. In theyr comming and rising, they chaunge the ayre in many maner wise: for they make, now tempest, and now fine weather and cleere, as *Beda* sayth. Also by chaunging of coulour, and sprincklyng of beames, they betoken, nowe good happes, and nowe euill, as Astronomers tell.

Also they be gracious to shipmen, and shewe their wave in the middle of the Sea.

Where starres be conjunct night togethe [r]s, they give the more lyght, and bee more fayre and bright. As it fareth in the Seuen Starres, with the stars of the circle the which is called *Galaxia*, that is, Watlingstrete [by Geoffrey Chaucer, in his *Hous of Fame*, II. 421-431, &c. &c.].

The Seven Stars & the Galaxy or Watling Street.

¹ The Pleiades. The same Hebrew name [Kimah] is used for the constellation englisht Pleiades and Seven Stars in Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31, and Amos v. 8. And tho, as Ovid says, six of em only can be seen (with the naked eye), yet they, not the seven chief stars of the Great Bear or Charles's (Charlemagne's) Wain, are always meant by "the Seven Stars:" 1 Hen. IV. I. ii. 16, Falstaff; 2 Hen. IV. II. iv. 201, Pistol; Lear, I. v. 38, the Fool. "Cotgrave has 'Pleiade, f. one of the seuen starres.' Minsheu (Spanish Dictionary) gives 'Pleiades, the seuen starres about the bull.' I find no evidence of the seven stars being used to denote the Septemtriones. If you are curious about the Hebrew word in Job and Amos, you will find a good deal in my article on Pleiades in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible.'—W. ALDIS WRIGHT.

Mr. Daniel sends me the following quotations for the Seven Stars. The 4th and 5th passages show that writers were getting confused about these Stars:—

No. 1. D'Olive. . . . "I was borne Noble, and I will die Noblie: neither shall my Nobilitie perish with death; after ages shall resounde the memorie thereof, while [= until] the Sunne sets in the East, or the Moone in the West.

Pacque. Or the Seuen Starres in the North."

Chapman, Monsieur D'Olive, iv. 2, p. 235, Pearson's Reprint. No. 2. Quadratus. "Phœbus, Phœbe, sunne, moone, and seaven starres, make thee the dilling of fortune, my sweet Laverdure," etc.

Marston, What You Will, ii. 1, p. 236, ed. Halliwell.

No. 3. "- we are seven of us,

Like to the seven wise masters, or the planets."

Beaumont and Fletcher, The Beggars' Bush, ii. 1.

No. 4. Nun. "Here kneel again; and Venus grant your wishes

Calis. Oh, divinest star of Heaven,

Thou, in power above the seven:" etc.

B. & F. The Mad Lover, v. 3. (vol. 1, p. 307, ed. Moxon.)
No. 5. "The Sun, Moon and the seven Planets are my invoked witnesses," etc.

Brome, The City Wit, ii. 1, p. 296, Pearson's Reprint.

No. 6. "To see how soon

Both sun and moon

And the seven stars forgotten be," etc.

Shirley-Poems, Upon the Prince's Birth, p. 424, vol. vi. ed. Gifford, Dyce.

.. Marcianus sayth, That starres passe in their circles The Harwith harmony; for all tunes and accord of musike be found among starres; nor the weight of the neather bodies make not discord in the melodye of the ouer bodyes: neither in melodie of the middle bodyes. Nor againewarde, the sharpnesse of sowne of our bodyes, destroy not the sowne of the neather heavie bodies

mony and Music of the Stars.

Also starres be conteined in their owne proper circles and place: and therfore, though the circle of one meete sometime with the circle of another, and entreth therein. they forsake not therfore their own circles and place, nor let [=hinder] them that they meete, nor doe wrong, none of them to other . . .

The Stars never interfere with one another, and never do wrong to one another.

... also Starres chaunge and distinguish times, yeares, monethes, and dayes. For (as Aristotle sayth, in libro de proprietatibus Elementorum) chaunging of time is not but days. by chaunging of starres, in divers signes, and aboue the seauen Climates and countries [the 7 Spheres of the Planets], as by chaunge of the Moone in euery xxviii. dayes, or by chaunging of Mercurius and of Venus in euery tenth moneth, or in lesse time

They change times, years, months, and

On the two extra Spheres in the Miltonic heaven, see The Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times, englisht by Thomas Miller from Pedro Mexio, Sansovino, Du Verdier, &c. London, W. Iaggard, 1613. Book II, chap. v, p. 120-1, says:—

The Firmament Heauen

Next to the [7th] Heauen of Saturne, and much aboue him, there is another [the 8th] called the Firmament, all filled with Starres, not numberable to Men, and they are tearmed 'fixed,' because they are seene euermore to keepe one order, and are constant in their scituation. . . .

The Christalline Heauen.

Aboue the Firmament, is the [9th, the] Heaven Christaline, or watry, which learned men are of the minde. that it was created by God aboue the other Heauens: to the ende that it might mitigate the great heat which the other Heauens acquired by their motion, and by the Stars being in them

[&]quot;In No. 1 of the above quotations Pacque's speech may be interpreted in favour of the Pleiades-until the seven stars set in the north; at present the Pleiades always set in the west-or it might mean, until the seven stars (Charles's Wain) in the north, which never set, do set.

In No. 4 Venus is one of the seven stars.

In No. 5 Sun and moon (two of the seven planets) are distinguished from the seven planets. What does that mean?"-P. A. DANIEL.

That Brome didn't know what he was talking about.-F.

The mouing Heauen, and the office thereof. Againe, more high then the [9th] Christaline or watry Heauen, is another Heauen called the mouing Heauen [Primum Mobile], which hath no Stars, no more then the Christaline; but his office is, to turne it selfe (Spherically) from the East to the west, by the South, which he dooth in foure and twenty houres; and by his strength and great velocity, he maketh all the other subjacent Heauens for to turne about.

The eleuenth Heauen, cald Cœlum Empyrium. Moreouer, aboue all these fore-named ten Heauens, the recited Philosophers and Diuines, do tell vs, that there is yet another Heauen, exempt from all locall motion, & is before all that which can be called the World: filled with infinite intelligences and most happy spirits, that were created all in one place, and thereto deputed for the glory of God. . . . This is the Seat of God, as his Pallace, where he is said particularly to dwell; because that there his will is fulfilled, and the obedience of the Angels and blessed Spirits is perfect.

Mr. W. G. Stone reminds me that a word must be said on Shakspere's making the orbs—the Fixt Stars of the Eighth Sphere or Heaven—quire "to the young eyd Cherubims." It was the Cherubim who, according to Dionysius the Areopagite, and Dante, ruled and guided this Eighth Sphere of the Fixt Stars, and whom Dante "heard.. sing hosanna choir by choir" (*Paradiso*, xxviii. 94; Longfellow, 585). There were three Triads of Angels who were the Intelligences of the three Triads of the Heavens or Spheres (on the 9-Sphere system) thus:

The Seraphin, Primum Mobile. The Cherubim, The Fixt Stars. The Thrones, Saturn. The Dominions, Jupiter. The Virtues. Mars. The Sun. The Powers, The Principalities, Venus. The Archangels, Mercury. The Angels, The Moon.

These 'nine concentric circles of the Celestial Hierarchy' revolvd round a point of intense light, God's dwelling, whence the heavens and all nature hung. But, unlike the corporal spheres of the Planets and Stars, the inmost circle of Angels revolvd fastest as being the nearest to God, and the outmost circle slowest, as being furthest from him. See Longfellow's quotations and notes, *Paradiso*, p. 702, 612-13.

That Shakspere knew of the supposd connexion between the Stars and the Cherubim who ruled them, we cannot fairly doubt, tho' we may not wish to make his idea of the Heavens as clear as Dante's.

¹ See Batman on Bartholome, Bk. ii. chap. 6-18, on these. He doesn't link the Angelic and Planetary worlds.

XVIII.

ON CHESTER'S LOVE'S MARTYR: ESSEX IS NOT THE TURTLE-DOVE OF SHAKSPERE'S PHŒNIX AND TURTLE.

BY F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.

(Read at the 55th Meeting of the Society, November 14, 1879.)

[These Notes were written above a year ago. Chester's book is so vague, and by itself of so little worth, that I have not car'd to work much more at the subject.]

Having twice read thro' Chester's Love's Martyr and Dr. Grosart's Introduction to it, I am, like Prof. Dowden, Mr. P. A. Daniel, &c., unable to accept the theory that the poem and its 'diuerse poeticall Essaies' by Shakspere, &c., refer to Queen Elizabeth and Essex, and that

"Robert Chester, as a follower—not to say partizan—of Essex, designed his *Love's Martyr* as *his¹* message [to Elizabeth] on the consummation of the tragedy of his² beheading." (Dedic. p. xlv.)

Now Chester's poem contains his message or "request to the Phœnix" or supposd Queen Elizabeth, and the message is, that he thanks her for her "kind acceptance" of Essex, her Turtle-dove:

> "Accept my home-writ praises of thy loue, And kind acceptance of thy Turtle-doue."

Was this then "wrote ironicall?" To judge from his work, Chester was incapable of that figure of speech. If any one can take it as Allegory, he may. At any rate, the parts of the body of the Phenix described in *Rosalin's* (Nature's = Q. Elizabeth's) *Complaint*

¹ Chester's, no doubt.

are flesh and blood, and if any one can suppose that a private gentleman would, as a delicate compliment to the Queen, make her rehearse such a catalogue of her own secret charms 1 as is given on pages 5-6, I cannot; for note, Elizabeth is made to describe them herself, since Rosalin is Nature, and as Dr. Grosart says, p. xxii, "no one . . . will hesitate in recognizing her (Q. Elizabeth) as the Rosalin and Phœnix of Robert Chester." Then, recollecting, that the supposd Elizabeth's love "was defeated, or never completed, and that [it] led to such anguish as only the awful word 'martyr' could express," let the reader judge how admirably this awful anguish would be expresst, or soothd, by nearly 100 pages—out of the 134 of the whole poem,—of rymed catalogues of the beasts and worms, the birds and plants, &c., in Paphos, of the cities of England, the life of Arthur, &c.

Again, passing on to the climax, such as it is, of the poem, the reason why the Phœnix (1 Q. Eliz.) resolves to die and does die with the male Turtle-dove, Essex, we find that it is because the latter has lost his own female Turtle-dove, his wife (who was then alive):

(st. 3)	
My teares are for my Turtle that is dead,	(1) (2) (3) (4)
My sorrow springs from her want that is gone,	(2)
My heavy note sounds for the soul that's fled,	(3)
And I will dye for him left all alone:	(4)
I am not living, though I seeme to go,	. ,
Already buried in the grave of wo.—p. 125 (133 at fo	oot).

It seems clear that him in line 4 is a misprint for her. At any rate it is plain that the suppos'd Essex is speaking to the suppos'd Elizabeth about a female mate of his; and that, in consequence of her sympathy with him, Essex, in his sorrow for this female mate's loss, the said Elizabeth goes and dies with him right off.

Now read Dr. Grosart's comment on this passage, p. 233-49:

"Meanwhile it is all important to note that the 'wooing' [? dying] is dated by circumstances in Essex's early time—not later, when he had married and when Elizabeth was old; st. 3, 1. 1. 'Turtle' = mate; 1. 2 'her want = her loss;' 1. 3 'the soule that's fled,' &c.

¹ Other poets, like Puttenham, stopt at the parts she herself disclos'd, her breasts; but Chester goes on.

How natural all this was in the mouth of Essex on the death of his noble young brother who fell so miserably at Rouen. See Devereux, as before."

Now Walter Devereux was killed on Sept. 8, 1591, and Essex marrid Sidney's widow in 1590; so the result is, that in 1599 Elizabeth visits Essex in Ireland before 1590, and finds him then, before 1590, mourning the loss of his brother who wasn't killd till 1591; and all this happend before Elizabeth, who was 58 in 1591, was old. Surely the dates have got mixt a little too much for even Allegory and its interpreter.

Again, out of Elizabeth's and Essex's ashes in 1599 (or 1601, as the reader pleases) arises another girl, or female Phœnix, a princely Phœnix, more glorious than "her late burned mother," who is filld with love, to Elizabeth evidently,—as her love is "a perpetuall loue, Sprung from the bosome of the Turtle-Doue" (p. 134);—and this loving girl is, according to Dr. Grosart (Notes, p. 235, and Introduction), James I. of Scotland, with whom Essex was intriguing in 1600, and of whom Elizabeth was suspicious! So then Elizabeth's torture as "a Phœnix, a prey to the want of a successor," p. xxiii, is relieved by page 134, where Chester had provided for her the successor more glorious than herself, whom she had before appointed. This statement to Elizabeth that her successor would so far eclipse her, she would of course take as a most graceful compliment.

Chester's poem seems to me very poor confusd stuff, but Dr. Grosart, tho' he seems occasionally to be of the like opinion, yet says of the work:

"Chester interprets with subtlety and power the real 'passion' of Elizabeth for Essex—the actual feeling on her part, that if 'I dare' might wait on 'I would,' she should have lifted him to her throne. Our Poet puts himself in her place, and with a boldness incomparable, utters out the popular impression that Elizabeth did 'love' Essex. Hence—as I think—those stings of pain, throbs of remorse, cries of self-reproach, 'feeling after' died-out emotion and rapture, that in most unexpected places come out and lay bare that proud, strong, prodigious heart as none else has ever done."

To me this paragraph is mere groundless fancy,—a taking of

Moses's poetaster's lists of coats,¹ &c., for a divine love-poem—but I quote it for the purpose of saying that Dr. Grosart will not (in his letters to me) allow the supposition that these expressions apply to Elizabeth's repentance for having beheaded Essex; he holds that the poem—which "was substantively written in 1599"—represents her feelings in 1599 and before, and that the supplementary poems apply to the same period, and have nothing to do with Essex's execution. He has protested strongly against any attempt to urge that he has in anyway imported the post-execution feelings of 1601 into the pre-execution poems of 1599-1601. Yet we find on his p. lviii the words

"in the Threnos, Shakespeare regards not the beheaded Essex only, but his 'Phœnix' too, as dead."

This being so, and Elizabeth having had Essex's head cut off, Shakspere writes her a poem saying, in fact, that this head-off-cutting was an entire delusion; the truth was, that she really so lov'd Essex, was so one with him, that she died with him, was his wife, and only had no children by him because of their "married chastity." In short, to use Dr. Grosart's words, 'Shakspeare, regarding the beheuded Essex'—Essex beheaded by Elizabeth—said of the loving pair—

So they loved, as love in twain Had the essence but in one;

calld them "Co-supremes and stars of love," &c., &c.

And yet in Shakspere's glorification of this superb exhibition of devotion on Elizabeth's part, to "the beheaded Essex" before he was beheaded, Dr. Grosart says—

"I discern a sense of personal heart-ache and loss [on Shakspere's part] in these sifted and attuned stanzas, unutterably precious" (p. xlv), and "I do see that Shakespeare went with Robert Chester in grief for Essex, and in sad-heartedness that the 'truth of love' had not been accomplished. Herein, I find, likewise—I would reimpress—why it was that Shakspeare, though well-nigh stung to do it in print, wrote nothing on the death of Elizabeth" (p. lxi).

Now this seems odd, that because Shakspere had in his *Threnos* regarded "the beheaded Essex" as dead, and then extolld Eliza-

¹ Has any of our Members ever come across a more muddled and worthless bit of Elizabethan work than Chester's ?

beth's perfect love for him, even to dying with him, this same exhibition of perfect love should have been the reason why Shakspere said nothing about Elizabeth after her death.

My object in writing these hasty notes is merely 1. to remind my fellow-members that there are two sides to this, as to all other questions, 2. to ask them to be cautious in accepting the theory, as at present developt, that the Phœnix and Turtle are Elizabeth and Essex, for it may lead them into the mixture of the man who next week went last month to find a mare's nest; and 3. to suggest that Dr. Grosart's warning on p. 235, may with advantage be extended beyond the title he gives in inverted commas "** In the ' Cantoes Alphabet-wise,' that follow, we must not look for ordinary construction or much sense. The self-imposed fetters hinder both."

But while I cannot at present accept Dr. Grosart's theory, I am grateful to him for his text and his facts.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

October 4, 1878.

MISS PHIPSON:—Another contradiction should be noticed, in the making Paphos to be Ireland. It was always believed that there were no venomous serpents in Ireland, and yet in the Paphos which Dr. Grosart tries to make Ireland, Chester gives us "the Crocodile . . . the bespeckled Adder . . . the poisonous Viper, and the poisonous Cockatrice," p. 113.

P.S. I do not feel bound to put forward any theory in place of Dr. Grosart's, which I reject. The muddle of Chester's poem seems to me too great to be untangled. But if the poets whose Essaies follow his, meant Elizabeth by their Phœnix, I believe their Turtle-Dove was a mythic man, invented to live and die with her. - F. J. F.

appay, v. t. appease, satisfy: Lucrece, 1. 914. "It was a strange conceit, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnesse." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. ed. 1632, p. 292.

atone, v. t. set at one, set at peace: Timon, V. iv. 58. "Many have recourse to them, to attone & take up quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men else where." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. ed. 1632, p. 348.

buckle with, v. t. wrestle, strive: 1 Hen. VI. I. ii. 95; IV. iv. 5; V. iii. 28; 3 Hen. VI. I. iv. 50 (the only uses). "No man undertakes to buckle with any other man." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. ed. 1632, p. 348.

carouse, v. i.: Macbeth, II. iii. 26. "The Germans.. never begin to carouse, but when they have well fed." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 190.

coast, v. i.: Ven. & Ad., l. 870. "When I am travelling, I would rather see a Hare coasting then crossing my way." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 519.

coming-in, sb. income: Merchant, II. ii. 171; Henry V. IV. i. 260. "I measure my garment according to my cloth, and let my expenses goe together with my comming in." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 136.

cope, v. t. encounter adversely: Tr. & Cres. I. ii. 34. "It is his [Cupid's] glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules give place to his." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 489.

dishorn, v. t. take the horns off: Merry Wives, IV. iv. 63. "It fortuned that a chiefe Gossip of his had a Goate dishorned." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 436.

disnature, v. t.: Lear, I. iv. 305, 'disnatured,' unnatural. "In the Turkish Empire there are many . . . who neuer speake to any body, who think to honour their nature, by disnaturing themselues." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 493.

distemper, v. t.: Othello, I. i. 99. "To swallow it (a potion)... so much against his heart... much distempereth a sicke man." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 433.

fool, v. i. look like, play, the fool: Rich. II. V. v. 60. "Observe but how he [Love] staggers, stumbleth and fooleth; you fetter and shackle him, when you guide him by arte and discretion." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 503.

gaudy, a. of jollification: Ant. & Cleop. III. xiii. 183. "The Sorbonicall or theologicall wine, and their feasts or gaudy dayes are now come to bee prourbially iested at." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 627.

gondolier, sb.: Othello, I. i. 126. "The ignoble are bound to cry as they walke along, like the Gondoliers or Water men of Venice along the streetes, least they should justle with them of [nobility]." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne, 1632, p. 477.

rariety, sb.: Tempest, II. i. 58. "Report followeth not all goodnesse, except difficulty and rarietie be ioyned thereunto." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. ed. 1632, p. 577.

XIX.

THE "SPEECH-ENDING TEST" APPLIED TO TWENTY OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY

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[Read at the 55th Meeting of the Society, Nov. 14, 1879.]

PROFESSOR DOWDEN in his admirable little 'Shakspere Primer,' after enumerating the different tests which have been applied, with such interesting results, to determine the chronology of Shakspere's plays, mentions that two other solvents have been suggested and described; one of which is the 'speech-ending test' of Professor Ingram. This test had only been partially worked out by its inventor, but it appeared to me that it would be highly desirable that it should be thoroughly investigated, for the purpose of discovering whether it would not supply additional evidence to enable us to decide on the much-vexed question of the exact chronology of the Plays—especially of those of the middle period. Professor Ingram kindly put me in possession of all the information he had gathered by means of this test, and, assisted by valuable suggestions from him and Mr. Furnivall, I began the work.

My plan has been to distinguish between single-line and part-line speeches, as well as between those speeches which end with the end of a line and those which end in the middle of a line.

This I have done with respect to twenty of the most important Plays, and the results obtained are, I think, interesting, and none the less so because they, in the main, tend decidedly to confirm the conclusions arrived at by means of the other tests. The text I have used throughout is the Leopold Edition, and whatever in that text is

¹ He has added the *Proportion* Column to my Table, and the Rev. W. A. Harrison the *Percentage* column. These give the same result in inverse order.

printed as 'prose,' I have, with very rare exceptions, taken to be so; of course cases arose in which, especially in short speeches, I had to exercise my own judgment, and I must ask the leniency of members in dealing with this branch of the subject. But with regard to the general results obtained, I can vouch for their accuracy, as they practically 'prove' themselves.

I must conclude by strongly advocating the adoption of the system of numbering the *speeches* instead of the *lines*; the advantages of this system are obvious, as have been ably demonstrated by Mr. A. J. Ellis and Professor Ingram, and I can only join them in their hopes that the New Shakspere Society will adopt it in their critical edition of the Plays.

I regret that my other numerous engagements have prevented my completing the task I set myself, but I thought it better to lay before the Society the results I have obtained so far, without waiting for the time, which may be long distant, when I may have leisure to finish the work I have begun.

	PROSE	VERSE	TOTAL NO. OF SPERCHES	PART-LINE SPEECHES	SINGLE-LINE SPRECHES	SPEECHES ENDING WITH END OF LINE	SPEECHES INDING IN IIDDLE OF LINE	PROPORTION OF MID-LINE- ENDING SP: 1 IN	PER CENTAGE OF MID-LINE ENDING SPRECHES
NAME OF THE PLAY	PI	VI	TC NO SPE	PAR	SINGI	ENJ WITH OF	SPEECH ENDING MIDDLE LINE	PROPOR MILENIENI	PER C OF M EN BPR
Com. of Errors	120	488	608	42	213	227	6	81.33	1.23
Two Gentlemen	340	517	857	121	136	236	24	21.54	4.64
Richard II.	0	554	554	65	108	343	38	14.57	6.86
King John	0	548	548	67	127	308	46	11.91	8.37
Romeo & Juliet	205	634	839	86	135	333	71	9.	11,19
Julius Cæsar	97	698	795	197	136	258	107	6.52	15.36
Henry V.	467	261	728	41	45	132	43	6.06	16.09
Mer. of Venice	170	464	634	62	89	234	79	5.87	17.03
As You Like It	560	239	799	46	-46	103	44	5.43	18.81
Twelfth Night	671	250	921	66	38	90	56	4.46	22.4
Othello	247	935	1182	352	143	195	245	3.81	26.1
Hamlet	456	679	1135	251	89	134	205	3.31	30.19
Measure for M.	420	479	899	144	58	108	169	2.83	35.28
King Lear	318	742	1060	253	76	123	290	2.55	39.08
All's Well	514	418	932	118	50	86	164	2.54	39.21
Macbeth	56	591	647	194	50	108	239	2.47	40.44
Coriolanus	291	817	1108	279	34	66	365	2.23	44.67
Cymbeline	178	651	829	188	17	86	391	1.66	60.36
Tempest	231	409	640	104	16	36	253	1.61	61.86
Winter's Tale	217	508	725	120	8	40	340	1.49	66.93

[[]The plays most out of place in this Table are, Julius Cæsar (1601) before Henry V. (1599), and The Merchant (? 1596);—Othello (? 1604) before All's Well (1601), &c. The 3 Fourth-Period Plays rightly come last.—F.]

XX. SCRAPS.

The Wise Woman, 459.
Bassanio's Arrows, 460.
Breed = interest, 461.
Tavern Ivy-bush, 461.
Cage of Rushes, 462.
Dyeing Searlet, 464.
Emerald and Eyesight, 465.

Painting = rouge, 466.
Stewed Prunes, 468.
Swashing blow, 468.
Cannot Want, 470.
The World a Stage, 471.
Below Stairs, 471.
and many single words.

"The wise woman of Brentford:" M. W. of Windsor, IV. v. 27,

59; "The Old Woman of Brentford," IV. ii. iii.

See "Certaine Workes of Galens called Methodus Medendi with a brief Decleration of the worthie Art of Medicine, &c., translated into English by Thomas Gale Maister in Chirurgerie. At London, Printed by Thomas East, &c 1586." 4to. Bl. L. fol. 33.

"I think there be not so few in London as three score women that occupieth the arte of Physicke and Chirurgerie. These women. some of them be called wise women, or holie or good women, some of them be called Witches and useth to call on certaine spirits, and some of them useth plaine bauderie, and telleth gentlewomen that cannot beare children how they may have children. What manner of other sorts and sects there be of these, as some for sore breastes, some for the stone and Strangurie, some for paine of the teeth, some for scald heads, some for sore legges, some cunning in Mother Tomson's tubbe, and some to helpe Maids when they have lost their maidenhead, when their bellies are growen too greate, to make them small againe, with a thousand more. Galen in his booke of sectes did neuer make mention of the fourth part so manie, I thinke, if this worshipfull rablement were gathered together they would make a greater profession than ever did ye Monks, the Friers, & the Nuns, when they did swarme most in London."-fol. 33.

(Ford says: "She workes by Charmes, by Spels, by th' Figure and such dawbry as this is; beyond our Element; wee know

nothing."-1st Folio.

The word, "dawbry," here: may it not be a transposition, bawdry? Gale says these women use "plaine bauderie;" and hints at their carrying-on the business of a procuress, under cover of white witchcraft. The jealous Ford's suspicions of the wise woman and

¹ I think not. It doesn't suit the context.—F. J. F. [The unsignd extracts below are, as usual, mine.]

his dislike for her presence in his house are, under those circumstances, natural enough. There's more "bawdry" than fortune-telling, he thinks.)—Alfred Wallis.

Stowe, in his Annales, ed. 1605, p. 1277, gives 'A true report of such reasons and conjectures as caused many learned men to suppose him [Ferdinando, Earl of Derby] to be bewitched,' in April 1594.

"A homely woman, about the age of fiftie yeeres, was found mumbling in a corner of his honors chamber; but what, God knoweth. This wise woman (as they termed her) seemed often to ease his honor, both of his vomiting and hickocke, but so it fell out, which was strange, that when so long as hee was eased, the woman her selfe was troubled most vehemently in the same maner, the matter which she vomited, being like also vnto that which passed from him,"—F. J. F.

Bassanio's Arrows: Merchant of Venice, I. i., First Folio, p. 162, col. 1.

"Bass. In my schoole dayes, when I had lost one shaft, I shot his fellow of the selfesame flight
The selfesame way, with more aduised watch,
To finde the other forth; and by aduenturing both,
I oft found both."

The following illustrative passage occurs in *Qvips vpon Qvestions*, or A Clownes conceite on occasion offered By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe [Snuff, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre], 1600, repr. Ouvry, 1875, sign D3:—

" How shall I finde it?

"Ile tell thee how to finde that eare againe.
Children, in shooting, when they loose an Arrow
In high growne or deepe grasse, omit no paine,
But with their Bowes end, rake and search it narrow,
And when they bootlesse seeke, and finde it not,
After some sorrow, this amendes is got:

An other shaft they shoote that direct way
As whilome they the first shot; and be plaine
Twentie to one, as I have heard some say,
The former Arrow may be found againe.
So, as you lost the first eare, gentle brother,
Venture the second eare, to find the tother.

Nay, soft and faire, to do that I am loth; So I may happen for to lose them both.

Quip. { Better lost than found: who will beweepe them? Fooles.having eares, yet do want wit to keepe them.

angle, sb. (rod, line and hook.) Ant. & Cleop. II. v. 10. "Againe, if a man doe enter vpon the freehold of another, and doe there fish the waters with an angle, or cut downe the grasse with a sith, or fell the trees with an axe, or take away any of his goods in his absence; this is accounted a disseisin with Force and armes." Lambarde's Eirenarcha, bk. ii., chap. 4, ed. 1607, p. 141.

Apple-John: 2 Hen. IV., II. iv. 1—10. "I [Guzman] found her [Guzman's mother] leane, old, tawny, toothlesse, her face (like an old Apple-John) all shriueled, and altogether another kinde of creature."—J. Mabbe's translation of Guzman de Alfarache, 1623. Part II. p. 310.—W. G. STONE.

an armour: Much Ado, II. iii. 17. "Enfondrer vn harnois. To make a great dint in an armour." 1611. Cotgrave.

bating: R. & J. III. ii. 14. "Debatis: m. The bating, or vaquiet fluttering of a hauke." 1611. Cotgrave.

breed, sb. interest: Merchant, I. iii. 135. "To conclude: she was furnished of the money for a twelvemonth, but upon large security and most tragical usury. When, keeping her day the twelvemonth after, coming to repay both the money and the breed of it-for interest may well be called the usurer's bastard-she found the hearth in the same order, with a dead fire of charcoal again." 1604. T. M. The Blacke Booke, Dyce's Middleton, v. 520-1.—F.

bruit, sb.: Timon, V. i. 196. "The brute, or talke, is ouer all Asia. Sermo est tota Asia dissipatus, Pompeium, &c. Cic." 1580. Baret's Alvearie.

bush: "Good wine needs no bush," Epilogue to As You Like It. A holly or an ivy bush was the ancient Ensign of an ale-house or tavern; thus in Dekker's 'Wonderful Yeare' (1603) occurs "Spied a bush at the end of a pole (the ancient badge of a country alehouse)," and plenty of proof may be easily adduced. The origin of the custom dates perhaps back to the rites of Bacchus, to whom the ivy was sacred. Holly and ivy would no doubt, from their freshness and greenness, have been used from the earliest period as symbols of rejoicing; but in reference to wine, ivy bears a further meaning. without the knowledge of which the real force of the above proverb is, I believe, lost. This may be proved from abundant sources, but the following will suffice:

"In their feasting, they would sometimes separate the water from the wine that was therewith, as Cato teacheth 'de re rustica' (c. 3), and Pliny (l. 16, C. 35), with an ivie cup, would wash the wine in a bason full of water, then take it out again with a funnel pure as

ever." Rabelais' Works, Bk. I. ch. 24, Ozell's Translation.

And again: "after that; how would you part the water from the wine, and purify them both in such a case? I understand you well

enough, your meaning is, that I must do it with an Ivy Funnel."

Ibid. Bk. III. ch. 52.

And Gervase Markham: "If it came to pass that wine have water in it, and that we find it to be so, . . . cause a vessel of ivie wood to be made, and put therein such quantitie of wine as it will hold, the water will come forth presently, and the wine will abide

pure and neate."—The Countrie Farme, Bk. VI. ch. 16.

Hence the meaning of the proverb would appear to be, that good (that is to say, pure or neat) wine would not, like diluted wine, require ivy to make it drinkable; otherwise the saying means no more than that humanity has wit enough to find its way to a good thing without being directed, which is neither a very pointed nor yet a very true remark. But that this was the meaning of the Proverb, we are not without actual proof, thus: "The common saying is, that an ivie bush is hanged at the Taverne-dore to declare the wine within: But the nice searchers of curious questions affirme this the secret cause, for that that tree by his native property fashioned into a drinking vessel plainly describeth unto the eye the subtile art of the vintner in mingling licors, which else would lightly deceive the thirsty drinkers taste."—Accedens of Armorie, Gerard Leigh, 1591; Richard Argol to the Reader.

Lilly expressly uses the word 'neat.'

"Things of greatest profit are set forth with least price.

Where the wine is neat, there needs no ivie bush."

Euphues, quoted by Nares.

The proverb itself was very common. It occurs in the Epilogue to As You Like It, in a note in which Steevens quotes from Gascoigne's Glass of Government, 1575: "Now a days the good wyne needeth none ivye garland." Chaucer alludes to it in his Prologue to the Canterbury Tales:—

"A gerlond hadde he set upon his hede, As gret as it were for an alë stake."

Camden gives it in *Remaines of Britain*; and in Ray's *Proverbs* may be found its Italian, French, Latin, and Spanish equivalents.—H. C. Hart.

Cage of rushes. As You Like It, III. ii. 387. The custom of "marrying with a rush ring" is often mentioned in our old writers. Instances may be found in Nares's Glossary of Shakspearian Words, with a short dissertation on the subject. Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, considers it a "custom chiefly practised by designing men;" and see also Mr. Skeat's note on a passage in Shakspere and Fletcher's Play, The Two Noble Kinsmen, Act IV. sc. i. l. 88, a part of the play which is (by Mr. Skeat) attributed to Fletcher,

Chapman alludes to rush rings-

"Rushes make true love knots, rushes make rings,
Your rush, maugre the beard of winter, springs."

Gentleman Usher, Act II.

And Spencer-

"O thou greate Shepheard, Lobbin, how great is thy griefe! Where bene the nosegayes that she dight for thee? The coloured chaplets wrought with a chiefe The knotted rush rings and gilt rosemaree."

The explanation of a passage in All's Well that ends Well (II. ii. 24, Globe ed.), "as fit as Tib's rush for Tom's fore finger," is, according to the commentators, to be found in this custom; but they pass over in silence the following passage in As You Like It: Rosalind says (III. ii. 387): "There is none of my uncle's marks upon you; he taught me how to know a man in love; in which cage of rushes I am sure you are not prisoner." 'Cage' of course means prison here; but if cage of rushes be not taken to mean a rush ring, or to allude to it, the phrase seems to me to be meaningless and deprived of its pith.—Henry Chichester Hart.

"Cater-cousins": Merch. of Ven., II. ii. 139. "I was not halfe Cater-cousins with him, because by his meanes, I had lost my Cloake, and sup't vpon a Mule."—Mabbe's Guzman de Alfarache, 1623, part i., p. 62.—W. G. S.

Caviare, sb.: Hamlet, II. ii. 457. Caviále, Caviáro, a kinde of salt meate vsed in Italie, like blacke sope: it is made of the roes of fishes. 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

cheveril conscience: Henry VIII. II. iii. 32. "in my iudgement, a man can serue God in no calling better, than in it [Law], if he be a man of a good conscience; but in Dnalgne [England] the lawiers haue such chauerell consciences, that they can serue the Deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute iustice parcially, and they receive bribes greedily, so that iustice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man iniured thereby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. 1583. Phillip Stubbes, Anatomie of Abuses, Part II. ed. F. J. F. (N. Sh. Soc.), 1880 or 1881, p. 11—12.

cormorant (insatiate), sb.: Rich. II. i. 38. "it (want of iustice) is thorow the corruption of iniquitie, auarice, and ambition of greedy and insaciable cormorants, who, for desire of gaine, make hauck of all things, yea, make shipwracke of bodies and soules to the deuill for euer, unless they repent." 1583. Ph. Stubbes, Anatomie, Part II. (N. Sh. Soc.), p. 17.

decay, v. tr.: cause to decay, waste, destroy, Cymb. I. v. 56. decay, sb. thing decayd or destroyd, a ruin (concrete for abstract).

Lear V. iii. 297. "Anno xxxix. Reginæ Elizabethæ [1597]. ¶ An Acte against the decaying of Townes and houses of Husbandrie. The first Chapter . . . And be it also enacted . . if any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate, at any time since the beginning of her sayd Maiesties Reigne, and before seuen yeeres now last past, haue decayed or wasted, or willingly suffered to be decayed or wasted, any such house of Husbandry, That in euery such case the offendour in that behalfe shall erect, build, or repaire, vpon some convenient part of the Scites where the decayes were or bene, or of the lands to any such houses heretofore belonging, the one halfe in number of such houses so decayed or wasted."

Dyeing Scarlet, 1 Hen. IV. II. 4, 136.

"They call drinking deep, dyeing scarlet."

In Rabelais' Pantagruel (Book II. chap. XXII., Œuvres de Rabelais, 1865), the following occurs: "Il c'est celluy ruisseau que de present passe a Sainct Victor, auquel Gobelin tainct l'escarlatte," and to this in Ozell's translation of M.le du Chat's Edition (Dublin, 1738), I find appended the following note: "Parisiis quando purpura preparatur, tunc artifices invitant Germanicos milites & studiosos, qui libenter bibunt; & eis præbent largiter optimum vinum, ea conditione, ut postea, urinam reddant in illum lanam. Sic enim audivi a Studioso Parisiense. Ioann. Manlii libellus Medicus, page 765 of his commonplaces, Francfort Edit. 1568. 8vo.

How Shakspere may have lit upon the above, I know not; but so curious an idea is likely to have spread. The explanation seems

to me too satisfactory to be rejected.—H. C. HART.

Dyeing Scarlet. I have a MS. note by Staunton quoting, without comment, the following passage from Armin's Nest of Ninnies (p. 55, ed. Collier, Shak. Soc., 1842)—"where (i.e. in the cellar) if they please, they may carouse freely, though they die deepe in scarlet, as many doe, till they loose themselues in the open streets."—P. A. D.

Englishmen mad: Hamlet, V. i. 170.

Bil. Mary, my good lord, quoth hee, your lordship shall ever finde amongst a hundred Frenchmen, fortie hot shottes; amongst a hundred Spaniardes, threescore braggarts; amongst a hundred Dutchmen, fourescore drunkardes; amongst a hundred Englishmen, fourscore and ten madmen; and amongst an hundred Welchmen. . . Fourescore and nineteene gentlemen. 1604. Jn. Marston. The Malcontent, III. i. Works, 1856, ii. 244.

In Ben Jonson's verses over the door of The Apollo,

"He the half of life abuses
Who sits watering with the Muses,"

his watering means "drinking water," as contrasted with wine .- H. C. HART.

¹ Staunton notes in MS. on watering—"Steevens is quite wrong in his explanation [Var. 1821]: watering is simply drinking."—P. A. D.

Emerald and eye-sight: A Lover's Complaint, Il. 213, 214:-

"The deep-green emerald, in whose fresh regard Weak sights their sickly radiance do amend."

In 1584, Reg. Scot (Discoverie; Booke 13, c. 6.) says:—

"A smarag" (generally spelt with a final d) is good for the ciesight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, it maketh one rich & eloquent."—T. A. Spalding.

flexure, sb.: Hen. V. IV. i. 72. "I will step forward three paces; of the which I will barely retire one; and, after some little flexure of the knee, with an erected grace salute her; one, two, and three! Sweet lady, God save you!" 1599. Ben Jonson. Every Man out of his Humour, II. i., Works, i. 83, col. 2.

go to / (encouragingly): Merry Wives, I. iv. 165. "Horuia, an aduerb of encouraging, go too, now, away, on, forward, to it." 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

hedge-priest, sb.: L. L., V. ii. 545.

"Sinne. In faith, Sir Laurence, I thinke you must play the carter, Or else you must be a hedge-prest, beggars to marrie;

Which is an easy living, but you must fare hardly."

1578. T. Lupton. All for Money: in Halliwell's Literature of the 16th & 17th centuries, 1851, p. 158.

Arlótto, a lack-latin or hedge-priest. 1611. Florio.

(hey) nonny nonny: Much Ado, II. iii. 71. "Fóssa, a graue, a pit, a ditch, a trench, any fosse, digging, or mote about a house. Vsed also for a womans pleasure-pit, nony-nony, or pallace of pleasure." 1611. Florio.

light, adj. mean, inferior: Twelfth Night, V. 347. "Besides this, you may see (admitted by the opinion of the Court, 13 H. 7. 10), that if a man in the night season hant a house that is suspected for Bawderie, or vse suspicious companie, then may the Constable arrest him to find suretie of his good Abearing . . . And therefore, it shall not be amisse at this day (in my slender opinion) to grant Suertie of the good Abearing against him that is suspected to have begotten a Bastard childe, to the end that he may be foorth comming when it shall be borne . . . And if this medecine might lawfully be applied to Shoomakers, Tailors, Weauers, and other light persons, that (without Testimoniall, or other good Warrant) do flit out of one shire into another: not only that euill of Bastardie, but many other mischiefs, might be either preuented, or punished therby." Lambarde's Eirenarcha, bk. ii. chap. 2, ed. 1607, p. 119.

mad world: King John, II. 561.

"Clowne. Tis a mad world, Maister.

Nobody. Yet this made world shall not make me mad."

1606. Nobody and Somebody, sign. D3.

moneyed, well: My. Wives, IV. iv. 88. Pecunieux. . . Well moneyed, full of money. 1611. Cotgrave.

nose, led by the: Othello, I. iii. 407. "Menár per il náso, to lead by the nose, that is, to make a foole of one." 1611. Florio.

old true-penny: Hamlet, I. v. 150. "Academico. What have we here? old true-penny come to towne, to fetch away the living in his old greasie slops? then ile none. the time hath beene when such a fellow medled with nothing but his plowshare, his spade, and his hobnailes, and so to a peece of bread and cheese, and went his way: but now these fellowes are growne the onely factors for preferment." 1602. The Returne from Pernassus, II. iv. p. 15, ed. Arber, 1879.

painting, sb. rouge, cosmetic: Cymbeline, III. iv. 52.

Not farre from these doth stand all in a row
A box with curls, and counterfeited haire,
Flaxen, brown, yellow, some as black's a Crow,
Just under these doth stand thy groaning-chaire,
And close by it, of Chamber-pots a paire.

Then next thy bed, upon another shelfe,
There stands a Pot of painting for thy selfe.

1635. Thomas Cranley, Amanda; or the Converted Courtezan, st. XLVIII. (I think Schmidt should have put Imogen's word under his § 3, 'colour laid on,' and not his § 4, 'the practice of laying colours on the face.' Imogen's 'jay of Italy' was the offspring of a rouge-pot.—F.)

pensioners, sb.: Midsr. N. Dr., II. i. 10. "Mazziére, Mazziére, a macebearer, a verger, a sergeant of the mace. Also a halbardier or poleaxe man, such as the Queene of Englands gentlemen pencioners are." 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

piece: Winter's Tale, IV. iv. 32.

"The sweet Armida tooke this charge on hand, A tender peece, for beauty, sex and age." 1600. Fairfax's Tasso, iv. 27.—W. G. STONE.

pioneer, sb. miner: Hamlet, I. v. 163. "Pioners or diggers for mettal, do affirme, that in many mines, there appeare straunge shapes and spirites, who are apparelled like vnto other laborers in the pit." 1572. R. H. Lavaterus's Ghostes, englisht, p. 73.

it please God: Much Ado, II. iii. 37. A gentleman travelling in a mysty morning, ask'd of a shephed what weather it would be It will be (saith the shepherd) what weather shall please me: And being requested to express his meaning: Sir, saith he, it shall be what weather pleaseth God, and what weather pleaseth God, pleaseth me. 1660. Thos. Forde. A Theatre of Wits, p. 86.

posied, a., with a motto engravd on it: Lover's Complaint, l. 45.

"Breue, briefe, short, or compendious: a briefe, a note, a word, a motto, an emblem, a posie, a briefe in musike." 1598. J. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

Rack: for Mr. Aldis Wright's emendation of butterwoman's rank in As you like it: "To make a Horse racke. There is also a third pace, which is neither trot nor amble, but is called a racking pace, that is to say between an amble and a trot... To bring a Horse then to this racking pace the only best 1 way is held to be sore and long travel," &c. Gervase Markham, Countrie Farme, Book I. chap. 28, fol. 134.

"He's well allied and loved of the best
Well thewed, fair and frank and famous by his crest,
His raindeer racking with proud and stately pace
Give to his flock a right beautiful grace."
Peele, Gratulatory Eclogue to Earl of Essex & Ewe, 1589.—H.
C. Hart.

rest: Hen. V. II. i. 17. "Fourcher... to stay, or make a stand, as a Musketier does when he sets downe his rest." 1611. Cotgrave.

restful, a.: Sonnet 66, line 1. "Quoy: m. ye: f. Quiet, still, peaceable, restfull, ease-affecting, husht, calme." 1611. Cotgrave.

Remuneration, guerdon: Love's Labours Lost, III. i. 137-49, 170-4. "Rimuneratione, a rewarde, a requitall, a recompence, a remuneration, a meede, a guerdon." 1598. J. Florio. A Worlds of Wordes.

ripenes, sb.: Lear, V. ii. 11. "Maturezza, ripenes, iudgement, prudence, consideration." 1598. Florio.

rubies, sb. pl.: Errors, III. ii. 138. "Couperose: f. Copres; also, extreame rednesse of the face, accompanied with many pimples, and rubies, especially about the nose." 1611. Cotgrave.

ryme, sb. verse, line of metre: L. L. Lost, IV. iii. 139. "As for their rimes (I meane their rythmes) it is a world to see how rude and rusticall they were." 1607. R. C. Hy. Stephen's World of Wonders, englisht, p. 238.

sandblind: Merch. of Ven. II. ii. 37, 77. 'Sandblind. Vide Bleare eied, & Poreblind.' 'Pooreblind [purblind], or that seeth dimlie. Lusciosus . . . μύωψ. Qui ha courte veue.' 1580. Baret's Alvearie.

scaffold: Hen. V. Prol. I. l. 10. "Pulpitum, Martial. A scaffolde wheare players stande." Cooper. Lat. Engl. Dict. 1584.

skirt, sb.: As you like it, III. ii. 354; V. iv. 165. La rive d'un bois. The skirt, edge, or side of a wood. 1611. Cotgrave.

¹ Note B. J's and Irish "only best."-H.

slip, sb. piece of false money: Ven. & Ad. 515; Rom. & Jul. II. iv. 51. "And whereas heretofore a counterfet peece of gold and a false peece of siluer (which we call a slip) was neuer so falsified but that it was worth at least the two thirds of the value: they have now deuised a tricke to confound mettals so cunningly together, that some crownes coyned at this day are not worth eighteene pence, and some quart d'escus not worth two pence. 1607. R. C. Hy. Stephen's (H. Estienne's) World of Wonders, englisht, p. 115.

steely, adj.: 3 Hen. VI. II. iii. 16 (Marlowe). "Fer de guerre. The steely, and sharp head of a Pike, Launce, or horsemans staffe." 1611. Cotgrave.

stewed prunes: a brothel dish, Meas. for Meas., II. i. 93. "Nay, the sober Perpetuana suited Puritane, that dares not (so much as by Moone-light) come neere the Suburb-shadow of a house where they set stewed Prunes befor you, raps as boldly at the hatch, when he knowes Candlelight is within, as if he were a new-chosen Constable." 1606. T. Decker. The Seven deadly Sins of London (Arber, 1879), p. 27.

swash blow: Rom. & Jul. I. i. 70. 'venie': Merry Wives, I. ii. 296. "M[ora] What! hath the master of Fence a blow or venie? P[eter] This wound hurts me not much, for it is given with the hand vpward, but beware of the swash blow, [Spanish: el rebés], for I will draw it with the hand downwards." Minsheu's Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues in Spanish and English, p. 30, ed. 1623. Señor Mora and Pedro, a muleteer, had been having a chaffing match. Howes said of the sword-and-buckler men: "neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly." Stow's Annales, ed. 1631, p. 1024, eol. 2. Was a blow beneath the waist a 'swashing blow'?—W. G. Stone.

tables, writing tablets: Hamlet, I. v. "Table . . a booke, or register for memorie of thinges: also common writings . . letters missiue." 1580. Baret's Alvearie. "A paire of writing tables. Pugillâris . . vel Pugillare . . siue Pugillar . . Plin., πινακίδιον Tablettes à escrire." ib. "Pugillares. Plinius umor. A paier of wryting tables." Cooper, 1584.

taint, v. t. putrefy: Cymbeline, I. iv. 148. "What noses they were, when they could find no goodnesse in wild fowl, and venaison, except it were tainted a little, that is (to speake plaine English) except it stunke a little, this stincke seeming to them to be the smell of the venaison." 1607. R. C. Hy. Stephen's World of Wonders, englisht, p. 234.

take on, v.i. talk big and bounce about: Mids. N. Dr. III. ii. 258. "And yet notwithstanding they will be sure to make price

of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it cost them. And will not sticke to sweare, and take on (as the other their confrater before), that it cost them so much, and that they do you no wrong." 1583. Ph. Stubbes, *Anatomie*, Part II. N. Sh. Soc. 1880 or -81, p. 24.

tearing a ruff: 2 Henry IV., IV. i.

I am neither Rich, nor Poor, I was never Miss nor Whore, I had ne'er my Placket tore,¹

Yet no Man comes to wooe me. Come, &c. 1691. The Virgin's Complaint, ed. Ebsworth. Bagford Ballads (1878, p. 930).

tick-tack, sb. copulation: Meas. for Meas. I. ii. 196.

What a hurly-burly is here!
Smick smack [== kissing], and all this gear,
You will to tick-tack I fear,
If you had time:
Well, wanton, well;
Iwis I can tell,
That such smock-smell
Will set your nose out of tune.

ab. 1550. Lusty Juventus. Hazlitt's Dodsley, ii. 85.

tricksy: Tempest. Nettelet: m. ette: f. Prettie and neat; minion, briske, smug, tricksie, smirke. 1611. Cotgrave.

true-men, honest men: Cymb. II. iii. 77. "About ten miles on this side Abbeuile we entred into a goodly Forrest called Veronne... at the entrance whereof a French man that was in our company, spake to vs to take our swords in our hands, because sometimes there are false knaues in many places of the Forrest that lurke vnder trees and shrubbes, and suddenly set vpon trauellers, and cut their throtes, except the true men are too strong for them (A.D. 1608)." 1611. Coryat's Crudities, p. 9, 10.

Much Ado about Nothing: Vne levée de bouclier. "Much adoe aoout nothing; a great shew, or much doings, to little purpose; mightie preparations for a meane exploit; a notable coyle, or stirre, when it needs not." 1611. Cotgrave.

The tearing of plackets indicated a "shindy" in a brothel—such as she had never encountered. Mine Ancient Pistol was given to this mal-practice, as well as to some others. No wonder that Doll Tearsheet could not abide him. "Hang him, swaggering Rascall, let him not come hither. It is the foule-mouth'dst Rogue in England." He himself threatens her, "I will murther your Ruffe for this." And she also says, "You a Captaine? you slave, for what? For tearing a poor Whore's Ruffe in a Bawdy-house?" (Second Part, Henry IV. Act iv. Sc. 1.)—J. W. EBSWORTH.

ungarterd: Hamlet, II. i. 80. "Triboullet... a slouenlie fellow, one that vsually weares his hose vngarterd, and shooes vntyed." 1611. Cotgrave.

vaded: Pass. Pilgrim, 131, 132. "Couleur pasle. A vaded or vnperfect colour, such as that of Box wood is." 1611. Cotgrave.

veney, sb.: Merry Wives, I. i. 296. "Imbroccata, a thrust at fence, or a venie giuen ouer the dagger." 1598. J. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes. "Coup: m. A blow, stroake; knocke, rap, thumpe, cuffe, whirret; also, a hit, or touch; a Vennie, in fencing; also, a fling, or cast, as at Dice, &c.; also, a Cuckold." 1611. Cotgrave.—F. "This, sir, is call'd, The beating of the Fencer out of his Schoole. You see, for all your cunning, you may take a knocke as well as another man. It is but blow for blow; you have given me one Venew, and I have given you another." 1623. J. Mabbe's translation of Guzman de Alfarache, Part I. p. 237.—W. G. Stone.

waggling: Much Ado, II. i. 9. "Triballer. To wagle, or dangle vp and downe; to goe dingle dangle, wig wag." 1611. Cotgrave.

cannot want = can miss, shall miss: Macbeth, III. vi. 8. A somewhat like use of 'cannot lack' = shall miss, occurs in Roger Ascham's Letter to Edw. Raven from Augsburg, Jan. 20, 1551: "surely this wine of Rhene is so good, so natural, so temperate, so ever like itself, as can be wished for man's use. I was afraid when I came out of England, to miss beer; but I am more afraid, when I shall come into England, that I cannot lack [= I shall miss] this wine." No doubt 'I cannot lack' can be taken as 'I shall never be able to get on without,' and so made to contradict Shakspere's use; but so also can the confirmatory phrases in Prof. Baynes's Edinburgh article (July 1869), cited by Furness in his Variorum, p. 192.—F.

weaponed, a.: Othello, V. ii. 266. "Anno XXXIX Reginæ Elizabethæ, [1597-8] Chap. xvij. ¶ An Acte against lewd and wandering persons, pretending themselves to bee Souldiers or Mariners. The xvij. Chapter. Whereas divers lewde & licentious persons contemning both Lawes, Magistrates, and Religion, have of late dayes wandered vp and downe in all parts of the Realme, vnder the name of Souldiers and Mariners, abusing the title of that honourable profession to countenance their wicked behaviours, and doe continually assemble themselves weaponed in the high wayes & elsewhere in troupes, to the great terror and astonishment of her Maiesties true Subiects, the impeachment of her Lawes, and the disturbance of the peace and tranquilitie of this Realme,"...

whore, sb.: Hamlet, II. ii. 614. "Iniurieux en tripiere. Scolding like a Butter-whore." 1611. Cotgrave.

the worlde a stage: As you like it, II. vii. 239.

"But he that vertue is without, doth counterfeit the same,
And vnderneath disguised cloke, procures a vertuous name,

Wherefore if thou dost well discerne, thou shalt behold a stage and see

This mortall life that here you leade, a Pageant for to play.

bee.

The divers parts therein declarde, the changing world doth showe, The maskers are eche one of them with lively breath that blowe, For almost every man now is disguised from his kinde,

And vnderneath a false pretence, they seely soules do binde. So move they Gods aboue to laugh with toyes and trifles vaine, Which here in Pageants fond they passe, while they doe life retaine. Fame, Glorie, Prayse, and eke Renowne, are dreames, and profitlesse, Because with Chaunce they are obtained, and not by Vertuousnesse."

1588. The Zodiake of life, written by the excellent and Christian Poet, Marcellus *Palingenius* Stellatus . . . Translated out of Latine into English, by Barnabie Googe, and by him newly recognished, p. 99.

"For nothing else to be

The life of men on earth doe seeme, then staged Comedie." p. 51 = 62.

below stairs: Much Ado, V. ii. 10. -There is always some hidden meaning in the phrase 'below stairs.' Here are a few samples; they seem to me sufficient. "But these are petty engagements, and, as I said, 'below the stairs; marry above here, perpetuity of beauty (do you hear, ladies?) health," &c.—Ben Jonson, Mercury Vindicated.

"Wel. Yes, sir, let me pray you for this gentleman, he belongs

to my sister, the bride.

Clem. In what place, sir?

Wel. Of her delight, sir, below the stairs, and in public: her poet, sir."—Every Man in Hum., V. i. (This is a puzzle, still it is connected with matrimony.)

"Marg. To have no man come over me!
Why shall I always keep below stairs?"
Much Ado, V. ii, 10.

(Here it evidently means 'unmarried.')

"And in these degrees have they made a pair of stairs to marriage, which they will climb incontinent, or else be incontinent before marriage."—As You Like It, V. i. 40.

The phrase "climb to wedlock" occurs:

"But when to equal wedlock, in fit time, Her fortune and endeavour lets her climb."

B. Jonson, Barriers.

This next is the best; she is an affluent countess:
"Yet for the honour of our sex boast not this your easy conquest;

another might have perhaps have stayed longer below stairs, it was but your confidence that surprised her love."—Chapman, Widow's Tears, Act 1.—H. C. Hart.

Whose face between her forks: Lear, IV. vi. 121. "Then followeth the triming and tricking of the heds in laying out the hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frisled, and crisped, laid out (a world to see) from one ear to another; and least it should fall down, it is underpropped with forks, wyer," etc. 1583. Stubbes, Anatomie of Abuses.

Does this relieve the obscenity of the passage? "Snow" equalling

general, not local, chastity!—H. C. HART.

The Spanish Galleon and 'Wit Combats:' Centurie of Prayse, p. 247.

The following is the passage from Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia*, which seems to me to have supplied Fuller with his well-known metaphor:

"Who ever saw a well-manned galley fight with a tall ship, might make unto himself some kind of comparison of the difference of these two Knights: a better couple than which the world could not brag of. Amphialus seemed to excel in strength, the 'forsaken knight' in nimbleness," etc.—Arcadia, Lib. III. p. 295, ed. 1586.—H. C. Hart.

German clock: L. L. Lost, III. 192. "Visitants are like the German clocks, which seldom goe right," &c. The character of Visitants, Minshul's Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners." 1618, ed. 1821, p. 47.—W. G. STONE.

chopine, sb.: Hamlet, II. ii. 447. "Sappin: m. A Chiappin, or Spanish Pantofle; monstrous high-soled, and most vsed by women." 1611. Cotgrave. See Coryate's account of the Venetian ones, in his Crudities (1611). Women had to be held-up under one arm, to be able to walk in the absurd things safely. Coryate saw one woman, walking alone, have a very bad tumble.

comfortable, a. comforting: Rich. II. II. ii. 76. "Poudre de duc. The name of a most comfortable pouder, made of Aromaticall drugs, and spices." 1611. Cotgrave.

doing, sb. deed, act, proceeding: Rich. III. II. ii. 90. Like of, v. like, approve: Much Ado, V. iv. 59. "Many wealthy citizens of London, not altogither liking of this doing [the deposition of Henry VI, and election of Edward IV], conueied themselves out of the city." 1605. Jn. Stow. Annales, p. 688.

embost, pp. foaming at the mouth: Ant. & Cleop. IV. xiii 3. "Anhelanti cani, baying, panting or breathing dogs, embost as an ouerwearied deere." 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

miching, sb.: Hamlet, III. ii. 146. "Hurtillo, m. pilferie, miching, petie larcenie." Minsheu's Spanish Dictionary, 1623.

XXI.

SHAKSPERE LITERATURE.

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T. Russell Smith.

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England, the, of Elizabeth (Edinburgh Review, July, 1877).

Fleay, F. G. Introduction to Shaksperian Study. 12mo. Edinburgh: Collins.

Furnivall, F. J. Mr. Swinburne's "Flat Burglary" on Shakspere. Trübner and Co. 1879.

Furnivall, F. J., and Dowden, E. The order of S.'s Plays (to be slipt into any copy of S.). 1877.

Gervinus, G. G. S. Commentaries. Translated by F. G. Bunnett. New Edition revised. Introduction by Furnivall. 8vo. 1877. Smith and Elder.

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Supernatural (the) Elements in Shaksp. (Article in the Westminster Review, October, 1877, by Miss Edith Coleridge.)

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II. GERMAN.

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Shukspeare's sämmtliche dramatische Werke, übersetzt von Schlegel, Benda und Voss. 3 vols. 16mo. Leipzig, 1876.

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— dramatische Werke, nach Schlegel für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet von Oechelhäuser. Vol. 17, Othello, 1876. Vol. 18, König Johann, 1876. Vol. 19—25, 1877—78. Weimar, Huschke.

— Werke (English), herausgegeben und erklärt von N. Delius.

4te Aufl. 2 vols. 1876. Elberfeld.

- dramatische Werke. Nach Schlegel und Tieck sorgfältig revidirt und herausgegeben von der deutschen Shakspeare-Gesellschaft. Redigirt von H. Ulrici. Zweite Auflage. 12 vols. 8vo. 1876—1878.
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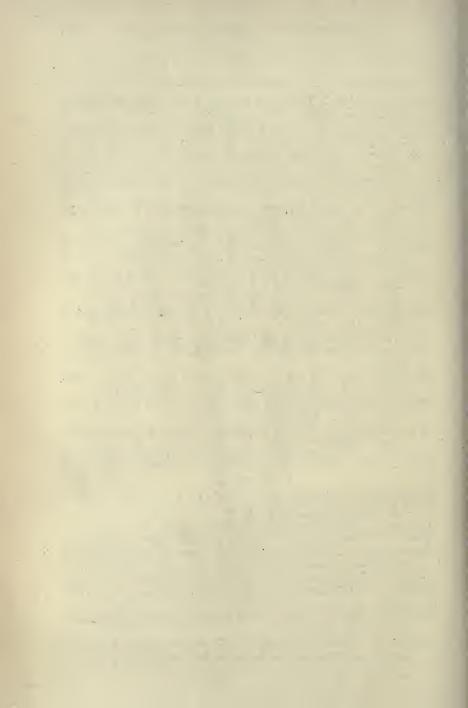
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- Onimus. La Psychologie dans les drames de Shak. 8vo. Paris, 1876.
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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX. I.

THREE LEAVES OF THE INTERLUDE OF

THE CRUELL DEBTTER.

BY

W. WAGER.

1566.

"Colwell Recevyd of Thomas colwell for his lycense for prynting of a ballet intituled an interlude the Cruell Detter by Wager iiij

Such is the entry of this interlude in the later or 1566 part of the Stationers' Register A, leaf 138, Arber's *Transcript*, i. 307. The clerk had been entering licenses—among others, 2 to Colwell,—for printing of "a ballett intituled" so and so; he began this "interlude" entry in the same way, and forgot to run his pen through the wrong words when he afterwards wrote the right ones.

Till lately, the only leaf known of *The Cruell Debtter* was C. iii. in Bagford's collection of title-pages and scraps, among the Harleian MSS. (Harl. 5919, leaf 18, back, no. 81). The finding, by Mr Edmund W. Gosse, of the double leaf, D and D 4, among Mr. W. B. Scott's black-letter fragments, has induced me to put all three leaves into type; not because it is one's duty to print all known scraps of old plays, but because the memory of Wager is dear to all lovers of Ballads, from the bits sung by his fool *Moros* in his "very mery and Pythie Commedie, called *The longer thou livest, the more foole thou art.*" (See my *Captain Cox*, p. cxxvii.) Among "the foote of many Songes" sung by Moros, is—

"¶ Com ouer the Boorne, Besse, My litle pretie Besse, Com ouer the Boorne, besse, to me," of which Shakspere has put the last line into Edgar's mouth in King Lear, III. vi. 27.

Wager's third play, "Tis good Sleeping in a whole Skin," is said to have been destroyd by Warburton's servant (Hazlitt's *Handbook*).

The Personages of The Cruell Debtter shown in the 3 leaves are 6:—

Rigor Symulatyon King Basileus, and Flateri Ophiletis Proniticus his minister.

Flateri has been to King Basileus's Palace, in hope of finding a home there, but has been at once exposd, and obliged to leave. His friend—who seems to have been Rigor's too—advises him to go to some other folk of whom he and Rigor have talkt; so they agree to go together, after first banging the false knave Symulatyon, who was also to join Flateri in his journey.

On the lost leaf, C 4, Symulatyon has evidently had his banging, as on leaf D his arms and back are almost made lame. Then to the three companions enters Ophiletis, a gentleman of King Basileus's house, ruind by extravagant living, and now not worth an oystershell. He is deeply in debt to the King, owes him 10,000 talents, and has been summond by Proniticus to pay.

The next leaf is unsignd, but as its paper runs on from D, it is D 4. In it, Ophiletis is brought before King Basileus, acknowledges his indebtedness, prays for mercy, and is reprovd. He tells Basileus, that Rigor who intercedes for him, is Humylytie, so that in the lost leaves the four comrades Rigor, Flateri, Symulatyon, and Ophiletis, must have got up some plot to deceive Basileus.

All the leaves are in couplets, except a page and a third of D, which are in 7-line stanzas. These 2s and 7s are the most general forms of verse in early plays, though in some the metre varies very much. In the first two volumes of Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, the metre of the plays is mainly as follows 1:—

¹ The rymes have been often spoilt by careless modernization, as Ind, ryming with find, is printed India, i. 27, 31 foot, 162; lere, ryming with fere, is printed learn, i. 36; be, i. 178, is printed been; forlore, i. 172, is made forlorn; benevolous, ryming with plenteous, gracious, is emended into benevolence, i. 306; then until, ryming with fill, i. 318, is emended into until then. Bible names ryming in e, Mesopotamie, Beersabe, &c., appear with a, i. 305, 308, 309, 312, 313, &c.

vol. i.

The Four Elements, 1519. Sixes (mainly), 7s, and a few 8s.

Calisto and Melibæa, 1520. Sevens throughout.

Every Man, ab. 1520. Couplets, with alternates, 3s, 6s, 7s, 8s, &c. Hiskscorner, ab. 1520-30. Couplets, with 3s, 4s, 5s, 6s, 7s, 8s, 9s, 10s, &c.

Jn. Heywood's *Pardoner and Friar*, written before 1521; printed April 1533. Couplets, with alternates, &c.

The World and the Child, July 1522. Eights, with alternates, &c., many linkt to their followers, cc, cd; ee, ef; gg, gh, &c.

Jn. Bale's God's Promises, 1538. Sevens (mainly).

Jn. Heywood's Four P's, ab. 1540. Couplets.

Thersites, Aug. 12, 1537; pr. after 1561. Couplets. Prologue in 7s.

vol. ii.

Interlude of Youth, 1554. Couplets.

Lusty Juventus, 1547-53. Sevens (mainly: some linkt), 6s, 4s, 2s.

Jack Juggler, 1562-3. Couplets. Prol. and Epil. in 7s.

Nice Wanton, 1560. Couplets. Prologue in 4s.

History of Jacob and Esau. Couplets.

T. Ingelend's Disobedient Child, ab. 1560. Alternates and couplets.

Marriage of Wit and Science, 1570. Couplets. Prologue, three 8s.

Shakspere's occasional stanzas in his dialogues, his irregular metre in *Loves Labours Lost*, &c., are, I suppose, due to these early interludes. The first of the Digby Mysteries is written wholly in stanzas, like other Mysteries are, more or less.

My thanks are due to Mr W. B. Scott for his permission to print his 2 leaves, and to Mr. E. W. Gosse for kindly copying them.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

The Cruell Debtter.

To them thou shalt be welcome I warant the, Ha, and in great acceptacyon also (sayd hee.) Now the thynge whearfore I was so angry & mad, Was thys, I forgate the councell that of him I had. ¶ The goodlyest thing in the world is communication For what bryngeth thynges to our memeratyon Thou and I had lyke fortune with Basilieus, After that maner to thee I wyll playnly dyscusse: I remembred a sayenge of Seneca in a Tragedy, Worthy to be prynted of such as loues Flatery Fraus sublimi regnat in aula The higher that the court is & the more of nobylytie, The more falsehed is thearin, & the more Iniquytie, More flatery is not in the worlde reygnynge Then is in the courte of any noble kynge. Now Basileus is a kynge of most honoration In whose house I thought to have my habytacyon, But I came not so sone wythin Basileus Palace, But they dyclosed me openly vnto my face, And whan they had once so bewrayed my name I myght no lenger tary in that court for shame, Than (as thou dyddest) I toke my freyndes counce Askyng hym wheare it was best for me to dwell He named them of whom we have spoke before Sayeng, that wyth them you may dwell euermore. And euen now my purpose was to go thyther. ¶ Of all good fellowshyp let vs go together: I do not passe in kynge Basileus house to dwell

[Rigor]

Flateri.

Rigor.

Flateri.

C. iii.

I doubt not but that we shall do euen as well: But syra, what diddest thou see Symulation? ¶ Thys day he and I had communication

He promysed me straight way to come hether [To visite] our freyndes we shuld go together

In

The Cruell debtter.

In the worlde is not so false a knaue as hee, For by hym all states of people deceyued bee. In Byshops and pastors he is humylitie And yet must be full of pryde and crudelytie: In all the Clergy he semeth to be holynes, Whan in them is a multytude of wyckednes. In Magystrates he semeth to be Affabylitie, Yet theare lurketh dysdayne and Austerytie, In the commons he semeth to be neyghbourlynes, Yet is theare enuye, hate, and coueytousnes. I dare say that hys deceyte further doth wander Than all the domynyon of kynge Alexander.

¶ Deceyueth he so, and is neuer deceyued agayne? ¶ Sildome or neuer that I here of, I tel thee plaine.

¶ By the masse it were a good deede to deceyue him And I will tell thee which way we may do it trym Thou sayest *that* he will be here without doubt to day?

¶ That is wythout question, (truly I dare say.)

¶ Well, whan he commeth, we wyll semble out to fall, we wil strike one at another as though we did brawl What we meane by that he wyll greatly wonder, Than he wyll come intendyng vs to sunder: Thou shalt stryke at me, and I at thee wyll swacke But let all the strypes lyght vpon hys backe.

¶ Of good fellowshyp let it be so euen indede Let the semblyng knaue haue somwhat for his mede,

Harke, by my fayth & trouth I here hym spyt: Nay holde thy hande, thou mayst not fyght yet.

¶ We must be fyghtyng when he doth enter neades, Or els for the sporte I wyll not geue two threades.

¶ Here enter Symylatyon.

¶ Dominus vobiscum, In principio erat verbum. Yea? are you fyghtyng? I purpose no nere to cum. Nemo tute se periculis offerre potese.

Rigor.

Flateri

Rigor.

Flateri. Rigor.

Flateri.

Begyn to fight

Rigor.

Symulatyon.

The cruell Debtter.

til they spy a time to do one shrewd turne for another [Symulatyon] Hange me if I wayte not for you a knauysh towche Yea, or it shall cost me all that is in my powche, A vengeance on you for workyng of the same, For you have almost made my armes and back lame. ¶ God requyreth no more but a penytent harte. Flateri. ¶ Mary but he wolde requyre more if he felt smarte. Symulatyon. Here entreth Ophiletis. ¶ Peace, no more words, yonder commeth a gentleman. Rygor. ¶ By Iesu I wyll be euen wyth you both if I can. Symu. Rigor. ¶ Do what thou canst, I set not by thee a louse. Flateri. ¶ It is a gentleman of kyng Basileus house, He is not mery, some thyng wythout doubt is amysse If thou wylt be stil you shal know what the cause is. ¶ Let us semble our selues to be persons of grauytie. Rigor. Symu-¶ I could fynd in my harte to dysclose your knauitie, latyon. By my fayth if I knew my selfe to scape harmelesse I wold declare (to your shame) all your wickednesse. Rygor. ¶ We may be glad at the harte verely That thou art as farre furth as we in knauery, Whearfore if any of our feates thou wylt dysclose, the worst payne & shame shal light on thy owne nose. Ophile ¶ A good Lord, I am vndone and all myne, 7-line st. I have lyued lyke a gentleman all my lyfe, But now I am lyke to come to vtter ruyne Yea, and all my goods, chyldren and wyfe: He that wolde hange me, or kyll me wyth a knyfe I wolde forgeue hym, yea, euen wyth a good wyll, For I am not worthe so much as an Oyestershyll. The hygher that any man presumeth to clyme The sorer is hys hurte whan he chaunceth to fall, Wolde to god that I had loked upon this in tyme,

Then had I not ben so myserable and thrall:

The cruell Debtter.

I had not the grace to be wyse and polytycall,
I neuer mynded to gather any good or treasure
Onely my harte was set to lyue in pleasure.
I thought my selfe so much in favour wyth the kynge
Trustyng in hys goodnes onely from day to day,
Ever thynckyng that I should want nothynge
And also impossyble that euer I should decay,
I spent styll, borowed of the king, promysyng to pay,
But now Proniticus hath summoned me to a compte,
And alas, my debtes do all my goods surmounts.

Rygor.

¶ Syrs here you not? thys is a fyt mater for us,
Spoke amonge your selfes a good way of.

If we had imagined amonge vs a whole yere,
We could not haue such a thyng against Basileus
As we haue occasyon now in thys man here,
Basileus loueth none of vs it doth well appere,
And as it semeth by thys mans behauour,
Unto hym he oweth no very great fauour.

Flateri.

¶ Now to talke wyth hym is a tyme convenyent, For any man being in sorow and desolation, To here good councell wyll be glad and dylygent, Namely in a mater of peryll and dubytation.

Symulatyon. ¶ Let vs go vnto hym, and by hys communication We shall know more, and then as we do in him see So in our councell freyndly to hym we wyll bee.

Rigor.

¶ God spede you sir, & you ar welcome into this place
By my faith you are welcome as my harte can thinke
Alack, you are not mery (it seemeth by your face,)
Wyll it please you a cup of good wyne to drynke?
Wyll it please you to go to the goodwyfe of the clinke?¹
To speke of good wyne, in London I dare say
Is no better wyne than thear was once to day.

Flateri.

¶ Viro autem defatigato, magnum robur vinum auget.

[1 On the Bankside, Southwark.]

The cruell Debtter.

¶ It was tyme to haue in a redynes all thynge. Ophile-For yonder commeth Basileus my Lord and kynge. ¶ As far as we can let vs stande asyde; Rygor. Tyll he sendeth for you let vs yonder abyde. ¶ I thanke you proniticus for your dylygence, Basile-Doubt you not, but your paynes we wyll recompence I am pleased with the accomptes that you have taken, None of your bookes nor bylles shalbe forsaken The moste parte of my debtters have honestly payed A[n]d they that we re not redy I have gently dayed. ¶ [I]f it plese your grace we have not finisht your mind Pronitiens. Thear is one of your greatest debtters yet behind, We have perused the parcelles in your bookes set, And we fynd hym ten thousand talents in your debt, So we assygned hym before your grace to come And to make a rekenyng for the whole summe. ¶ I wene it be that vnthryfty fellow Ophilitis. Basi. ¶ Yea truly, if it lyke your grace the same it is, Proniticus. I commaunded hym to be redy here in place That we myght brynge hym before your grace. ¶ Wyth [in the 1]cytie I wolde haue hym sought Basy. And before myne owne presence to be brought. ¶ I perceyue that he is euen here at hand, Proni. I see that in a redynes yonder he doth stand. ¶ Cause him before vs in his owne person to appere. Basile. ¶ It shall not be longe before he be here. Proni. ¶ Plucke vp your heart and be of good chere. Rigor. I care not I warent you, good fortune is nere. ¶ Ophiletis it is the kyng Basileus commaundement Proniticus. That you come before hys maiesty now incontinent. ¶ I am in a redynes truly with all humylytie Ophiletis. To come into the presence of hys maiestye. ¶ I pray you syr speke a good word for him to ye king. Rigor. 1 Here the surface of the paper has been rubbd away.

Basy.

The Cruell debtter.

¶ He knoweth that I am hys owne in all thynge. Proni.

¶ God saue your lyfe the fountayne of nobilitie, Ophile-All hayle the very patron of Magnanymytie, Blessed be you the author of all worthynes,

Honour & prayse to you the head sprynge of goodnes.

¶ O most myghty, most valyant and noble kynge Rigor. God saue you, god saue you, of all vertue the sprynge.

¶ whom hast thou brought into our presence with thee? Basi.

Ophi. ¶ If it lyke your grace, hys name is Humylytie.

Rigor. ¶ Yea, from hys hatte I am neuer absent, Nor I thynke neuer shalbe by hys intent.

¶ In our accomptes taken by our stuard you do know Basile-What a sum of money vnto vs you do owe. Haue you brought hether suffycient payment To make your compte, after our commaundemente

Ophile ¶ O syr, I beseche you to be mercyfull to mee, For I knowledg my selfe so farre in your debt to bee That all that I have is not suffycient Of a quarter of my debtes to make payment.

¶ Weepe, body of god can you not weepe for a neede? Rigor. You must loke pyteously if you intende to speede,

Speke If you can not weepe, I wyll weepe for you: asyde. Ho, ho, ho, I pray you be good to vs now.

¶ What meane you in this place to play such a parte? Proni. ¶ O syr, I declare the effect of this mans weke hart. Rigor.

Thear is no more of the mater but onely thys, Basileus.

Thou art a ryotous person (doubtles Ophyletis,) Pryde and presumtyon hereto haue thee brought, Much to spend and lash out, was euer thy thought, A sumptous table thou woldest keepe euery day, Beyonde thy degree thou dydest excede in aray.

If that I may speke one word, please it your maiesty? Rygor.

¶ Say whatsoeuer you wyll, we geue you lyberty.

¶ Hys

APPENDIX II.

SHAKSPERE'S 41 YARDS OF RED CLOTH

ON MARCH 15, 1603-4.

SHAKSPERE'S fellow, and member of his Company, Lawrence Fletcher, had acted before James I. of England when James VI. of Scotland, in that Northern land, between Oct. 1599 and Dec. 1601. and had had the freedom of the City of Aberdeen granted to him as "comedian to his Majesty," on Oct. 22, 1601. Accordingly, ten days after James reacht London, in May, 1603, he appointed as "The King's Players" Fletcher's — that is, Shakspere's, the Burbages'-Company, which had only been "The Lord Chamberlain's Players" in Queen Elizabeth's time. The Royal Warrant is dated May 17, 1603, and licenses the Players after-named, tho' in different order,—"Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye, -and the rest of their associats, freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such other like . . . as well for the recreation of our loving subjects. as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure; and the said comedies, trajedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within theire now usuall howse called the Globe, within our county of Surrey, as also within anie towne halls . . . of any other citie," &c.

Now this plague so raged in London "that in the space of one whole yeare, to wit, from the 23 of December 1602, unto the 22 of December 1603, there died. . of the Plague 30,758" souls.—Stowe's Annales, 1605, p. 1425.—It therefore stopt "the Pageants and other showes of triumph, in most sumptuous manner prepared"

² It is in this year that I put the writing of Measure for Measure, whose oppressive tone suits so well the feeling of the time. See my Leopold Shakspere

Introduction, pp. lxxiv., evii.

¹ The Lord Mayor met him at Stamford Hill on May 7, and escorted him to the Charter House. There Lord Thomas Howard entertaind him 4 days; and on May 11 he went by coach to White-Hall, and thence by water to the Tower.—Stowe, *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1414.

for the Procession of the King through the City of London before his Coronation, like that made by Edward VI. as shown by the burnt Cowdray picture, and many others by other sovereigns. But before March 13, 1603-4 the Plague had so abated or ended that the King and his family could go to the Tower of London; and on March 15 the Procession took place. A grand affair it was, Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker writing the inscriptions for the 7 triumphal Arches, the Speeches delivered at them, &c. Ben Jonson undertook the 1st Arch, in Fenchurch St, and the 7th, at Temple Bar, and his "Part of King James's Entertainment in Passing to his Coronation" is reprinted from his Works, 1616, in Moxon's 1-vol. royal 8vo edition at pp. 527-535, and in Cunningham's 3-vol, post 8vo ed. at ii. 555-568. Dekker describd 2 the whole of the Entertainment—not only the 5 intervening Arches, &c. that he undertook-in a pamphlet that ran through four separate editions or issues in 1604, and was also reprinted at Edinburgh the same year:3 the original edition was entitled "The 4 / Magnificent / Entertainment: / Giuen to King Iames, Queene Anne his wife, / and Henry Frederick the Prince, vpon the day / of his Maiesties Tryumphant Passage (from / the Tower) through his Honourable Citie / (and Chamber) of London, being the / 15. of March. 1603. / As well by the English as by the Strangers: With / the speeches and Songes, deliuered in the seue-/rall Pageants. / [Motto from Martial] / Tho. Dekker. / Imprinted at London by T. C. for Tho. Man / the yonger. 1604." / It is reprinted in Dekker's Works (Pearson, 1873), i. 267—326; and as at the 4th Gate, "The Deuice at Soper-lane end," on the entry to West-Cheape or Cheapside, a poem explaining the Device was spoken by "a Roy,—one of the Choristers belonging to Paules." 5—which contains lines on the Phœnix Elizabeth who died in Arabia, and the Phoenix James who rose from her ashes, I quote the lines for the benefit of those folk who believe with me that Dr Grosart's theory of Essex being the Turtle of Chester's Loves Martyr and Shakspere's Bird of loudest Lay is a mere delusion:—

1 I shall give a heliogravure from the Antiquaries' engraving of it, in

Harrison, Pt. III. The plate is already reduced and printed.

entries of Dekker's Device (7), and (8) in his Hand-Book.

4 The 2nd edition has "The Whole," and after 'Pageants' adds, "And those speeches that before were publish't in Latin, now newly set forthe in

English." For "T. C." it has "8. Allde."

⁵ Some 60 or 70 years before, Thomas Tusser was a St Paul's Chorister too: see Mr S. F. Herrtage's capital edition of the Fine Hundred Pointes for the English Dialect Society, 1878, p. 207. Harrison was at the Cathedral School: Pt. I. Forewords, p. li.

² He probably alludes to Ben Jonson as "an excellent hand, being at this instant curiously describing all the seuen [Arches, Devices, &c.] and bestowing on them their faire prospective limmes," &c. — Works, 1873, i. 279.

See W. C. Hazlitt's Collections and Notes, 1876, p. 122, correcting the

"we figure here. A new Arabia, in whose spiced nest A Phænix liu'd and died in the Sunnes brest, Her losse, made sight, in teares to drowne her eyes, The Eare grew deafe, Tastelike a sick-man lyes, Finding no rellish: euery other Sence, Forgat his office, worth and excellence, Whereby this Fount of Vertue gan to freeze, Threatned to be drunke by two enemies, Snakie Detraction, and Oblivion; But at thy glorious presence, both are gone, Thou being that sacred Phanix, that doest rise From th' ashes of the first: Beames from thine eyes So vertually shining, that they bring To Englands new Arabia, a new Spring: For ioy whereof, Nimphes, Sences, Houres, and Fame, Eccho loud Hymnes to his imperial name."—p. 301-2.

Stowe, in his Annales, ed. 1605, pp. 1428-30, gives a short account of this Coronation-Procession on March 15,—after a dog and lion fight² at the Tower before K. James on March 13,—and I take the opportunity of adding it below, as a further illustration of the London sights of Shakspere's time, of which one has been given in my Harrison, Pt II. pp. 9*, 10*. Now it was for this Procession that the whole of

¹ The second set of pagings; the first set is 11 leaves before. Page 1433 is made the second 1413; and the real 1437, -38, -39, are made the third 1414, -15, -16.

² Compare the other like ones reprinted in Harrison, Part II. pp. 42*-44*. 3 "The 15. of March, King Iames, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Fredericke the Prince, passed triumphantly from the Towre of London, through his royall Citie and Chamber of London, towards Westminster. The companies of the Citie marscialled [The City according to their degrees, were placed, the first, beginning at the Companies] vpper end of Marke-lane, and the last reaching to the Conduict in Fleet-streete, or there about; their seates being double railed, vpon the vpper part whereof they leaned; the streamers, ensignes, & banners of each perticular company, decently fixed. directly against them, quite through the bodie of the citie, so high as Temple-barre, a single raile, in faire distance from the other, was likewise erected, to put off the multitude: the king, richly [The King] mounted on a white Gennet, vnder a rich Canopy, susteined by eight gentlemen of the Priuie-chamber, for the barons of the Cinque ports, entered his royall Citie of London, and passed the same towards Westminster, through 7 gates, of the which the first [The 7 Gates] was erected at the East end of Fen-church; ouer the which gate, or pagiant. was represented the true likenesse of the notable houses, Towres and Steeples within the citie of London. The second gate, a most sumptuous peece of workemanship gate or

the Household and servants of James I. and his Queen and Sonand of course among them Shakspere-got allowances of damask cloth, &c. The materials served out were of different qualities; and Shakspere and his fellow-players got only the poorest and cheapest, neither Damask nor Skarlet, but only Red Cloth, tho' doubtless "good was the worst." Mr Walford D. Selby has been kind enough to copy out the entries from the Record Office originals, and they

pagiant.

was loftely, raised in Grasse-streete [now, by mistake, call'd Gracechurch St] by the Italians [p. 1428, no. III, really p. 1451.]

The third gate or pagiant

[p. 1429] The third gate, vpon Cornhill by the Exchange, representing the 17. Provinces of Belgia, or the Dutch nation, and by them raised.

[Danish Marche] The fourth

gate or

pagiant.

Close to Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultrie, a scaffold was erected, where (at the citties cost) to delight the Queene [Anne of Denmark] with her owne country Musicke, 9. Trumpets & a Kettle drome, did very actively sound the Danish march.

The fourth gate where-through his Maiestie passed, was (at charges of the Citizens) raised in West-cheape [now Cheapside],

at Sopar-lane end.

Adioyning to the East front of the great crosse in Cheape [the ornamented one in the De-La-Serre view in Harrison II.] was erected a square low gallory, some 4. foote from the ground, set round about with Pilistars, where stood the Aldermen, the Chamberlaine, Towne Clarke, & councell of the Citie, with sir Henry Mountague, Recorder of the Citie, who made to his Maiestie a gratulary Oration, as followeth :-

Recorder, his oration at the Crosse in Cheape.

High Imperiall Maiestie, it is not yet a yeare in dayes, since with acclamation of the people, Cittizens, & Nobles, auspiciously here at this Crosse was Proclaimed your true succession to the Crowne. If then it was ioyous, with hatts, hands, and harts lift up to heaven, to crie King IAMES, what is it now to see King IAMES: Come therefore, O worthiest of Kings, as a glorious Bridgrome through your royall Chamber! but to come neerer, Adest quem querimus. Twentie and more are the Soueraignes we have served since our conquest; but, conquerours of hearts, it is you and your posteritie that we have vowed to love, and wish to serve, whilest London is a Citie: In pledge whereof, my Lord Maior, the Aldermen, & commons of this Citie, wishing a golden raigne vnto you, present your Greatnesse with a little Cup of

At the end of the Oration, three cups of golde were given (in the name of the Lord Maior, and the whole body of the Citie) to his Maiestie, the young Prince, and the Queene [Dekker's Works,

1873, i. 304-57.

The fifth gate or pagiant.

From thence his Maiestie passed to the little conduit at Paules gate, where was placed the fift gate, Arbour-like, and so called the Arbour of Musicke; from thence he passed through S. Paules church-yard, vpon the lower battlements of which church an Antheme was song by the Quiristers of the church, to the musick of lowd instruments; which being finished, a Latin Oration was deliuered by one of maister Mulcasters Schollers at the doore of follow here. But I first say, that as the whole Household and Servants who had liveries of Cloth cannot be suppos'd to have gone in James's Procession, I take for granted that Shakspere was not Unluckily, neither Dekker nor Ben Jonson notes who accompanied James; but only Lords, Knights, Gentlemen-Pensioners, and Squires were likely to have been in his train.—F. J. F.

Lord Chamberlain's Records, Vol. 58a.

The Booke of the Accompte of the royall proceedings of our Soueraigne Lord Kinge James through his Honorable Citie of London.

The Accompte of Sr George Howme Knight Master [leaf 1] of the greate Warederobe to the highe and mightie Prince our Gracious Soueraigne Lord JAMES by the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Fraunce & Ireland Defendour of the Faith &c aswell of all his Receipts as of his Empeions & Deliveries of all manner of furnitures and Provisions whatsoeuer by hym bought and

the free schoole founded by doctor Collet, sometime Deane of Paules church.

The sixt Arche or Gate of triumph, was erected aboue the Con- The sixt duict in Fleetestreete, whereon the Globe of the world was seene gate or pagiant. to moue, &c.

At Temple-bar, where his maiestie was vpon the point of The seuenth giuing a gratious and princely farewell to the Lord Maior and the gate or Citie, a seauenth arche or gate was erected, the forefront whereof was proportioned in euery respect like a Temple, being dedicated to Ianus, &c.

The citie of Westminster, and Dutchy of Lancaster at the A Pagiant at Strand, had erected the inuention of a Rain-bow, the Moone, Sunne, & Starres, aduanced between 2. Pyramidies, &c., which peece of worke was begun and ended in 12. daies: of all which Pagiants, deuises, speeches & songs delivered in them, yee may [Thomas read at large in a Booke intituled, The magnificent entertainment Dekker's account. given to King Iames, &c. vpon the day of his triumphant passage it all.] from the Tower through his honourable Citie of London, the 15. of March 1603. by Thomas Decker,"

[Dr Mulcaster, mentiond above, was the well-known author of the Positions, 1581; the Elementarie, 1582; Catechismus Paulinus, 1599, &c. He was made Head Master of St Paul's School in 1596, resignd the post in 1608, and died at his rectory of Stamford Rivers, in Essex, on April 15, 1611. He was brought up at Eton, King's Coll., Cambridge (B.A. 1553-4), then movd to Oxford, was elected a student of Christ Church, took his M.A., and became eminent for his skill in Greek. He was chosen Head Master of the Merchant-Taylors' School (founded 1561), and then of St Paul's School.—Ant. Wood, Ath. Oxon.]

Provided for his Maiesties vse and service against his royall Entrye & proceedings throughe his honorable Citie of London togeather with our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Anne his wief and the noble Prince Henrie his Sonne solemnized the xvth daie of Marche 1603 & in the first yeare of his Raigne of England Fraunce & Ireland & of Scotland the seaven & thirtith.

RED CLOTHE bought of sondrie persons and given by his Maiestie to diverse persons against his Maiesties sayd royall proceeding through ye Cittie of London / viz:-

[leaf 39]

THE HOUSHOULDE.

THE COMPTING Howse &c. &c.

Squire for the Body-Mr Phillip Gawdy

[leaf 65]

THE CHAMBER.

Skarlet

v vardes

&c.	&c.	v
[leaf 78] FAWKENERS &c.		Red cloth
	William Shakespeare	iiij yard <i>es</i> di.¹
[1st Folio; Variorum (1821), iii. 196]	Augustine Phillipps	"
[buried, Sept. 12, 1608] [Fol., Var. iii. 186]	Lawrence Fletcher John Hemminges	"
[Fol., Var. iii. 186] [Fol., Var. iii. 182] [Fol., Var. iii. 206]	Richard Burbidge William Slye	,,
Fol., Var. iii. 211	Robert Armyn))))
[Fol., Var. iii. 199] [Fol., Var. iii. 206]	Henry Cundell Richard Cowley	"
1201.9 / 60/ 1111 200	20202207	77

[leaf 82]

OFFICERS TO THE QUEENE.

GROME of ye Bowes-Richard Poulhill &c. Tleaf 847

	(C) 1 1 D	Red Cloth
	Christopher Beeston	iiij yard <i>es</i> di.
	Robert Lee	,,
	John Duke	,,
	Robert Palante	"
PLAYERS	Richard Purkins	"
	Thomas Haward	,,
	James Houlte	"
	Thomas Swetherton	. ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
	Thomas Grene	"
	Robert Beeston	"

¹ di = dimidium, half.

ATTORN	EY { Mr Robert Heigham &c. &c.	Skarlet. v yard <i>es</i>
[leaf 86] OF	FICERS TO THE PRINCE.	
[leaf 94]	FOOTEMEN to ye Prince &c. &c.	
	Edward Allen	iiij yard <i>es</i> di.
	William Bird	"
	Thomas Towne Thomas Dowton	,,
DT ANTEDO	"	
PLAYERS	Samuell Rowley	29
	Edward Jubie	. ,,
	Humfry Jeffes	"
	Charles Massey Anthony Jeffes	"
		27
Footemen to the Pri	nce	
&c. &c.		

LISTS OF THE PLAYERS OF K. JAMES I.

AT HIS DEATH, MARCH 27, 1625;

AND OF

THE COMEDIANS OF K. CHARLES I.

Lord Chamberlain's Records, No. 71.

[On cover] 'The President of the Funerall of our late Dread Sourraigne of Blessed Memory King JAMES.'

The Particular Accompt of y° Rt Honoble William Earle of Denbeigh Master of the Kings Mats Great Wardrobe in London: As well of his Receipts Empcons Provisions and Deliveries of Black cloth for Liveries Hangings vellvetts and all other Silkes and furnitures whatsoever Imployed by divers Artificers in the Service of y° ffunerall of our late Souera of Blessed Memorie King James Who Departed this mortal life the xxvijth day of March 1625: And was buried in y° Collegiat Church of Westminster the xxth day of May next following: And in the year of the Reign of our Gracious Soueraign Lord King Charles: of his Reales of England Scotland France and Ireland the first.

[leaf 36] [leaf 48]	The Chamber of o The Priuey Buckhou Harthoundes—		Soveraigne (Names of		
	Otterhounds	{	"	,,	
[leaf 48, d.]	The Leashe	{	"	"	
	The Harriers	{	"	"	
٠	The Toiles	{	"	"	
	The game of the bear and bulles	res {	"	"	7
	The Lions	{	"	"	
orum [Folio, 1] [Tolio, 1] [Tolio, 1] [Tolio, 162] [Fol. 162] [Fol. 162] [Fol. 162] [Fol. 162] [Fol. 162]	23; Var. iii. 220, 210] 23; Var. iii. 220, 210] 3. 210] 23; Var. iii. 217, 210] 23; Var. iii. 219, 210] 23; Var. iii. 221, 210]	The King's Players	John Henrie Co Richard P George Bi Richard R George Ve John Scha Ellyart Sy Joseph Ta Robert Be John Rice James Ho Tho: Poll John Low	ondoll Perkins rche 1 harpe Cobinson ernon uncke wanstone cylor unfeild rne arde	iiij yards '' '' '' '' '' '' '' '' '' '' '' '' '
[leaf 49]	The Revills:	Name	es of Servar	nts.	
•	Gentlemen Pencoñers	Name	es.		Servants.
[leaf 59, d.]	The King's Printers		am Norton ert Barker Bill	vij "	yds vj yds ",
[leaf 61, d.]	The King's Jester	Arch	ibald Armes	strong vij	yds iiij yds

The Houshold of o^r now dread Sovereighne Lord King Charles.

The Chamber of our Dread Soveraigne Lord King Charles.

Yett ye Chamber

[leaf 75]		Robert Hamlett Anthonie Smith	iiij yards
	,	William Rowley William Carpenter))))
	Comædians	William Penn John Newton	"
*.		Gilbert Raison Thomas Hobbs	"

Latter Comands.

Walter Quinne who waited	(Serv st .
one the King att the time	vij yards iiij yards
of his Scooling	

(Prices of materials per yard from the Lord Chamberlain's Records, 58a.)

Velvet blacke	24/- to 26/8	Damaske Crimsine	17/-
Satten Crimsine	16/- to 17/-	Skarlet	20/- to 50/-
Sarcenett yellowe	12/-	Red clothe	10/- to 22/-
Velvet Crimsine	30/-		

jet, sb.: Cymbeline, III. iii. 5. "Loe, I see here goe ietting [incedere video] that honest fellow Parmeno; but see, a gods name, howe carelesse he is." R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 176, ed. 1607 (1st ed., 1598).

love in idleness, sb.: Mids. N. Dr., I. i. 168. "Herbe clavelée. Paunsie, Harts ease, cull [cuddle], me to you, loue or liue in idlenesse, two faces vnder a hood." 1611. Cotgrave. (This name is not among the meanings of "Herbe de la Trinité; Paunsie, Hartsease, two faces vnder a hood," &c.)

momentany, a.: Mids. N. Dr., I. i. 143 (Quartos). "All things are mutable and momentanie, and the higher that a man dooth clime, the greater is his fall." Holinshed, iii. 1230, col. 2, 1. 28, A.D. 1585. (See too my Stubbes, p. 115.)

Prologue, sb. speaker of a prologue: Mids. N. Dr., V. i. 106. "Avantjoüeur. A Prologue, he that beginneth, or playeth before, the game, Enterlude, or Commedie." 1611. Cotgrave.

temporal, sb. secular: Henry VIII., II. ii. 73. "Secolare, a temporall man." 1548. W. Thomas. Ital. Dict. 1567.

unmannerly, a.: Hamlet, III. ii. 364. "Yea, euen yesterday at the table, how vnmannerly were you? (quam immodestus fuisti.)" R. Bernard's Terence in English, p. 229, ed. 1607 (1st ed. 1598).

unsavoury, a.: 1 Henry IV., I. ii. 89. "Those vnsauerie morsels of vnseemelie sentences passing out of the mouth of a ruffenlie plaier, doth more content the hungrie humors of the rude multitude, and carieth better rellish in their mouthes, than the bread of the worde, which is the foode of the soule." 1580. A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theatres. p. 69.

retire, vb. withdraw: Rich. II. II. ii. 46. "Oure forces faile us: retire we them, and shut them up into our selves." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne's Essaies, 1632, p. 121.

princock-boy: Rom. & Jul. I. v. 88, 'princox.' "The shorter possession we allow it ouer our liues, the better for us. Behold it's behauiour. It is a princock-boy, who in his schoole knows not how far he proceeds against all order." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 503.

roguing, a.: Pericles, IV. i. 97; "those counterfeit roguing Gyptians, whereof so many are daily seene amongst us." 1603.

J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 132.

salad, sb.: All's Well, IV. v. 18. "What diversitie soever there be in herbs, all are shuffled up together under the name of a sallade." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 148.

satiety, sb.: Othello, II. i. 231. "Nothing doth sooner breed a distaste or satietie, than plentie." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 143.

APPENDIX III.

PROF. WILSON'S SOLUTION OF THE MYSTERY OF DOUBLE-TIME IN SHAKSPERE.

(For use at the 57th Meeting of the Society, January 23, 1880.)

[Note by P. A. D. In Appendix I. to our Transactions, 1875-6, Pt. II., were printed such parts of the Dies Boreales, Nos. V. and VI., as related to the time-plots of Macbeth and Othello. Having established the existence of Double-time, Wilson ("Christopher North") promised hereafter to help his audience to the solution of that mystery. By some oversight, or mishap, the Editor of our reprints stated in a note at the end of these two papers, that "Professor Wilson never resumed the subject in Blackwood." Prof. Wilson did, however, resume the subject in the next number of the Magazine, May 1850, in No. VII. of the Dies Boreales, and from the discourse of "North" and "Talboys" the reader may now gather, if he can, talk, Talboys says:

T. . . . let us recur to the Question of Short and Long Time.

N. When Shakspeare was inditing the Scenes of the "Decline and Fall"—"The Temptation"—"The Seduction"—or whatsoever else you choose to call it—the Sequence of Cause and Effect—the bringing out into prominence and power the successive Essential Movements of the proceeding transformation were intents possessing his whole spirit. We can easily conceive that they might occupy it absolutely and exclusively—that is to say, excluding the computation and all consideration of actual time. If this be an excessive example,

¹ Mine, I fear, F. J. F.

² See especially p. 24*, 25*, 27*, 28*, 31*, 33*. F. J. F.

yet I believe that a huddling up of time is a part of the poetical state; that you must, and, what is more, may, crowd into a Theatrical or Epic Day, far more of transaction between parties, and of changes psychological, than a natural day will hold—ay, ten times over. The time on the Stage and in Verse is not literal time. Not it, indeed; and if it be thus with time, which is so palpable, so selfevidencing an entity, what must be the law, and how wide ranging, for every thing else, when we have once got fairly into the Region of Poetry?

T. The usefulness of the Two Times is palpable from first to last—of the Short Time for maintaining the tension of the passion—of the long for a thousand general needs. Thus Bianca must be used for convincing Othello very potently, positively, unanswerably. But she cannot be used without supposing a protracted intercourse between her and Cassio. Iago's dialogue with him falls to the ground, if the acquaintance began yesterday. But superincumbent over all is the necessity of our not knowing that Iago begins the Temptation, and that Othello extinguishes the Light of his Life all in one day.

N. And observe, Talboys, how this concatenation of the passionate scenes operates. Marvellously! Let the Entrances of Othello be four-A, B, C, D. You feel the close connexion of A with B, of B with C, of C with D. You feel the coherence, the nextness; and all the force of the impetuous Action and Passion resulting. But the logically-consequent near connexion of A, with C, and much more with D, as again of B with D, you do not feel. Why? When you are at C, and feeling the pressure of B upon C, you have lost sight of the pressure of A upon B. At each entrance you go back one step-you do not go back two. The suggested intervals continually keep displacing to distances in your memory the formerly felt connexions. This could not so well happen in real life, where the relations of time are strictly bound upon your memory. something of it happens when passion devours memory. But in fiction, the conception being loosely held, and shadowy, the feat becomes easily practicable. Thus the Short Time tells for the support of the Passion, along with the Long Time, by means of virtuous instillations from the hand or wing of Oblivion. From one to two you feel no intermission—from two to three you feel nonefrom three to four you feel none; but I defy any man to say that from one to four he has felt none. I defy any man to say honestly, that "sitting at the Play" he has kept count from one to four.

T. If you come to that, nobody keeps watch over the time in listening to Shakspeare. I much doubt if anybody knows at the theatre that Iago's first suggestion of doubt occurs the day after the landing. I never knew it till you made me look for it—

N. For which boon I trust you are duly grateful.

T. 'Tis folly to be wise.

N. Why, Heaven help us! if we did not go to bed, and did not dine, which of us could ever keep count from Monday to Saturday! As it is, we have some of us hard work to know what happened yesterday, and what the day before. On Tuesday I killed that Salmo Ferox?

T. No—but on Wednesday I did. You forget yourself, my dear sir, just like Shakspeare.

N. Ay, Willy forgets himself. He is not withheld by the chain of time he is linking, for he has lost sight of the previous links. Put yourself into the transport of composition and answer. But besides, every past scene-or to speak more suitably to the technical distribution of the Scenes, in our Editions-every past changed occupation of the Stage by one coming in or one going out, (which different occupation, according to the technicality of the French Stage, of the Italian, of the Attic, of Plautus, of Terence, constitutes a Scene)every such past marked moment in the progress of the Play has the effect for the Poet, as well as for you, of protracting the time in retrospect—throwing everything that has passed further back. As if, in travelling fifty miles, you passed fifty Castles, fifty Churches, fifty Villages, fifty Towns, fifty Mountains, fifty Valleys, and fifty Cataracts-fifty Camels, fifty Elephants, fifty Caravans, fifty Processions, and fifty armies—the said fifty miles would seem a good stretch larger to your recollection, and the five hours of travelling a pretty considerable deal longer, than another fifty miles and another five hours in which you had passed only three Old Women.

T. My persuasion is, sir, that nobody alive knows—of the auditors—that the first suggestion of doubt and the conclusion to

kill are in one Scene of the Play. I do, indeed, believe, with you, sir, that the goings-out and re-enterings of Othello have a strangely deluding effect—that they disconnect the time more than you can think—and that all the changes of persons on the stage—all shiftings of scenes and droppings of curtains, break and dislocate and dilate the time to your imagination, till you do not in the least know where you are. In this laxity of your conception, all hints of extended time sink in and spring up, like that fungus which, on an apt soil, in a night grows to a foot diameter.

N. You have hit it there, Talboys. Shakspeare, we have seen, in his calmer constructions, shows, in a score of ways, weeks, months; that is therefore the true time, or call it the historical time. Hurried himself, and hurrying you on the torrent of passion, he forgets time, and a false show of time, to the utmost contracted, arises. I do not know whether he did not perceive this false exhibition of time, or perceiving, he did not care. But we all must see a reason, and a cogent one, why he should not let in the markings of protraction upon his dialogues of the Seduced and the Seducer. You can conceive nothing better than that the Poet, in the moment of composition, seizes the views which at that moment offer themselves as effective unconscious or regardless of incompatibility. He is whole to the present; and as all is feigned, he does not remember how the foregone makes the ongoing impracticable. Have you ever before, Talboys, examined time in a Play of Shakspeare? Much more, have you ever examined the treatment of time on the Stage to which Shakspeare came, upon which he lived, and which he left?

T. , . . not at all—except t'other day along with you—in Macheth.

N. He came to a Stage which certainly had not cultivated the logic of time as a branch of the Dramatic Art. It appears to me that those old people, when they were enwrapt in the transport of their creative power, totally forgot all regard, lost all consciousness of time. Passion does not know the clock or the calendar. Intimations of time, now vague, now positive, will continually occur; but also the Scenes float, like the Cyclades in a Sea of time, at distances utterly indeterminate—Most near? Most remote? That is a Stage

of Power, and not of Rules—Dynamic, not Formal. I say again at last as at first, that the time of Othello, tried by the notions of time in our Art, or tried, if you will, by the type of prosaic and literal time, is—INSOLUBLE.

T. To the first question, therefore, being What is the truth of the matter? the answer stands, I conceive without a shadow of a doubt or difficulty, "The time of Othello is—as real time—INSOLUBLE."

N. By heavens, he echoes me!

T. Or, it is proposed incongruously, impossibly. Then arises the question, How stood the time in the mind of Shakspeare?

N. I answer, I do not know. The question splits itself into two-first, "How did he project the time?" Second, "How did he conceive it in the progress of the Play?" My impression is, that he projected extended time. If so, did he or did he not know that in managing the Seduction he departed from that design by contracting into a Day? Did he deliberately entertain a double design? If he did, how did he excuse this to himself? Did he say, "A stage necessity, or a theatrical or dramatic necessity "-namely, that of sustaining at the utmost possible reach of altitude the tragical passion and interest -"requires the precipitation of the passion from the first breathing of suspicion-the 'Ha! Ha! I like not that,' of the suggesting Fiend to the consecrated 'killing myself, to die upon a kiss!'-all in the course of fifteen hours-and this tragical vehemency, this impetuous energy, this torrent of power I will have; at the same time I have many reasons—amongst them the general probability of the action for a dilated time; and I, being a magician of the first water, will so dazzle, blind, and bewilder my auditors, that they shall accept the double time with a double belief-shall feel the unstayed rushing on of action and passion, from the first suggestion to the cloud of deaths -and yet shall remain with a conviction that Othello was for months Governor of Cyprus—they being on the whole unreflective and uncritical persons?"

T. And after all, who willingly criticises his dreams or his pleasures?

N. And the Audience of the Globe Theatre shall not—for "I hurl my dazzling spells into the spungy air," and "the spell shall sit

when the curtain has fallen." Shakspeare might, in the consciousness of power, say this. For this is that which he has—knowingly or unknowingly—done. Unknowingly? Perhaps—himself borne on by the successively rising waves of his work. For you see, Talboys, with what prolonged and severe labour we two have arrived at knowing the reality of the case which now lies open to us in broad light. We have needed time and pains, and the slow settling of our understandings, to unwind the threads of delusion in which we were encoiled and entoiled. If a strange and unexplained power could undeniably so beguile us—a possibility of which, previously to this examination, we never have dreamt, how do we warrant that the same dark, nameless, mysterious power shall not equally blind the "Artificer of Fraud"? This is matter of proposed investigation and divination, which let whoever has will, wit, and time, presently undertake.

T. Why, we are doing it, sir. He will be a bold man who treats of Othello—after Us.

N. Another question is—What is the Censure of Art on the demonstrated inconsistency in Othello? I propose, but now deal not with it. Observe that we have laid open a new and startling inquiry. We have demonstrated the double time of Othello—the Chronological Fact. That is the first step set in light—the first required piece of the work—done. Beyond this, we have ploughed a furrow or two, to show and lead further direction of the work in the wide field. We have touched on the gain to the work by means of the duplicity—we have proposed to the self-consciousness of all hearers and readers the psychological fact of their own unconsciousness of the guile used towards them, or of the success of the fallacy; and we have asked the solution of the psychological fact. We have also asked the Criticism of Art on the government of the time in Othello—supposing the Poet in pride and audacity of power to have designed that which he has done. Was it High Art?

T. Ay—was it High Art?

N. I dare hardly opine. Effect of high and most defying art it has surely; but you ask again—did he know? I seem to see often that the spirit of the Scene possessed Shakspeare, and that he fairly

27*

forgot the logical ties which he had encoiled about him. We know the written Play, and we may, if we are capable, know its power upon ourselves. There are the Two Times, the Long and the Short; and each exerts upon you its especial virtue. I can believe that Shakspeare unconsciously did what Necessity claimed—the impetuous motion on, on, on of the Passion—the long time asked by the successive events; the forces that swayed him, each in its turn, its own way.

T. Unconsciously?

N. Oh heavens! Yes—yes—no—no. Yes—no. No—yes. What you will.

"Willingly my jaws I close, Leave! oh! leave me to repose."

T. Consciously or unconsciously?

N. Talboys, Longfellow, Perpetual Præses of the Seven Feet Club, we want Troy, Priam, Achilles, Hector, to have been. Perhaps they were—perhaps they were not. We must be ready for two states of mind—simple belief, which is the temper of childhood and youth—recognition of illusion with self-surrender, which is the attained state of criticism wise and childlike. At last we voluntarily take on the faith which was in the goldener age. The child believed; and the man believes. But the child believes this; and the man who perceives how this is a shadow, believes that beyond. This he believes in play—that in earnest. The child mixed the two—the tale of the fairies and the hope of hereafter. Union, my dear Boys, is the faculty of the young, but division of the old. I speak of Shakspeare at five years of age: not of Us, whom, ere we can polysyllable men's names, dominies instruct how to do old men's work and to distinguish.

T. My dear sir, I do so love to hear your talkee talkee; but be just ever so little a little more intelligible to ordinary mortals—

N. You ask what really happened? The Play bewilders you from answering—accept it as it rushes along through your soul, reading or sitting to hear and see. The main and strange fact is, that these questions of Time, which, reading the Play backwards, force them-

selves on us, never occur to us reading straight forwards. Two Necessities lie upon your soul.

- T. Two Necessities, sir?
- N. Two Necessities lie upon your soul. You cannot believe that Othello, suspecting his Wife, folds his arms night after night about her disrobed bosom. As little can you believe that in the course of twelve hours the spirit of infinite love has changed into a dagger-armed slayer. The Two Times-marvellous as it is to saytake you into alternate possession. The impetuous motion forwards, in the scenes and in the tenor of action, which belong to the same Day, you feel; and you ask no questions. When Othello and Iago speak together, you lose the knowledge of time. You see power and not form. You feel the aroused Spirit of Jealousy; you see, in the field of belief, a thought sown and sprung-a thought changed into a doubt—a doubt into a dread—a dread into the cloud of death. Evidences press, one after the other—the spirit endures change—you feel succession—as cause and effect must succeed—you do not compute hours, days, weeks, months; -yet confess I must, and confess you must, and confess all the world and his wife must, that the condition is altogether anomalous—that a time which is at once a day of the Calendar and a month of the Calendar, does not happen anywhere out of Cyprus.
- T. It has arisen just as you say, sir—because Two Necessities pressed. The Passion must have its torrent, else you will never endure that Othello shall kill Desdemona. Events must have their concatenation, else—but I stop at this the incredible anomaly, that for Othello himself you require the double time! You cannot imagine him embracing his wife, misdoubted false; as little can you his Love measureless, between sunrise and sunset turned into Murder.
 - N. Even so.
 - T. My dear sir, what really happened?
- N. Oh! Talboys, Talboys. Well then—not that Othello killed her upon the first night after the arrival at Cyprus. The Cycle could not have been so run through.
 - T. How then in reality did the Weeks pass?
 - N. That's a good one! Why, I was just about to ask you-

and 'tis your indisputable duty to tell me and the anxious world—how.

- T. I do not choose to commit myself in such a serious affair.
- N. Suppose the framing of the tale into a Prose Romance. Surely, surely, surely, no human romancer, compounding the unhappy transactions into a prose narrative, could, could, could have put the first sowing of doubt, and the smothering under the pillows, for incidents of one day. He would have made Othello for a time laugh at the doubt, toss it to the winds. Iago would have wormed about him a great deal slowlier. The course of the transactions in the Novel would have been much nearer the course of reality.
 - T. In Cinthio's Novel-
 - N. Curse Cinthio.
 - T. My Lord, I bow to your superior politeness.
 - N. Confound Chesterfield. My dear friend, Reality has its own reasons—a Novel its own—and its own a Drama. Every work of art brings its own conditions, which divide you from the literal representation of human experience. Ask Painter, Sculptor, and Architect. Every fine art exercises its own sleights.
 - T. In the Novel, I guess or admit that they would have been a month at Cyprus ere Iago had stirred. What hurry? He would have watched his time—ever and anon would have thrown in a hundred suggestions of which we know nothing. Let any man, romancer or other, set himself to conceive the Prose Novel. He cannot, by any possibility, conceive that he should have been led to make but a day of it. Ergo, the Drama proceeds upon its own Laws. No representation in art is the literal transcript of experience.
 - N. The question is, what deviations—to what extent—does the particular Art need. And why? The talked Attic Unity of Time instructs us. But Sophocles and Shakspeare must have one view of the Stage, in essence. You must sit out your three or four hours. You must listen and see with expectation intended, like a bow drawn. To which intent Action and Passion must press on.
 - T. Compare, sir, the One Day of Othello to the Sixteen Years of Hermione! There, intensest Passion sustained; here, the unrolling

of a romantic adventure. Each true to the temper imposed on the hearing spectator.

- N. Good. The Novel is not a Transcript—the Play is not a Transcript. Ask not for a Transcript, for not one of those who could give it you, will. A conditioned imitation we desire and demand—and we have it in Othello.
- T. And put up we must with Two Times—one for your sympathy with his tempest of heart—one for the verisimilitude of the transaction.
- N. Think on the facility with which, in the Novel, Iago could have strewn an atom of arsenic a-day on Othello's platter, to use him to the taste; and how, in the Play, this representation is impossible. Then, the original remaining the same, each manner of portraiture leaves it, and each, after its own Laws.
- T. Did not Shakspeare know as much about the Time which he was himself making as we do, as much and more?
- N. I doubt it. I see no necessity for believing it. We judge him as we judge ourselves. He came to his Art as it was, and created—improving it—from that point. An Art grows in all its constituents. The management of the Time is a constituent in the Art of "feigned history," as Poetry is called by Lord Bacon. But I contend that on our Stage, to which Shakspeare came, the management of Time was in utter neglect—an undreamed entity; and I claim for the first foundation of any Canon respective to this matter, acute sifting of all Plays previous.
 - T. Not so very many—
- N. Nor so very few. Shakspeare took up the sprawling, forlorn, infant, dramatic Time. He cradled, rocked, and fed it. The bantling throve, and crawled vigorously about on all-fours. But since then, thou Tallometer, imagine the study that we have made. Count not our Epic Poems—not our Metrical Romances—not our Tragedies. Count our Comedies, and count above all our Novels. I do not say that you can settle Time in these by the almanac. They are the less poetical when you can do so; but I say that we have with wonderful and immense diligence studied the working out of a Story. Time being here an essential constituent, it cannot be but that, in our more exact

and critical layings-out of the chain of occurrences, we have arrived at a tutored and jealous respect of Time—to say nothing of our Aristotelian lessons—totally unlike anything that existed under Eliza and James, as a general proficiency of the Art—as a step gained in the National Criticism.

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T. Ay, it must be difficult in the extreme for us so to divest ourselves of our own intellectual habits and proficiency as to take up, and into our own, the mind of that Age. But, unless we do so, we are unable to judge what might or might not happen to any one mind of that age; and when we affirm that Shakspeare must have known what he was doing in regard to the Time of Othello, we are suffering under the described difficulty or disability—

N. Why, Talboys, you are coming, day after day, to talk better and better sense—take care you do not get too sensible—

T. We must never forget, sir, that the management of the Time was on that Stage a slighted and trampled element—that what Willy gives us of it is gratuitous, and what we must be thankful for—and finally, that he did not distinctly scheme out, in his own conception, the Time of Othello—very far from it.

N. I verily believe that if you or I had shown him the Time, tied up as it is, he would have said, "Let it go hang. They won't find it out; and, if they do, let them make the best, the worst, and the most of it. The Play is a good Play, and I shall spoil it with mending it." Why, Talboys, if Queen Elizabeth had required that the Time should be set straight, it could not have been done. Onetwo-six changes would not have done it. The Time is an entangled skein that can only be disentangled by breaking it. For the fervour of action on the Stage, Iago could not have delayed the beginning beyond the next day. And yet think of the Moral Absurdity-to begin-really as if the day after Marriage, to sow Jealousy! The thing is out of nature the whole diameter of the globe. His project was "after a time t' abuse Othello's ear," which is according to nature, and is de facto the impression made—strange to say—from beginning to end. But the truth is, that the Stage three hours are so soon gone, that you submit yourself to everything to come within compass. Your Imagination is bound to the wheels of the Theatre Clock.

T. Yet, in our conversation on Macbeth, you called your discovery an "astounding discovery"—and it is so. The Duplicity of Time in Othello is a hundred times more astounding—

N. And the discovery of it will immortalise my name. I grieve to think that the Pensive Public is sadly deficient in Imagination. I remember or invent that she once resisted me, when I said that "Illusion" is one constituent of Poetry. Illusion, the Pensive Public must be made to know, is when the same thing is, and IS NOT. Pa-God bless him!-makes believe to be a Lion. He roars, and springs upon his prey. He at once believes himself to be a Lion, and knows himself to be Pa. Just so with the Shakspeare Club—many millions strong. The two times at Cyprus are there; the reason for the two times—to wit, probability of the Action, storm of the Passion—is there; and if any wiseacre should ask, "How do we manage to stand the known together-proceeding of two times?" The wiseacre is answered—"We don't stand it for we know nothing about it. We are held in a confusion and a delusion about the time." We have effect of both-distinct knowledge of neither. We have suggestions to our Understanding of extended time-we have movements of our Will by precipitated time.

T. We have—we have. Oh! sir! sir! sir!

N. Does any man by possibility ask for a scheme and an exposition, by which it shall be made luminous to the smallest capacity, how we are able distinctly all along to know, and bear in mind, that the preceding transactions are accomplished in a day, and at the same time and therewithal, distinctly all along to know and bear in mind that the same transactions proceeding before our eyes take about three months to accomplish? Then, I am obliged—like the musicians, when they are told that, if they have any music that may not be heard, Othello desires them to play it—to make answer, "Sir, we have none such." It is to ask that a deception shall be not only seemingly but really a truth! Jedediah Buxton, and Blair the Chronologist, would, "sitting at this play," have broken their hearts. You need not. If you ask me—which judiciously you may—what or how much did the Swan of Avon intend and know of all this

astonishing legerdemain, when he sang thus astonishingly? Was he the juggler juggled by aërial spirits—as Puck and Ariel? I put my finger to my lip, and nod on him to do the same; and if I am asked, "Shall a modern artificer of the Drama, having the same pressure from within and from without, adopt this resource of evasion?" I can answer, with great confidence, "He had better look before he leap." If any spectator, upon the mere persuasion and power of the Representation, ends with believing that the seed sown and the harvest reaped are of one day, I believe that he may yet have the belief of extended time at Cyprus. I should say by carrying the one day with him on forwards from day to day! Or if you wish this more intelligibly said, that he shall continually forget the past notices. Once for all, he shall forget that the first suggestion was on the day after the arrival.

T. Inquire, sir, what intelligent auditors, who nave not gone into the study, have thought; for that, after all, is the only testimony that means anything.

N. Well, Talboys, suppose that one of them should actually say, "Why, upon my word, if I am to tell the truth, I did take note that Iago began 'abusing Othello's ear' the day after the arrival. I did, in the course of the Play, gather up an impression that some good space of time was passing at Cyprus—and I did, when the murder came, put it down upon the same day with the sowing of the suspicion, and I was not aware of the contradiction. In short, now that you put me upon it, I see I did that which thousands of us do in thousands of subjects—keep in different corners of the brain two beliefs—of which, if they had come upon the same ground, the one must have annihilated the other. But I did not at the time bring the data together. I suppose that I had something else to think of."

- T. Assume, sir, for simplicity's sake, that Shakspeare knew what he was doing.
 - N. Then the Double Time is to be called—an Imposture.
 - T. Oh, my dear sir-oh, oh!
- N. A good-natured Juggler, my dear Talboys, has cheated your eyes. You ask him to show you how he did it. He does the trick slowly—and you see. "Now, good Conjurer, do it slowly, and cheat

us." "I can't. I cheat you by doing it quickly. To be cheated, you must not see what I do: but you must think that you see." When we inspect the Play in our closets, the Juggler does his trick slowly. We sit at the Play, and he does it quick. When you see the trick again done the right way—that is quick—you cannot conceive how it is that you no longer see that which you saw when it was done slowly! Again the impression returns of a magical feat.

T. I doubt, if we saw Othello perfectly acted, whether all our study would preserve us from the returning imposture.

N. I will defy any one most skilful theatrical connoisseur, even at the tenth, or twentieth, or fiftieth Representation, so to have followed the comings-in and the goings-out, as to satisfy himself to demonstration, that interval into which a month or a week or a day can be dropped—there is none. In comparing Shakspeare and the Attic Three, we seem to ourselves, but really do not, to exhaust the Criticism of the Drama. Is Mr. Sheriff Alison right, when he said that the method of Shakspeare is justified only by the genius of Shakspeare? That less genius needs the art of antiquity? Our own art inclines to a method between the two; and we should have to account for the theatrical success, during a century or more, of such Plays as the Fair Penitent, Jane Shore, &c.

T. Why, sir, does Tragedy displace often from our contemplation, Comedy? Not when we are contemplating Shakspeare. To me his method, in reading him, appears justified by the omnipotent Art, which, despite refractoriness, binds together the most refractory times, things, persons, events in Unity.

N. Most true. We feel, in reading, the self-compactness and self-completeness of each Play. Thus in Lear—

T. In Lear the ethical ground is the Relation of Parent to Child, specifically Father and Daughter. If the treatment of that Relation is full to your satisfaction, that may affect you as a Unity. Full is not exhaustive; but one part of treatment demands another. Thus the violated relation requires for its compliment the consecrated relation.

N. In Hamlet?

T. The ethical ground in Hamlet, sir, is the relation of Father

and Son, very peculiarly determined, or specialtied. Observe, sir, how the like relation between Father and Daughter, the same between Father and Son, occurs in Polonius's House. Here, too, a slain Father—a part of the specialty. Compare, particularly, the dilatory revenge of Hamlet and the dispatchful of Laertes. Again, the relation of Gertrude the Mother and Hamlet the Son-so many differences! And the strange discords upon the same relation-my Uncle-Father and Aunt-Mother—the tragic grotesque.

N. Eh?

T. Then in Lear the House of Gloster counterparts Lear's. And compare the ill-disposed Son-in-law Cornwall, and the well-disposed Son-in-law Albany. The very Fool has a sort of filial relation to Lear-"Nuncle"-and "come on, my Boy." At least the relation is in the same direction—old to young—protecting to dependent spontaneous love to grateful, requiting love, and an intimate, fondling familiarity. Compare in Hamlet, Ophelia's way of taking her father's death-madness and unconscious suicide-the susceptible girl,-and the brother's to kill the slayer, "to cut his throat i' the church"the energetic youthy man, ferox juvenis-fiery-full of exuberant strength: -all variations of the grounding thought-relation of Parent and Child.

N. Of Othello?

T. The mortal unity of Othello can be nothing but the Connubial Relation. How is this dealt with? Othello and Desdemona deserve one another—both are excellent—both impassioned, but very differently—both frank, simple, confiding—both unbounded in love. But they have married against the father's wish-privily, and-he dies-so here is from another sacred quarter an influence thwarting -a law violated, and of which the violation shall be made good to the uttermost. So somebody remarks that Brabantio involves the fact in the Nemesis, "She has deceived her Father, and may thee." Then the pretended corrupt love of her and Cassio is a reflection in divers ways of the prevailing relation—for a corrupt union of man and woman images ex opposito the true union-and then it comes as the wounding to the death. Again, Rodrigo's wicked pursuit of her is an imperfect, false reflection. And then there is the false relation—in Cassio and Bianca—woven in essentially when Iago, talking to Cassio of Bianca, makes Othello believe that they are speaking of Desdemona. Then the married estate of Iago and Emilia is another image—an actual marriage, and so far the same thing, but an inwardly unbound wedlock—between heart and heart no tie—and so far not the same thing—the same with a difference, exactly what Poetry requires. Note that this image is also participant in the Action, essentially, penetratively to the core; since hereby Iago gets the handkerchief, and hereby, too, the knot is resolved by Emilia's final disclosures and asseverations sealed by her death. Observe that each husband kills, and indeed stabs his wife—motives a little different—as heaven and hell.

N. The method of Shakspeare makes his Drama the more absolute reflection of our own Life, wherein are to be considered two things——

T. First—if the innermost grounding feeling of all our other feelings is and must be that of Self—the next, or in close proximity, Sympathy with our life—then by the overpowering similitude of those Plays to our lives—of the method of the Plays to the method of our life—that Sympathy is by Shakspeare seized and possessed as by no other dramatist—the persuasion of reality being immense and stupendous. Elements of the method are, the mixture of comic and tragic—the crossing presentment of different interests—presentment of the same interests from divided places and times—multiplying of agents, that is number and variety—being of all ranks, ages, qualities, offices—coming in contact—immixt in Action and Passion. This frank, liberal, unreserved, spontaneous and natural method of imitation must ravish our sympathy—and we know that the Plays of Shakspeare are to us like another world of our own in its exuberant plenitude—a full second humanity.

N. Opposed to this is the severe method of the Greek Stage—selecting and simplifying.

T. Of the modern craftsmen, to my thinking Alfieri has carried the Attic severity to the utmost; and I am obliged to say, sir, that in them all—those Greeks and this Italian—the severity oppresses me

—I feel the rule of art—not the free movement of human existence. That I feel overpoweringly, only in Shakspeare.

N. Ay.

T. Alfieri says that the constituent Element of Tragedy is Conflict—as of Duty and Passion—as of Conscious Election in the breast of Man and Fate.

N. He does—does he?

T. There is Conflict—or Contrast—or Antithesis—the Jar of two Opposites—a Discord—a Rending—in Lear; between his misplaced confidence and its requital-between his misplaced displeasure and the true love that is working towards his weal. And, again, between the Desert and the Reward of Cordelia-with more in the same Play.

N. Schiller says of Tragic Fate,

"The great gigantic Destiny That exalts Man in crushing him."

Welcker has, I believe, written on the Fate of the Greek Tragedy, which I desire to see.

T. Are Waves breaking against a Rock the true Image of Tragedy?

N. Hardly; any more than a man running his head against a post or stone wall is. The two antagonistic Forces, Talboys, must each of them have, or seem to have, the possibility of yielding; the Conflict or Strife must have a certain play. Therefore I inquire—Is the Greek Fate the most excellent of Dramatic means? and is the Greek Fate inflexible? And, granting that the Hellenic Fate is thoroughly sublime and fitting to Greek Tragedy, and withal inflexible-does it follow that Modern Tragedy must have a like overhanging tyrannical Necessity?

T. No.

N. No. The Greek Tragedy representing a received religious Mythology, we may conceive the poetical, or esthetical hardness of a Fate known for unalterable, to have been tempered by the inherent Awe—the Holiness. There is a certain swallowing-up of human interests, hopes, passions—this turmoiling, struggling life—in a revealed Infinitude. Our Stage is human—built on the Moral Nature of Man, and on his terrestrial Manner of being. It stands under the Heavens—upon the Earth. In Hamlet, the Ghost, with his command of Revenge, represents the Impassive, Inflexible—with a breath freezing the moveable human blood into stillness—everything else is in agitation.

T. Say it again, sir.

N. Beg my pardon and your own, fully and unconditionally, Talboys, this very instant, for talking slightingly of the Greek Drama.

T. Not guilty, my Lord. Of all Dramas that ever were dramatised on the Stage of this unintelligible world, the Greek Drama is the most dramatic, saving and excepting Shakspeare's.

N. Ay, wonderful, my dear Talboys, to see the holy affections demonstrated mighty on the heathen Proscenium. Antigone! Daughter and Sister. Or in another House, Orestes, Electra.

T. Macbeth murders a King, who happens to be his kinsman; but Clytemnestra murders her husband, who happens to be a King—the profounder and more interior crime.

N. We see how grave are the undertakings of Poetry, which engages itself to please, that it may accomplish sublimer aims. By pleasure she wins you to your greater good—to Love and Intelligence. The heathen Legislator, the heathen Philosopher, the heathen Poet, looks upon Man with love and awe. He desires and conceives his welfare—his wellbeing—HIS HAPPINESS.

T. And the Poet, you believe, sir, with intenser love—with more solemn awe—with more penetrant intuition.

N. I do. And he has his way clearer before him.

T. The Legislator, sir, will alchemise the most refractory of all substances—Man. His materials are in truth the lowest and grossest, and most external relations of Man's life.

N. They are.

T. And these he would, with instrumentality of low, gross, outward means, subjugate or subdue under his own most spiritual intuitions.

N. A vain task, my dear Talboys, for an impossible. He must lower his intuition—his aim—to his means and materials. The Philosopher walks in a more ethereal region. Compared to the Legislator, he is at advantage. But he has his own difficulties. He must think Feelings!

T. He might as well try, sir, to trace outline and measure capacity of a mist which varies its form momently, and without determinate boundary loses itself in the contiguous air. His work is to define the indefinite.

N. And then he comes from the Schools, which in qualifying disqualify also—from the Schools of the Senses—of the Physical Arts—of Natural Philosophy—of Logical, Metaphysical, Mathematical Science. These have quickened, strengthened, and sharpened his wit; they have lifted him at last from emotions to notions; but—Love is understood by loving—Hate by hating—and only so! Sensations—notions—Emotions! I say, Talboys, that in all these inferior schools you may understand a part by itself, and ascend by items to the Sum, the All. But in the Philosophy of the Will, you must from the centre look along the radii, and with a sweep command the circumference. You must know as it were Nothing, or All.

T. Ay, indeed, sir; looking at the Doctrines of the Moral Philosophers, you are always dissatisfied—and why?

N. Because they contradict your self-experience. Sometimes they speak as you feel. Your self-intelligence answers, and from time to time acknowledges and avouches a strain or two; but then comes discord. The Sage stands on a radius. If he looks along the radius towards the circumference, he sees in the same direction with him who stands at the centre; but in every other direction, inversely or transversely. Every work of a Philosopher gives you the notion of glimpses caught, snatched in the midst of clouds and of rolling darknesses. The truth is, Talboys, that the Moral Philosopher is in the Moral Universe a schoolboy; he is gaining, from time to time, information by which, if he shall persevere and prosper, he shall at last understand. Hitherto he but prepares to understand. If he knows this, good; but if the schoolboy who has mastered his Greek Alphabet, will for hwith proceed to expound Homer and

Plato, what sort of an ex cathedrâ may we not expect? Rather, what expectation can approach the burlesque that is in store!

T. All are not such.

N. The Moral Sage may be the Schoolboy in the Magisterial Chair. With only this difference, that he of the beard has been installed in form, and the Doctor's hat set on his head by the hand of authority. But the ground of confusion is the same. He will from initial glimpses of information expound the world. He will—and the worst of it is that—he must.

T. A Legislator, a Philosopher, a Poet, all know that the stability and welfare of a man—of a fellowship of men—is Virtue. But see how they deal with it.

N. Don't look to me, Talboys; go on of yourself and for yourself—I am a pupil.

T. The Legislator, sir, can hardly do more than reward Valour in war; and punish overt crime. The Philosopher will have Good either tangible, like an ox, or a tree, or a tower, or a piece of land; or a rigorous and precise rational abstraction, like the quantities of a mathematician. For Good, substantial and impalpable, go to the Poet. For Good—for Virtue—concrete, go to the Poet.

N. The Philosopher separates Virtue from all other motions and states of the human will. The Poet loses or hides Virtue in the other motions and states of the human will. Orestes, obeying the Command of Apollo, avenges his Father, by slaying his Mother, and her murderous and adulterous Paramour. So awfully, solemnly, terribly—with such implication and involution in human affections and passions, works and interests and sufferings, the Poet demonstrates Virtue.

T. And we go along with Orestes, sir; the Greeks did—if our feebler soul cannot.

N. Yes, Talboys, we do go along with Orestes. He does that which he must do—which he is under a moral obligation to do—under a moral necessity of doing. Necessity! ay, an $A\nu\alpha\zeta\kappa\eta$ —stern, strong, adamantine as that which links the Chain of Causes and Events in the natural universe—which compels the equable and unalterable celestial motions beheld by our eyes—such a bounden,

irresistible agency sends on the son of the murdered, with hidden sword, against the bosom that has lulled, fed, made him !—HE MUST.

T. Love, hate, horror—the furies of kinned shed blood ready to spring up from the black inscrutable earth wetted by the red drops, and to dog the heels of the new Slayer—of the divinely-appointed Parricide! So a Poet teaches Virtue.

N. Ay, even so; convulsing your soul—convulsing the worlds, he shows you Law—the archaic, the primal, sprung, ere Time, from the bosom of Jupiter—Law the bond of the worlds, Law the inviolate violated, and avenging her Violation, vindicating her own everlasting stability, purity, divinity.

T. Divine law and humble, faithful, acquiescent human Obedience! Obedience self-sacrificing, blind to the consequences, hearing the God, hearing the Ghost, deaf to all other Voices—deaf to fear, deaf to pity!

N. Now call in the Philosopher, and hear what he has to preach. Something exquisite and unintelligible about the Middle between two Extremes!

T. Shade of the Stagyrite!

N. The pure Earth shakes crime from herself, and the pure stars follow their eternal courses. The Mother slays the children of a brother for the father's repast. And the sun, stopt in the heavens, veils his resplendent face. So a Poet inculcates Law—Law running through all things, and binding all things in Unity and in Sympathy—Law entwined in the primal relations of Man with Man. To reconcile Man with Law—to make him its "willing bondsman"—is the great Moral and Political Problem—the first Social need of the day—the innermost craving need of all time since the Fall. The Poet is its greatest teacher—a wily preceptor, who lessons you, unaware, unsuspecting of the supreme benefit purposed you—done you—by him, the Hierophant of Harmonia.

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sewer, or shore, sb.: Troilus, V. i. 83. "Sentina, a sinke, a iakes, a priuie, a common shore, a heape of filth, or any such conveyance of filth. Fogna... a common shore, iakes or sinke." 1598. Florio.

sophisticated, a.: Lear, III. iv. 110. "And truly, Philosophy is nothing else but a sophisticated poesie." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 301.

start-up, a. upstart: Much Ado, I. iii. 69. "It is reported that a new start-up fellow, whom they call Paracelsus, changeth & subverteth all the order of ancient, & so long time received rules." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 321.

stand-upon, v. t. concern oneself with: Julius Cæsar, III. i. 100. "Whether it were profitable or no, I will not now dispute or stand-upon." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 623.

steepy, a.: Timon, I. i. 74. "Such transcending humours affright me as much as steepy, high and inaccessible places." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 630.

strike, v. t.: Coriolanus, II. ii. 17. "What reason is there, that Æsculapius their patrone must have beene strucken with Thunder?" 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne (1632), p. 431.

usurp upon, v.: Titus, III. i. 269: "in my youth, I ever opposed my selfe to the motions of love, which I felt to usurpe upon me, and laboured to diminish its delights." 1603. J. Florio. Montaigne. 1632, p. 572.

the croaking raven, &c.: Hamlet, III. ii. 264. "In the True Tragedie of Richard the Third [Old Shaksp. Soc., p. 61], is a speech of the King to the Lord Lovell, describing the terrors of his conscience, and his 'hell of life':—

'Methinks their ghosts come gaping for revenge Whom I have slain in reaching for a crown.'

Clarence, and his nephews, and the headless peers, all mankind, all nature, the sun, moon, birds, beasts, all clamour for revenge:—

'The screeching raven sits croaking for revenge, Whole herds of beasts comes bellowing for revenge.'

I think that no one can doubt that Hamlet's line-

'The croaking raven doth bellow for revenge,'

is a satirical condensation of these two lines." RICHARD SIMPSON in Academy, Dec. 19, 1874, p. 658.

frush, v. t. batter: Tr. & Cres. V. vi. 29 (? not Shakspere). "Anmagliare, to waste, to destroy, to bruise, to breake, to clatter, to frush, to hauocke." 1598. Florio. A Worlde of Wordes.

APPENDIX IV.

CONTENTS OF THE GERMAN SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S YEAR BOOK, VOL. XI—XIV.

BY

F. D. MATTHEW.

THE Eleventh Year-book of the German Shakspere Society, edited by Karl Elze, contains:

1. Shakespeare and Schröder. An address delivered at the annual meeting by Gisbert Freih. Vincke.

This is an interesting sketch of the life of Schröder, the first manager who made any attempt to present Shakspere on the German stage. He was a man of wonderful gifts and versatility, an actor of the highest rank, both in tragedy and comedy, besides being dancer, singer, ballet-master, and dramatist. His first Shakspere venture was in 1776, when he produced an arrangement of Hamlet. This was followed by Othello, which was found too tragical, and had to be altered to a happy ending. By 1792 he had brought out the Merchant of Venice, Measure for Measure, Lear, Richard II, Henry IV (both parts), Macbeth, and Much Ado. He died in 1816, leaving a reputation much like that which in England attaches to Garrick.

- 2. Report presented at the meeting, April 23, 1875. It is satisfactory; the number of members and sale of the Year-book having increased.
- 3. Shakespeare's Coriolanus in its relation to the Coriolanus of Plutarch, by N. Delius.

The first part of this paper is concerned with the action of the N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1877-9.

play. Dr Delius notes the variations from Plutarch, and shows how freely Shakspere used his materials. The changes are in some cases slight, in others considerable, but the motive in making them seems generally to be that of the practical dramatist, who wishes to make his action clear and direct, and his personages interesting.

The character of Coriolanus, which Plutarch tells us was churlish and uncivil for lack of education, is made by Shakspere much less unamiable. His overweening pride is as much the result of his mother's training as of nature, while his love for mother, wife, and son soften the harsher traits which are too prominent in Plutarch's hero. Of the secondary personages Shakspere has done most for Aufidius and Menenius, and his sketches of the populace have nothing in Plutarch to suggest them, except it be some moral remarks on the fickleness of the common people.

In the third part of his paper on language Dr Delius shows in a series of passages how the bald narration of North's Plutarch is transfigured in the page of Shakspere. Nothing can be more curious and instructive than these examples of the way in which Shakspere "conveys" unsparingly, but sets a stamp on all he takes that forbids any challenge to his right.

4. On Mucedorus, by Dr Wilhelm Wagner.

Dr Wagner puts aside the supposition of Tieck that Shakspere was the author of this play, which he is inclined to attribute to the joint labour of several hands. He notices that pp. 34—36 (Delius edition) are in a loftier and more Shaksperian style than the rest. The chief part of the paper is devoted to suggestions for textual emendation.

5. Emendations and Notes on Marlow, also by Dr Wagner.

This paper calls attention to the corrupt state in which Marlow's was have come down to us; the only one which shows his unaltered work being *Edward II*. The emendations apply chiefly to the text of the 'Jew of Malta.'

6 On Shakespeare's Clowns, by J. Thümmel.

Herr Thümmel distinguishes the Clowns from the Fools (whom he has treated in an earlier volume) by their roughness and ignorance. The Clown is not necessarily, although most often, of low rank; and the Justices, Shallow and Silent, may claim a place among the rest. Herr Thümmel sorts out his Clowns into classes, and goes through the whole delightful company in due order, noting their individual characteristics as he passes.

7. Shakespeare and Giordano Bruno, by Wilhelm König.

Herr König tries to establish a close relation between Shakspere and G. Bruno. His argument rests on a series of quotations and parallels, which lead to the conclusion that Shakspere had studied, and to some extent adopted, Bruno's philosophical ideas, while he borrowed some types of character from Bruno's comedies and dialogues. The proof is of course cumulative, and must be judged as a whole. Herr König tells us he could bring forward much more material if he had room for it. The doubt with his readers will not be as to the number of the parallels, but the certainty of them. One wants to know whether the ideas ascribed to Bruno's influence were not a part of that general stock of thought which is (so to speak) in the air of any given period, and makes it hard to distinguish resemblances from borrowings. Whatever the final judgment may be, no one can doubt that Herr König makes out a very ingenious case.

8. The Development of the Legend of Romeo and Juliet, by Dr Karl Paul Schulze.

In this paper Dr Schulze goes carefully through the various forms of the story on which Shakspere founded his play. There seems little doubt that it is purely legendary, and has no foundation in fact. It first takes the shape in which we know it in Luigi da Porto's novel 1 (1530), but a version of it under another name is found in the 'Novellino of Masuccio,' published in Naples in 1476. Porto's novel was dramatized by Luigi Groto in 1578.

A poem in four cantos, by Gherardo Boldiero, was published under the pseudonyme of Clitia, in 1553. An extract from it is given in the Shakspere Society's publications, vol. iv. (1849.)

Next comes the novel of Bandello, which first popularized the legend out of Italy. He took it from Luigi da Porto, but added embellishments of his own. From this novel, through the French

¹ Published with an English translation, by G. Pace-Sanfelice. London: Boll. 1868.

translation by Boaistuau, came Arthur Brooke's poem, 'Romeus and Juliet,' and Painter's prose translation, both edited for us by Mr P. A. Daniel. Dr Schulze notes the variations in the different versions, and compares each with the play. He also gives a comparison with the Spanish forms of the story as dramatized by Lope de Vega and Rojas.

9. One of the Sources of Midsummer Night's Dream, by Fritz Krauss.

Herr Krauss finds the original of the enchantment scenes in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where the lovers are led astray and again set straight by spells, in the *Diana* of Jorge de Montemayor. Further, he thinks that we have in this play a reference to the love affairs of Lord Southampton; and sees in Helena and Hermia, Elizabeth Vernon and Lady Richmond. In support of these positions he brings several quotations from the Sonnets, which he interprets after the theories of Mr Gerald Massey. He adds a note on Romeo, in which (under the same guidance) he also sees reference to Southampton's loves.

10. Polymythy (Polymythie) in Shakespeare's Dramatic Poems, by C. C. Heuse.

I must confess that this word is new to me, but the paper has reference to Shakspere's manner of combining several plots or actions in one play, and so obtaining by likeness or contrast a fulness of effect which could not have been got by simply setting forth the main action of the play. The method of the Greek drama allowed only the single action, and this treatment was brought to perfection by Sophocles, as the more complex one by Shakspere. It must be noticed, however, that Shakspere has written plays which are comparatively monomythical: as Romeo, Othello, and Macbeth, and still more, Julius Cæsar and Coriolanus. The peculiar antique effect of these last two dramas is probably due to Shakspere's following the simple action of Plutarch's story.

11. Karl Elze's *Notes and Conjectures*. These ingenious speculations will no doubt receive from all students of Shakspere the attention they deserve.

12. List of Shakspere performances in the German theatres; 27

APP. IV. THE GERMAN SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S YEAR BOOK, XII. 47*

plays have been acted. The total number of representations is 460 in 37 theatres.

- 13. Literary Review of books, &c., connected with Shakspere.
- 14. Miscellanies. Two notes by Dr Wagner; one on parallels between Seneca and Shakspere, the other on "uncouth, unkist."
- 15. Catalogue of Books in the Library of the German Shakespeare Society.
 - 16. List of the members of the Society.

THE Twelfth Volume of the German Shakespeare Society's Year-book contains:

- 1. The address given at the annual meeting, May 7, 1876, by Professor N. Delius, on the Epic Elements in Shakspere's Dramas, translated for our Society, and published in our *Transactions*, No. 4, p. 207.
- 2. Supplement to the Address, translated and published in the same volume, p. 332.
- 3. The Yearly Report; from which we learn that the Society which began with 123 members, has now 186, while the sale of the Year-book has grown from 21 of the first volume to 77 of the 10th.
 - 4. Shakspeare in Greece, by Wilhelm Wagner.

The first influence of England, Dr Wagner tells us, came with the foundation of the Corfu University, soon after the Septinsular Republic had passed under British protection, but no direct relation between the two literatures was established until the War of Liberation made Lord Byron known to the Greeks,

The first play of Shakspere translated into modern Greek was the Tempest, by J. Polylas, published in 1855. It was followed by Julius Cæsar (N. K. Ionidis) and Hamlet (J. E Pervanoglu), both in 1858; Macbeth in 1862. The work is going on; and Cymbeline and Othello have been published in the feuilleton of newspapers. Moreover, a general translation was begun in Paris in 1875, the continuation of which was dependent on the reception given to the first parts. Most important of all, in Dr Wagner's opinion, because translated into real modern Greek and not into the artificial literary

dialect, is the work of Demetrius Bikélas, a resident in London, who has made versions of *Romeo*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*.

Dr Wagner criticizes most of these translations, and takes occasion to express his objection to the academic efforts to remodel the popular language of Green for literary purposes. To all who care to know how Shakspere is welcomed in the youngest of European literatures this paper will be of great interest.

5. Milton A Contrast to Shakespeare, by K. Elze.

The English people have not been successful in their criticism of Milton. They have, instead of criticizing him, wasted time in debating whether he or Shakspere were the greater poet. Happily there have been Germans to put us in the right way, and Herder has remarked that "Milton showed the utmost that reflexion can accomplish in poetry." Dr Elze starts from this point, and proceeds to demonstrate how little reflexion can accomplish.

Milton's human ideal is defective. Adam and Eve are argumentative and steeped in Puritanism; so much that the only service they offer God is prayer, whereas "how pretty and childlike it would have been had they built an altar of flowers and fruits, and there bowed the knee." The want of a fusing heat of imagination is shown in numberless awkwardnesses and contradictions which revolt the reader; in the use of machinery which looks clumsy compared with Worlington Irving; and of similes which remind us painfully how much better Ossian, or rather Macpherson, would have done.

When we add that Dr Elze, who joins to his other acquirements those of a learned and original theologian, exposes Milton's defects as a Christian, we may trust that our readers will turn to the essay itself for details, and may content ourselves with the conclusion, which is that, Milton is only a rhetorician or word-poet, and even so an imperfect one. Else he would not have written of the "branching palm," when naturalists describe the palm as a tree "with a straight, unbranching, cylindric stem." Neither would he have said:

¹ Dr Elze cites as evidence and example 'The Debater: A New Theory of the Art of Speaking,' being a series of Complete Debates, Outlines of Debates, and Questions for Discussion. By Frederick Rowton. 2nd edition. London: 1850. Many members of our Society will feel thankful to Dr Elze for their first introduction to this typical organ of the higher criticism.

"champing his iron curb," an impossible action, as any stableman could tell him. "If the poet would not write 'bit,' the right word, and the only one he should have used, why did he not say 'his iron rein?' The bit is a part of the rein, or at least of the bridle. Had Milton chosen the expression rein, there would have been, so to speak, totum pro parte, and the picture would not have been impossible and unthinkable."

With all these faults it would seem difficult to account for the English admiration of Milton, if it were not for the national taste for moralizing. Milton is given to moralize, and thus he has won popularity. A striking example is to be found in the concluding lines of 'Comus,' and Dr Elze aptly ends his paper by telling us what, instead of the Attendant Spirit's bare moral, Milton would have written had he known how to learn from the great master, Shakspere.

6. The Shakespeare booklet of the Poor Man of Toggenburg; of the year 1780. Communicated from the original manuscript by Dr Ernest Götzinger.

Ulrich Bräker, the poor man of Toggenburg, was born of work-people in the Commune Toggenburg, Canton St. Gall. He earned his living by handicraft, with an interval of soldiering, and had little time for study or self-culture. None the less he felt the great currents of thought prevalent in his time, and his writings are said, by Dr Götzinger, to express most vigorously the spirit of what is known as the "Storm and Stress" period. Born in 1735, he lived till 1798.

The "booklet" (printed from the MS. in the public library of St. Gall) consists of a series of criticisms, or rather expressions of feeling and opinion, on Shakspere's Plays, taken severally in the order of Wieland's translations. It is delightful reading. No one must expect from it philosophical theories, still less critical or philological details, but its match would be hard to find for frank enjoyment and enthusiasm. Ulrich had read, re-read, and loved his Shakspere; the characters of the plays were to him living and breathing beings in whom he took a lively interest, and whom he judged as he would have done his acquaintance in the flesh. Some-

times a shadow of doubt may cross him (not always unreasonably¹) as to the possibility of one or other, but he will not doubt that Shakspere knew what he was about. Not that his utterance is one flow of unchequered admiration. There are characters and plays which fail to delight him, as there are others which raise him to enthusiasm.

An additional charm of naïveté is given to the work by Ulrich's somewhat individual spelling and grammar. This, among other reasons, makes me hopeless of representing his racy style in a translation, so I will not attempt to quote, but advise all readers who have the opportunity to turn to the original.

7. On Shakespeare's Sources for King Lear, by H. Freih. von Friesen.

The purpose of this paper is partly to correct an error into which H. von Friesen had fallen in saying that no recognized source gave Shakspere the idea of making Lear's daughter insult him by lessening her suite. This point is found in the poem on the 'Mirrour for Magistrates.' Having made this correction, H. von Friesen goes on to give Robert of Gloucester's account of King Lear. He thinks that if we could suppose Shakspere to have seen this, it would correspond better with the play than the later versions of the story, which have generally been looked to as authorities.

8. Shakespeare Representations at Leipzig and Dresden, 1778—1817.

This is given as an addition to a previous article in the 7th volume of the 'Jahrbuch.' It completes, as far as the materials will allow, a list of representations of Shakspere's plays from 1778 to 1871, at Dresden and Leipzig. An account of the Company then playing in these towns is given, and the list of performances is arranged in tabular form. It is followed by quotations from contemporary criticisms on the actors.

9. The Epilogue to Troilus and Cressida, by Th. Bruns.

It is usual to attribute to this epilogue a worse meaning than it

¹ He had no doubt as to the genuineness of Titus Andronicus or Henry VI.
² Printed in Collier's 'Shakspeare's Library.'

really contains. The "aching bones and diseases" are the result only of the irregular hours which Pandarus' trade makes him keep. The will which he promises in two months' time is a new play; "another piece, which is always the newest and last, and forms the last will of the author." Further, we may doubt whether Shakspere was the author of the epilogue, which is evidently a casual addition, and may very probably have been made up by actor or manager.

10. The Historical Plays of Shakespeare, their relation to each other, and their value for the Stage, by Wilhelm König.

The paper points out the thread of political purpose which runs through all the plays, and finds, moreover, an artistic, one might almost say artificial, parallelism in their arrangement. King John is the introduction; then follows a Lancaster Tetralogy and a York Tetralogy, with Henry VIII for an epilogue. Even the individual plays are arranged with a certain parallelism as to the distribution of scenes, the introduction of comedy, &c.

Passing from this, Hen. König deals with certain charges which have been made against the *Histories* as acting plays, and points out that the conditions of the Stage were not then the same as now; and that the simpler arrangements of the Elizabethan theatre required devices which would now be blameable: e. g. the introduction of an episodic scene to mark a lapse of time between two meetings of the same characters. Some re-arrangement is therefore required if these plays are to keep the modern stage.

11. Shakespeare's Hamlet, its sources and political allusions, by Karl Silberschlag.

Our attention is here directed to the differences between the story of Hamlet as told by Saxo Grammaticus and its treatment in Shakspere's play. Among these are:

- a. The Queen's complicity in the murder.
- b. The manner in which the murder is committed.
- c. The character of Hamlet.
- d. The introduction of Laertes, of the servant Reynaldo, and of the madness of Ophelia.

¹ Richard II counts as a Lancaster play; Henry VI as three York plays.

Herr Silberschlag attributes these changes to the purpose of making political allusions.

a. and b. The guilty mother has certainly reference to Mary, Queen of Scots. This political appropriateness was no doubt seized upon in the older play of Hamlet. With such an allusion in view the open violent death of the elder Hamlet would have been out of place. Among other signs of allusion to the Darnley tragedy is the contrast in the looks of the Queen's two husbands. Beauty would not generally be thought of in a man who had a grown-up son; but Darnley was the handsomest man of his day, and Bothwell ill-looking.

c. If Mary Stuart is the Queen, it is natural James should be Hamlet, and the likeness in character is evident. Hamlet is thoughtful, learned, hesitating, and irresolute, a lover of the arts and the drama. One who, like Shakspere, was favourably inclined to James might well have drawn such a portrait of him, and the likeness is not lessened by a touch of pedantry. For further identification we may notice the point that Hamlet was fat and scant of breath.

d. Laertes is Alexander Ruthven, Laird of Gowrie. The points of resemblance are the resemblance of name, Laird being very near to Laertes; and that the Gowrie attack upon the King was designed to revenge the death of Ruthven's father. Like Ruthven, Laertes shrinks from no treachery to gain his end. To both would the speech be appropriate:

"Like a woodcock to my own springe, Osric, I am justly killed with mine own treachery."

In the fight in Ophelia's grave there is a reference to the struggle between James and Ruthven. Ruthven gripped the King's throat, and James, though not usually splenitive and rash, ordered Ruthven to be cut down.

Ruthven's wife, Anna Douglas (with whom James was suspected of being in love), went mad after the death of her husband, and died soon after. This suggests the madness of Ophelia. Finally, Ruthven had a servant, Rhynd, who supplied him with money when his estates were under forfeiture. Reynaldo (the name is like Rhynd) carries money to Laertes.

We are not to suppose that the play was meant as a political allegory, but only that Shakspere, having meditated on these events and characters, gave poetical form to the ideas in his mind.

The paper concludes with some detailed criticism, chiefly on the construction and management of the story, and the sources from which its parts are derived.

- 12. List of the performances of Shakespeare on German stages. Twenty-eight plays of Shakspere have been presented. The total number of performances is 452 in 38 theatres.
- 13. Account of the recent publications of the New Shakspere Society, by N. Delius.
 - 14. Literary Notices, by Dr Elze and others.
- 15. Miscellanies. Short notes on John Gee's 'New Shreds of the Old Snare,' illustrating the "shares" taken by the players; on Shakspere in Sweden; on the action of Seleucus in Antony and Cleopatra; and on a parallel between All's Well and the Merchant of Venice.
- 16. Albert Cohn's full and valuable Shakespeare Bibliography for 1875-6. This includes the first translation of a play of Shakspere into Tamil.
 - 17. List of books added to the Society's Library.

The volume concludes with an Index to the Year-books of the Society.

THE Thirteenth Volume contains:

1. The address given at the annual meeting, April 20, 1877, by Julius Thümmel, on the Miles Gloriosus in Shakespeare.

This type of character is traced from its first appearance in Menander through the Roman and Italian comedy. It appears early in the German and French dramas, although not to be found in Molière. Professional soldiership did not flourish in England, but our connection with the continent made the braggart familiar. He is to be found in Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson, but at his best in Shakspere. Sir John Falstaff, Parolles, Don Armado, and, above all, Pistol must be reckoned in this category.

The characteristics of the class are, affectation of soldier-like

manners, want of courage, bombastic speech, audacious lying, and all this for the purpose of gain. The poverty which is common to them is a point of difference from the ancient drama, where, especially in Plautus, the *Miles Gloriosus* has money to waste. Shakspere has combined the braggart and the parasite. I cannot here give Herr Thümmel's remarks on the individuals, but I may notice the point that they are national types; Falstaff every inch an Englishman, Parolles French, Armado Spanish, and Pistol the ideal cosmopolitan braggart, a worthy companion for his Latin and Italian forerunners

- 2. The Yearly Report of the Society, which is satisfactory, and the report of the annual meeting at Weimar.
- 3. On the ascription of the 'Two Noble Kinsmen' to Shakespeare and Fletcher, by N. Delius.

This paper aims at showing that neither Shakspere nor Fletcher had anything to do with the authorship of the play. It was not attributed to either of them during their lifetime, and the appearance of their names on the title-page is only a catchpenny device of the publisher. The resemblance which has been noticed in style is of no greater weight. It is true that we cannot read a piece of the play without being reminded of Shakspere and Fletcher, but such likenesses are too frequent and too striking. We cannot suppose that two poets of so great inventive power, and such command of language, would have put together such a mere anthology from their earlier plays. Many critics have found a pleasure in pointing out these parallel passages, but they have not noticed that, while the originals are always fitly and characteristically placed, the plagiarist has only cared to patch on somehow his pilfered ornaments.¹

The true test is to analyze the plan of the play, and its development of action and character. Herr Delius goes through it scene by scene, and declares it utterly unworthy of either of the great dramatists to whom it has been attributed. He proves thoroughly (to use

¹ Contrast this with Mr Swinburne's judgment. "[The last scene of all] is opened by Shakespeare in his most majestic vein of meditative or moral verse, pointed and coloured as usual with him alone by direct and absolute aptitude to the immediate sentiment and situation of the speaker, and of no man else."—'A Study of Shakespeare,' p. 217.

Mr Spalding's words) "the heavy and undramatic construction of the piece, and the want of individuality in the characters." 1

My business is to report, and not to criticize; but I scarcely exceed my province in saying, that to English students this paper will be disappointing. It is comparatively a slight matter that the vehemence of the argument suggests a doubt, and makes one wonder what would be the result if, say, Troilus and Cressida were subjected to an analysis as searching and as hostile. It is of more importance that Herr Delius avoids the real difficulty, which is not that the play contains passages reminding us of Shakspere or of Fletcher, but that whole scenes are so written as to have led critics whose judgment Englishmen cannot disregard, to attribute them, some to Shakspere, some to Fletcher. Whatever adverse evidence may point in the other direction, we find it hard to assign such skill to the nameless hack of a fraudulent bookseller.

- 4. Notes and Conjectures, by K. Elze.
- a. Mucedorus.
- b. Locrine.
- .c. Edward III.
- d. Taming of the Shrew (on the horse diseases enumerated in III. 2).
 - e. 2 Henry IV. (on "foundered nine score and odd posts").
- 5. A Midsummer Night's Dream. An address by Bernhard ten Brink.

The paper is chiefly concerned with the origin of the play. Herr ten Brink thinks it was written in honour of a marriage, but declines to guess whose was the wedding, or under what conditions the drama was represented. On such an occasion tragedy would be misplaced, and comedy ought not to be serious or cynical. The appropriate tone is just hit off in the Midsummer Night's Dream, where the comedy springs not from exaggerated or ill bestowed passion, but from the fantastic confusion introduced by an enchantment which can be loosed as easily as it is imposed. Herr ten Brink discusses the sources of the play, the opening of which is suggested

¹ These words are quoted by Herr Delius, p. 22.

by Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale'; the rival loves by the La Diana of Montemayer, as already noticed by Herr Krauss.¹

In the play of Pyramus we have a sort of burlesque by Shakspere of his own works (it is in substance the story of Romeo and Juliet), and perhaps a kind of comic reply to Spenser's 'Tears of the Muses,' as though Shakspere would say, "Here is the creature to whom the modern stage is given up; such barbarians as this are we playwrights and actors."

6. On the Repetitions to be found in Shakespeare, by Wilhelm König.

Repetition is of three kinds:

- a. Of the same motive or situation in different plays.
- b. Of the same motive or situation in the same play.
- c. Of single thoughts and expressions.

It is with the two former kinds that Herr König is chiefly concerned. He brings forward a great number of instances, and discusses the intention of the poet in introducing them.

7. Italian Sketches illustrating Shakespeare, by Th. Elze.

This paper is devoted to showing the correctness of the local colouring in Shakspere's Italian plays. If we compare the Merchant of Venice with the 'Pecorone,' on which it is founded, we find that in the latter Belmonte is a fabulous harbour, seated on a gulf apparently in the Apulian coast. Shakspere has placed it on the way to Padua, among the numerous villas and palaces which lay along the Brenta. Its position across the "common ferry," from Venice to Fusina, and the details given at end of III. 4, warrant us in placing it near Dolo, in which neighbourhood still remain many seats then belonging to the Venetian nobility. We may even identify the "monastery two miles off," as that of Benedictine nuns at Saonara. "Anyone," says Herr Elze, "who has had the good fortune to spend the moonlit summer night with friends in such a garden on the Brenta, can recognize the marvellous truth with which Shakspere has depicted the scenery (V. 1), and given us a sense of the atmosphere in which the action goes on."

In personal characteristics there is a similar evidence of knowledge. Note the description of Portia—

"her sunny locks Hung on her temples like a golden fleece."

The northern idea of Italian beauty is dark, but this touch recalls the works of the great Venetian painters.

The name Shylock (Schalach, the German form of Salah) points to the dialect of the German Jews, the first established in Venice.

The weight attached to Dr Balthasar's (Portia's) opinion seems extravagant; but in Shakspere's time there was an "old Bellario," Ottonello Discalzio, a celebrated jurist, at Padua, who was often consulted by the rulers of the Republic. The paper goes on to note that Padua was at that time a great place of resort of wealthy students, such as Bassanio, and concludes with a list of Englishmen studying there, 1591–4. From some of these Shakspere may have got hints. if he had not visited the country.

8. A Greek Source for two of Shakespeare's Sonnets, by W. Hertzberg.

Herr Hertzberg, on a hint from Frh. von Friesen, has hunted up a Greek epigram, the source of Shakspere's Sonnets CLIII., CLIV. It is a work of the Byzantine Marianus, a writer probably of the fifth century, and runs thus:—

"Τάδ' ὑπὸ τὰς πλατάνους ἀπαλῷ τετρυμένος ὕπυψ εὖδεν "Ερως, νύμφαις λαμπάδα παρθέμενος Νύμφαι δ'ἀλλήλησι, 'τί μέλλομεν; αἴθε δὲ τοὐτψ σβέσσαμεν,' εἰπον, ' ὀμοῦ πῦρ κραδίης μερόπων.' Λαμπὰς δ'ὡς ἔφλεξε καὶ ὕδατα, θερμὸν ἐκεῖθεν Νύμφαι 'Ερωτιάδες λουτροχοεῦσιν ὕδωρ.''

We cannot tell where Shakspere found it, but it had been translated into Latin in 1529, and several times afterwards.

9. Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, and the History of Primos and Cassandra, by K. Foth.

A comparison between the play and the story on which it is founded, and which is the only source we need consider. Mariana, and her part in the plot, were introduced by Shakspere; but her story is a stock tradition to be found everywhere. This and other varia-

tions are discussed in detail, with regard to Shakspere's purpose in making them, and to the drawbacks, in some cases considerable, which attended them.

10. As You Like It on the Stage, by Gisbert Freih. Vincke.

This is an account of several attempts to recast As You Like It so as to fit it to the stage requirements and taste of the day. The frequent changes of scenery, &c., make it impossible to present such a play exactly as Shakspere wrote it, at a time when there were no difficulties of scene-shifting. Seven recasts in German are noticed here. They generally aim at making the action more compact and intelligible, as well as lessening the changes of scene. Whatever we may think of the liberties they take with the text, these sink into insignificance beside the French adaptation, by George Sand, with a description of which the paper concludes. In her improved version Jaques accompanies Celia in her flight, and their loves take the first place in the drama. Worst of all is the final disgrace of Touchstone, who is dismissed contemptuously in favour of his rival William.

11. The Jolly Goshawk, by K. P. Schulze.

Noting a resemblance between the plot of *Romeo* and *Juliet* and the story of the ballad.¹ Herr Schulze regards the ballad as an echo of the Italian legend.

12. The Representation of Mental Disease in Shakespeare's Dramas, by C. C. Hense.

Medical men have often admired the truth with which Shakspere has depicted insanity; but from an artistic point of view the representation of disease, whether physical or moral, cannot be justified only by its accuracy.

Shakspere loved to deal with passion at its highest, when, as in the cases of Richard II. and Constance, it seems to spectators like madness. From this it is but a slight step to actual insanity. The representation of madness is not however an end, but a means; it becomes a heightened expression of conscience. The ground for

¹ Printed in Allingham's 'Book of Ballads.' It is to be found also in Scott's 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' 'Motherwell's Minstrelsy,' and Aytoun's 'Ballads of Scotland.'

remorse is not difficult to find in Lady Macbeth and Lear. The fault which weighed upon Ophelia was her duplicity to Hamlet, in obedience to her father. The words, "Here is [rue] for me," mark a hurt conscience.

Both in *Lear* and *Hamlet* a feigned madness is contrasted with the real; but the true madness does not vary more in its manifestations than the counterfeit. Edgar is perfectly sane and self-controlled; Hamlet imitates insanity with enjoyment, because it allows him to indulge his natural melancholy and vent his pessimistic views of life.

13. Metrical, Grammatical, and Chronological Notes on Shake-speare's Plays, by W. Hertzberg.

The chief purpose of this paper is to call attention to the value of the double-ending test when properly applied. We must rest our induction on a sufficiently wide basis, and not content ourselves (as Herr Hertzberg did at first) with a single act. We need not be careful about revision. Where the alteration is comparatively slight, the instinct for style will have led the poet not to vary much from the original manner. If, on the other hand, the play has been recast, we can only hope to obtain the later date.

The order of the Plays, according to the percentage of hendecasyllabic lines, is as follows:

Love's Labours Lost, 4%; 1 Henry IV., 4.8; Titus Andronicus, 5; Midsummer Night's Dream, 6; King John, 6; Romeo and Juliet, 7.26; 1 Henry VI., 7.6; 2 Henry VI., 10.5; Richard II., 11.39; Comedy of Errors, 12; 3 Henry VI., 12.3; Two Gentlemen of Verona, 15; Merchant of Venice, 15; 2 Henry IV., 15; Taming of the Shrew, 16; Julius Cæsar, 17.58; Richard III., 18; Henry V., 18.37; Twelfth Night, 19.52; Troilus and Cressida, 20.5; Much Ado, 20.7; Merry Wives of Windsor, 21; All's Well, 21; Measure for Measure, 21.9; As You Like It, 22.7; Macbeth, 23.47; Timon, 24; Hamlet, 25; Othello, 26; Antony and Cleopatra, 26; Lear, 27.36; Coriolanus, 28.44; Tempest, 32; Cymbeline, 32; Winter's Tale, 32.5; Henry VIII., 45.6. If we suppose the Taming of the Shrew to be Love's Labours Won, the list down to Richard III. gives us all the plays mentioned by Meres. The only outsiders are Henry VI. and Julius Cæsar, and the latter comes within ½ per cent. of the limit.

Another point we are to notice is, that speech was changing in Shakspere's time, and that the change is reflected in the poet's work. Words were being shortened, as in not pronouncing the final ed, and in dropping the eth of third person pres. ind.

I have been able to mention but a few points in a paper which contains a great deal of interesting detail.

14. Garrick's Stage Adaptations of Shakespeare, by Gishert Freih. Vincke.

An account of the alterations made by Garrick in Romeo, the Tempest, Cymbeline, and King Lear.

15. Concluding Remarks to the Stage and Family Shakespeare, by William Öchelhaüser.

An apology for the task, which the author has just completed, of adapting Shakspere's plays to family and stage use, by the omission of passages unfit to be read in public, and by simplifying the arrangement of the scenes.

16. Hamlet, for the last Hundred Years in Berlin.

A list of the 278 representations of the play from its first introduction on December 17, 1777, to the centenary performance on December 17, 1877.

- 17. List of the Performances of Shakespeare on German stages. Twenty-seven plays have been presented. The total number of performances is 428, by 29 companies.
- 18. On the Last Publications of the New Shakspere Society, by Nicolaus Delius.
 - 19. Literary Notices of Books relating to Shakespeare.
 - 20. Miscellanies.
 - a. An older German adaptation of Shakespeare's King John.
 - b. Shakespeare in Holland.
 - c. On Romeo and Juliet, I. v. 96.
 - d. On Antony and Cleopatra, I. iii. 44, "feared or deared."
 - e. Rudolph Lange.
 - 21. Additions to the Library of the German Shakespeare Society.

THE Fourteenth Volume contains:

1. A Performance at the Globe Theatre. Opening address at the annual meeting, by Karl Elze.

Herr Elze puts his learning at the service of his fancy, and takes us with him to see *Hamlet* acted at the Globe. It is a pleasant holiday, during which we are able to note many things characteristic of the Shaksperian stage, and to realize much which our imagination may be too indolent to grasp when we meet with it in formal dissertations.

- 2. The Yearly Report, which is as usual satisfactory.
- 3. Hamlet in Sweden, by Wilhelm Bodin.

An interest in *Hamlet* was first aroused in Sweden by a criticism on the play, translated from the German, but published as original in 1809. A prose translation was produced on the stage in 1819, and published soon afterwards. An attempt in verse followed in 1820, but the first tolerable translation, by C. A. Hagberg, appeared in 1847. Besides an account of these versions the paper contains a summary of the chief criticisms which have appeared on *Hamlet*, so showing how the play and its author have been regarded in Sweden.

4. Two newly-discovered Sources for Shakespeare, by Paul Wislicenus.

Every one knows that the Comedy of Errors is, in its main lines, an adaptation of the 'Menæchmi' of Plautus. One of the most striking scenes is introduced by Shakspere without warrant from his original; that in which Antipholus of Ephesus and his Dromio are shut out of their home, while their place within is taken by their counterparts. This very situation is to be found in Plautus, but in the Amphitruo, which has evidently served as a model for this part of the comedy.

The other point noted by Herr Wislicenus is, that the story of Ægeon, his loss of wife and child, and recovery of them after many years, is the same as that which forms the plot of Pericles.

5. On the 'Sentenz' in Dramatic Poetry, especially in Shake-speare, Goethe, and Schiller. An address, by Julius Thümmel.

The 'Sentenz,' for which I know no exact English equivalent,

denotes the passages in which some general truth of thought or observation is expressed. These passages are essentially lyrical, yet they have a use and purpose in drama which it is Herr Thümmel's aim to make clear. He sums up the matter thus: "I should describe the 'Sentenz' in drama as the Idea in mastery over the Material, as the spiritual entry into itself of the Action, as the paraphrase of the pragmatic, to which it is related as the Scholia to the Text." He then goes on to notice the different ways in which it is employed by Shakspere, Goethe, and Schiller, illustrating his views by quotations.

6. Werder's Lectures on Hamlet, by Robert Prölfs.

Herr Werder has maintained that Hamlet's character is ideally blameless, and that the reproach of indecision and procrastination usually cast upon him is unjust. The delay in executing vengeance is not, he thinks, to be ascribed to Hamlet, but to the necessities of his task. Against this Herr Prölf maintains vigorously the more common view, and argues that Werder's apology is not in accordance with the facts.

7. Italian Sketches illustrating Shakespeare. Second Part, by Th. Elze.

Herr Elze continues his evidence of Shakspere's accuracy in describing Venice.

In the 'Pecorone' the Jew is of Mestre, but Shakspere puts his Jew in Venice where Jews had been allowed to settle since 1516.

Shakspere's "on the Rialto" suggests rightly the square in front of St. James' Church, where the merchants were wont to meet, and where the Government used to publish news of general interest received from its agents abroad. ("What news on the Rialto," III. i. 1.) This correctness in a casual mention of the place is in striking contrast with Coryat's inaccuracies.

The rapidly prepared masquerade of Lorenzo is in keeping with Venetian manners, where masks were more in fashion than in any city of Italy.

The testimony to Shakspere's local knowledge borne by the first act of *Othello* is brought in support of that from the *Merchant of Venice*, and the paper closes with a list of the few unimportant mistakes into which Shakspere has fallen.

8. On the Claim for Fletcher to a share in Shakespeare's King Henry VIII., by Nicolaus Delius.

English criticism has of late amused itself with giving to Shakspere with one hand, and taking with the other. While ascribing to him foundling plays for which he was not responsible, the critics have taken from him his recognized offspring, or have claimed for other men a share in the paternity.

We have an instance of this in the theory that Fletcher had a hand in *Henry VIII.*, a complement to the fancy that Shakspere was part author of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Herr Delius begins by examining and rejecting Mr Spedding's theory as to the manner in which the collaboration was carried out. Of the metrical evidence he makes very light. If in some scenes the redundant syllables occur in the ratio of two lines to seven, and in others are as one to two, or one to three, this shows only that the irregular lines occur all through the play, and in some scenes more frequently than in others. Now at the time Shakspere wrote Henry VIII., which was one of his last plays, Fletcher had carried the use of irregular verse further than Shakspere had hitherto done. Why should not Shakspere, always progressive and sensitive to the popular taste, have adopted in some scenes the freer metrical system of his younger contemporaries?

On the point of style Herr Delius notes, as "an interesting fact," that Spedding and Hickson came independently to exactly the same conclusions, accepting and rejecting the same scenes. He therefore admits a difference, but argues that metre and style are so closely connected, that in imitating Fletcher's verse Shakspere naturally fell into his style. The easier conversational style followed the freer and more proselike metre.¹

^{1 &}quot;It is written that the shoemaker should meddle with his yard," so I may be excused for leaving my report for a moment to express my surprise that to any human ear Fletcher's verse, with its smooth and uniform flow, should seem freer than that of Shakspere's last period. Yet the conclusion is logical, as thus: verses with double endings are irregular; Fletcher has more of these, therefore he has more irregularity, which is freedom. Herr Delius has good reasons for warning us against hasty dealings with metrical statistics. I venture further to say a word concerning all theories which, like this and Mr Swinburne's, suppose that Shakspere in certain scenes was making a metrical experiment. The special characteristic of Shakspere's style is its

Turning to the general purpose and plan of the play, we must notice that since writing the earlier histories Shakspere had come to care less about the material interests which then formed the subject of his poetry, while he now thought more deeply on human character and fate. It is in accordance with the tone of his later plays that the subject which the history of Henry VIII. presents to him is the mutability of fortune. The scattered interests of the play find a central point in the figure of the king; but in him and his acts no satisfactory conclusion could be found. This was afforded by looking forward prophetically into the future, by pointing to Elizabeth as the person who should put an end to all the confusion of her father's reign.

In accordance with this, a reference to Elizabeth runs through the whole drama: in the first act by Henry's falling in love with Anne Boleyn; in the second by the scene between Anne and the old lady of the court; in the third by the mention of the secret marriage; in the fourth by the coronation, while the baptism of Elizabeth in the fifth act crowns the whole.

In conclusion, the structure of the play, the development of the action and character, shows it to be the work of one hand, and that Shakspere's.

9. Romeo and Juliet, according to Shakespeare's Manuscript, by Robert Gericke.

Written to show that in the second quarto of Romeo and Juliet we have an edition printed from the poet's own manuscript. Herr Gericke goes through the various readings of the first scene of the play, and as a rule defends the quarto text against proposed emendations. He urges that the stage-directions generally are such as Shakspere would have given, and that the punctuation deserves more respect than has been shown to it.

That verse is sometimes printed as prose he accounts for by sup-

utter sincerity, its constant aim to make the words fit as a garment or very skin to the thought. It is this continued progress in directness of expression and disregard of formal metrical rules which make style and cadence a test of the period when the plays were written. Is it possible to imagine Shakspere in his ripe age repressing a crowd of thoughts and images for the sake of a new metrical effect?

posing that Shakspere wished the actors to speak the words trippingly, without insistance on the verse pauses. An instance of this is Mercutio's speech about Queen Mab. Prose, on the other hand, is sometimes set up like verse to mark a pause, $e.\ g.\ :$

"Good night, good night! Parting is such sweet sorrow," &c., II. ii. 185.

A stronger evidence is given by the passages which show traces of correction, such as "The grey-eyed morne," &c. (II. iii. 1), Romeo's envy of the flies (II. iii. 33), and his last speech before drinking the poison (V. iii. 101).

In all these we see that the copy was printed literally, and that the corrections were misunderstood. Such corrections could only have been made by the poet, and most probably in the course of composition. It is quite enough to suppose a printer stupid enough to set down faults without question; we need not gratuitously invent a still more stupid copyist.

We must note, however, that one passage (I. ii. 46 to I. iii. 36) is printed from the first quarto. Probably a leaf of the copy was missing.

10. Fresh Conjectures on the Text of Mucedorus, by Wilhelm Wagner.

These conjectures, many of which aim at restoring metrical correctness, have been occasioned by the issue of a critical text of 'Mucedorus,' edited by Messrs Warnke and Proescholdt.

11. Proposed Emendations in Shakespeare, by Wilhelm Wagner. Dr Ingleby and others have argued against emendation, but when

we have done our best to understand a passage and have failed, what is left for us to do? We must conjecture. Many conjectures will be made before we get a real correction, but every well-considered conjecture is a hint towards the comprehension or amendment of the text.

Herr Wagner accordingly gives us two dozen of them, which he thinks are enough "for the nonce." If these are well received we may look for more next year.

12. Edward III., an Acting Play, by Gisbert Freiherr Vincke.

The great defect in Edward III. is, that the love plot between the king and the countess of Salisbury is confined to the second act,

and is not interwoven with the political or patriotic action. August Hagen has recast the play with a view to remove this fault. The alteration is very extensive, the history having been changed into a tragedy. It may be enough to say here that in the last act the Countess comes to Sandwich to meet the King on his return from his victorious campaign. He visits her in the pest-house, where she is dying of the plague, but the disease is not swift enough for her, and after blessing the King, and making him promise to pray for her, she takes a dagger out of a casket and stabs herself. News comes directly afterwards that the Black Prince has died of the plague, and the tragedy ends.

13. List of Shakespeare performances in Germany. There have been in all 428 representations. Twenty-seven pieces have been given by 31 companies.

14. Obituary Notices. Wolf, Count Baudissin, Theodor Döring, William George Clark.

Count Baudissin, a Dane by birth, took an active part in the translation of Shakspere, edited by Schlegel and Tieck. He translated 13 plays, which were published, and still pass, as Tieck's, besides Edward III., Thomas Cromwell, Oldcastle, and the London Prodigal. Later he published a book on Ben Jonson and his School, and has since devoted himself to work in other fields, his last production of note being a version of Molière.

Theodor Döring, born 1803, was trained for a merchant, but took to the stage, on which he made his first appearance, an unsuccessful one, in 1825. He did not allow himself to be discouraged, and rose steadily in repute till in 1845 he came to Berlin, where for more than 30 years he was an actor of the first rank, both in tragedy and comedy. His last performance was in June, 1878, and he died two months later. Among his chief parts were Richard III., Lear, Shylock, Iago, Falstaff, and Dogberry.

A generous notice of Mr Clark follows, but I need not summarize the life of one so well known to English Shaksperians.

15. Shakespeare in Iceland, by Hugo Gering.

Three plays, Macbeth, Hamlet, and Lear, have been translated

¹ It will be remembered that Tieck believed these plays to be Shakspere's.

into Icelandic. Herr Gering gives an extract from each, but I cannot judge of their merits, and must content myself with recording that he thinks very highly of them.

- 16. On the latest publications of the New Shakspere Society.
- 17. Literary Review. A notice of the chief publications relating to Shakspere.
 - 18. Miscellanies.
- a. English actors at Cassel. Copies from two letters in the archives at Marburg, relating to English actors who were at Cassel in 1594 and 1607.
- b. John Spencer at Ratisbon. Notice of the erection of a stage in 1612 for John Spencer, the English comedian. He played the Capture of Constantinople with great success.
- c. Hamlet at Ratisbon. A German company played Hamlet at Ratisbon, and got larger receipts than in any other performance for two years (1784-6).
- d. On Sonnet No. 121. Dr Burgersdijk thinks he finds a key to the meaning of this sonnet, in supposing it to have reference to the Puritans, and their abuse of stage plays.
 - 19. Shakespeare Bibliography, 1877, 1878, by Albert Cohn.

This valuable work seems to be executed as usual with wonderful thoroughness.

- 20. Additions to the Library of the German Shakespeare Society.
- 21. Appeal for aid in replacing the losses of the Birmingham Library.

68* SCRAPS.

great coil, sb.: Much Ado, III. iii. 100. "Grand apparat. Great coyle, stirre, or adoe; much preparation for." 1611. Cotgrave.

fop, sb.: Lear, I. ii. 14. "Triboulett.. the name of a famous foole belonging to King Francis the first; and thence any fop, cokes, ridiculous ninniehammer, or laughing-stocke." 1611. Cotgrave.

riggish, a.: Ant. & Cleop. II. ii. 245. "Guilon f. a rigge; a wanton, or wandering, girle." 1611. Cotgrave.

union, sb., a large pearl: Hamlet, V. ii. 283. "The greatest Pearles are called in Latine Vniones, because sildome or neuer we shall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatnesse, roundnesse, or splendour, or answerable in weight: for wee finde them always separated one from another, and not ioyned together: And the lesser sort they vse to call Marguerites." 1619. Treasurie of Auncient and moderne Times, ii. p. 977, col. 2.

Seare, sb.: Hamlet, II. ii. 337.

"And if thou chance to meete an idle Mate, Whose tongue goes all too glibbe vpon the seare."

N. Breton's Pasquils Fooles-cappe. 1600.

It may be also worth while to give the quotation referred to by W. Aldis Wright, in the Clarendon *Hamlet*, for it has not yet been given in full.

"finally if it be a crooked stockpiece, to set the same unto the left side of his breast, retiring his right foot some halfe step behind the left, or advancing the left foot some halfe pace before the right, and so to take his due level: & holding the hindermost part of the stocke betwixt the thumbe and fore finger of his right hand, & with the other three fingers to draw to the serre, & so to discharge his piece with agility." . . . [Then he details at some length how the 'straight stocked piece' is to be handled, ending] "to raise the but end of his musket from his thigh unto his breast, and to fasten the same firme and close unto his right shoulder and briskly, holding fast the sayd hinder part of the stocke betwixt his right thumbe and fore finger, drawing down the serre with the other three fingers, and so taking due level to discharge."

1598. Barret's Theorique and Practike of Modern Warres, p. 33 [35].

I would also remark that this word is here plainly equivalent to our "trigger," the then composite trigger containing in one piece—as also has been noticed by Aldis Wright—our present seare and trigger. It is rather remarkable that no known dictionary contains the word "serre" or seare, while "trigger" is only found occasionally. Probably they took these, not as ordinary English words, but as technicals of a handicraft.—B. NICHOLSON.

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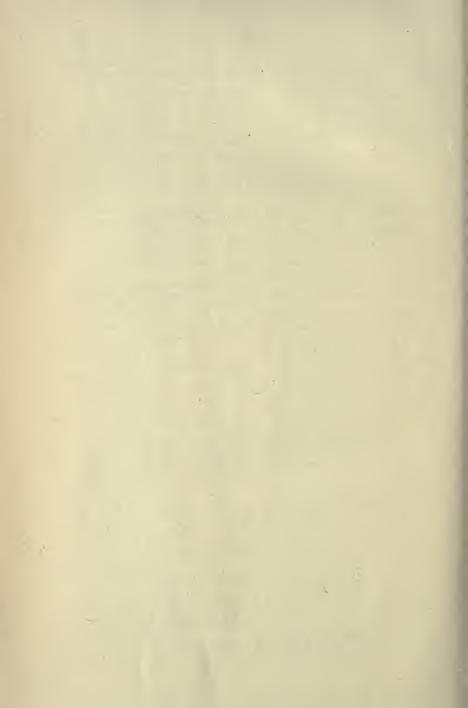
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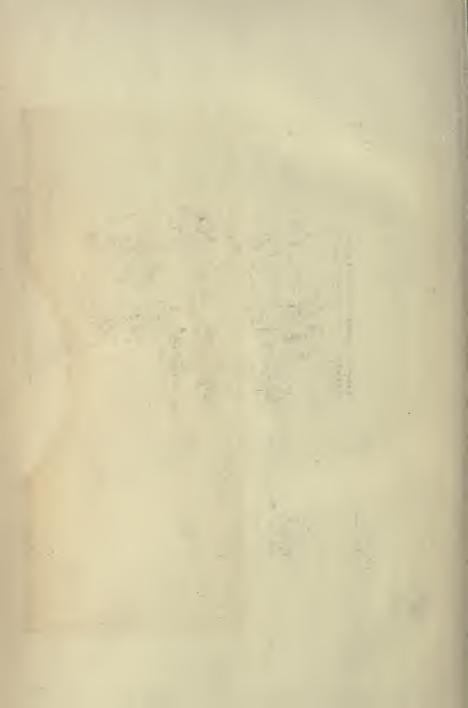
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